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RECORDS OF THE ENGLISH PROVINCE OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

Jes. 752 n -4 Records

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FATHER HENRY GARNETT, S.J.

MARTYR FOR THE FAITH.

Suffered May 3, 1606.

Frontispiece.

A.M.D.G.

RECORDS

OF THE

ENGLISH PROVINCE OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

Historic Facts Illustrative of the Labours and Sufferings of its Members in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.

VOL. IV.

Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Series.

By HENRY FOLEY, S.J.



"*Lapidati sunt, secti sunt, tentati sunt, in occisione gladii mortui sunt, circuierunt in melotis, in pellibus caprinis, egentes, angustiati, afflicti.*—Epist. ad Heb. xi. 37.

LONDON BURNS AND OATES.

1878.

BIBLIOTHECA
REGIA
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INTRODUCTION.

THE present volume of *Records* completes the compilation of historical documents connected with the various Residences or Districts of the English Province of the Society of Jesus taken separately. The subsequent volume, concluding the series, will commence with the year 1678, and will carry forward the general history of the Province through the period of severe persecution which followed upon the Oates' Plot, and, after the passing gleam of sunshine for Catholics that marked the short reign of James II., was continued during the Orange Revolution.

As before, under the title of Addenda, some facts of more especial interest, which have been recently supplied to the Editor, are inserted in order to supplement the matter already given. A few mistakes have also been corrected; and as in works comprising a large number of details these cannot, after all the care possible, be avoided, the Editor will always gladly receive information of any error into which he has fallen, his chief object being to secure accuracy in all points.

As exception can very easily be taken to the spelling of family names and places, he may explain that he has followed the custom of adopting the spelling found in the records quoted, except indeed in cases where the name is spelt differently by the same hand and in the same document.

With regard to many documents, the Editor would gladly have followed the easier plan of copying the *ipsissima verba* of the original Latin text, but did not consider that this would agree with the general character of his work. In all the volumes he has endeavoured to secure correctness of translation.

Another point open to the criticism of some persons is the preservation in these records of many narratives which appear ridiculous in the eyes of those who have no true Catholic belief in the supernatural, and of other passages that seem quaint and exaggerated even to Catholics; those, however, who know how to value the testimony borne by ancient documents, would rather pass over eccentricities with a smile than be left in uncertainty how far the original narrative may have been interfered with.

The Editor begs again to acknowledge the obligation under which he lies to many good friends for much valuable information and assistance.

London, Midsummer, 1878.

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Ninth Series.

THE RESIDENCE OF ST. GEORGE,

OR

THE WORCESTERSHIRE DISTRICT.

THE RESIDENCE OF ST. GEORGE OR THE WORCESTERSHIRE DISTRICT.

This was one of the original Residences constituted by Father Richard Blount, the first Provincial of the English Province. It was formed about the year 1633, under the title of "Residentia Sti. Georgii, cum Missione Vigorniensi," and embraced the counties of Worcester and Warwick.

Amongst many other places which the Fathers of the district formerly served, but of which no record remains, we trace the following:

Badgecote.
Beoley, or Beesley.
Cooksey.
Evesham.
Grafton Manor.
Hill End, Hanley Castle.
Heath-Green.
Hinlip Castle.
Huddington.
Kidderminster.
Pensam.
Pursall Hall, or Green.
Redditch.
Rushock.
Spetchley Park.
Sutton-Coldfield.
Wappenbury.
Weston, near Shipston.
Wootten-Wawen.
Worcester.

Of these places, Worcester, Grafton Manor, and Hinlip Castle appear to have been the principal centres. In this Residence also, as generally throughout the Province, we are now suffering from the loss of documents which were either destroyed in order to save their falling into the hands of the persecutors, or else were discovered by them and carried off. But from the imperfect records existing, we gather the average annual number of Fathers resident in the district until the year 1677, to have been about eight; the highest number ten, and the lowest six. The average annual number of conversions to the faith recorded is small, not exceeding twenty; the highest number being forty-three, and the lowest eleven.

The following extracts from old Catalogues of the English Province for the years 1642 and 1655 give the names of the missionary Fathers working in the district at those periods.

RESIDENTIA STI. GEORGII CUM MISSIONE VIGORNIENSI.

1642.

Nomen.	*Patria.*	*Ætas.*	*Temp. in Societate.*	*Gradus.*
Joannes Pricius (Superior)	Cestrensis	66	41	Prof. 4 Oct. 1614.
Carolus Florus	Essex.	52	26	Form. 22 Feb. 1628.
Gulielmus Lacæus	Eborac.	57	31	Prof. 22 Nov. 1637.
Mauritius Keynus	Somerset.	50	25	Prof. 22 Maii, 1628.
Petrus Martialis	Derbiens.	51	19	Prof. 5 Julii, 1632.
Joannes Westonus	Suffolc.	52	21	Prof. 5 Julii, 1632.
Robertus Coccius (Cox)	Warniensis.	63	21	Form. 5 Julii, 1632.
Gulielmus Smithæus	Stafford.	48	27	Prof. 22 Junii. 1640.
Laurentius Fisherus [*vere* Standish]	Lancast.	37	16	Prof. 19 Sept. 1641.
Adrianus Talbottus [*vere* Fortescue]	Oxon.	41	18	Prof. 4 Maii, 1640.
Odoardus Silisdonius [*vere* Bedingfield]	Suffolc.	48	25	Prof. 28 Oct. 1630.
Robertus Staffordius	Stafford.	49	25	Prof. 29 June, 1628.

1655.

Odoardus Silisdonius Superior (*vide supra.*)				
Laurentius Fisherus (*v.s.*)				
Gul. Smithæus (*v.s.*)				
Odoenus Shellæus	Hampton.	70	40	Form. 22 Feb. 1628.
Joannes Turnerus	Oxon.	52	32	Prof. 20 Aug. 1640.
Rodulphus Emersonus	London.	46	20	Prof. 8 Dec. 1640.
Franciscus Turnerus	Oxon.	41	20	Form. Jan. 1649.
Odoardus Beswicus	London.	37	16	Form. 4 Maii, 1655.
Henricus Floydus	Cestrens.	34	12	

The district contained from time to time several eminent members of the Province, both martyrs and confessors. Amongst others, were FATHER ROBERT PARSONS, who in his MS. notes says: "All the summer [1580] we [Father Edmund Campian and himself] passed over in preaching. My lot was the shires of Northampton, Derby, Worcester, Gloucester, and Hereford. Mr. Gilbert was my companion."

GEORGE GILBERT, then a secular gentleman, the companion and chief supporter of Fathers Campian and Parsons, was received into the Society upon his death-bed, in the English College, Rome, October 6, 1583, and was buried at St. Andrea, the novitiate of the Society in Rome.[1]

FATHER HENRY GARNETT, FATHER EDWARD OLDCORNE, BROTHER NICHOLAS OWEN, and BROTHER RALPH ASHTON,

[1] See his Life, *Records*, vol. iii. series viii.

four martyrs, will be more fully noticed under the head of Hinlip Castle, where they were taken. FATHER JOHN GERARD also, no doubt, had visited this district. His interesting Narrative and History of the Gunpowder Plot may be read in *Condition of Catholics under James I.* by Father Morris.

FATHER THOMAS STRANGE.

FATHER THOMAS STRANGE, who passed under the assumed names of Anderton and Hungerford, was one of those men of family whom Father Gerard gained to God and to the Society by means of the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius. He was an only son and was heir to a considerable patrimony, and became acquainted with Father Gerard during that Father's confinement in the Clink Prison, London. He may have been a native of Gloucestershire; his property, at least, appears to have been in that county. Among other interrogatories put to him in his examination in the Tower, December 6, 1605, he was asked: "Who first moved you to sell your land in Gloucestershire? What sum or sums of money received you for it, and what is become of the money?" He appears to have declined answering these questions, but some one named Davies has supplied the information: "£2,000 therefore [of] is in the Jesuites' bank. T. Davies." See the interrogatories and examination further on.

Moved to renounce everything for the love of Christ, he lived for nearly two years with Father Henry Garnett, before going to the Novitiate of St. Andrea, Rome. Having been ordained priest, he returned as missionary to England, where he gathered so great a harvest of souls that the Protestant ministers, irritated by their losses, laid snares on every side to catch him; but especially sought to get him proclaimed as an accomplice in the Gunpowder Plot. He at length fell into their hands while engaged in his missionary duties in Warwickshire. From thence he was carried off to London like a malefactor, and thrust down into an underground dungeon in the Tower, where he was so severely tortured upon the rack that he dragged on the rest of his life for thirty-three years in the extremest debility, with severe pains in the loins and head. For Waad (Sir William Waad the Lieutenant of the Tower) the brutal rack-master, was so exasperated against him, as to keep the Father during three days extended upon the rack, and for

other three days tortured with iron manacles, probably in that terrible engine called the "Scavenger's daughter."[1]

Nor did Waad himself, that bitter enemy of the priests, come off scot-free; for, on his producing one to give evidence before the Lords of the Privy Council, Father Strange sharply objected to him as an unfit witness, because he was a kinsman to Waad himself. This objection both stung Waad and highly incensed his wife, but it caused merriment in the assembled court. When taken back to his dungeon, nothing so grieved Father Strange as his being excluded from the chance of a glorious crown. "I was," he writes to Father Holtby, his Superior, "in the jaws of death, and three days in *domo capituli* [the rack

[1] Father Edward Coffin, in a letter dated May 28, 1611 (Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vol. iii. n. 103), alludes to this fact. "Father Strange, *alias* Hungerford, after long confinement and frequently repeated rackings, by means of money getting possession of the Tower keys, let himself out and escaped, and is now an exile at Louvain. That good Father endured many and great tortures with constancy. I will relate one case out of many, and a not unpleasant one, and then bring my letter to an end, lest it should swell out into a volume. It happened once, whilst he was raised aloft upon the rack, and undergoing the most direful torments and an examination, a certain minister who was present, I know not who it was, accosted the panting Father with the following horned dilemma (for this kind of animal always attacks us with horns): 'Can, or cannot, English Protestants who side with the King against the Pope, in those things regarding religion, be saved? I beg to know your opinion.' The Father detected at once the cunning of the malignant man, and to what end this contorted missive tended; for, should he concede the first part, it would instantly go forth that the Jesuits were unable to deny that Protestants in the Calvinistic faith could be saved. And it would besides be argued, why should he not acquiesce with them in all things, seeing that they held and taught nothing contrary to salvation. If (a thing to be entirely denied) he should declare that they could not be saved, it would at once be inferred on the other hand—therefore the King and Queen, who are of this opinion, are condemned, in their judgment, for all eternity; and then what tumults throughout the city, what tragedies would not be excited, and the greatest of all blasphemies maintained, for to doubt of the King's salvation is one and the same thing as to destroy the mystery of the Most Holy Trinity, the King being amongst English Protestants more than Melchisedech, because he is prince, pontiff, and god. But what did our Father Strange do? He was a man of ability and ready wit, and by the following pleasant contrivance avoided both the minister and his wickedness. Turning to the rack-master, he asked him to hoist the minister upon a similar rack, and in like fetters and tortures, otherwise, said he, we shall be fighting upon unequal terms; for the custom everywhere prevails amongst scholars that the condition of the disputants be equal, and he were a cowardly soldier who would fight his enemy with fettered hands. The rack-master laughed, and the minister being a stupid and heavy man, perceiving himself to be hit, and being likewise reprehended by others who were present, privately withdrew himself from the place, more anxious perhaps to save the credit of his fame than for the danger of his salvation, for these men are wiser in earthly than in heavenly things, to whom nothing is more vile or abject." Neither Father Tanner nor the MS. narrative of Father Strange's imprisonment, given below, mention the escape from the Tower related in Father Coffin's letter.

chamber]. You may understand the rest. My greatest affliction is that having been so near to felicity I should miss it at last, although I am detained in fetters for no cause, as they admit that there is no warrant whatever for grounding the slightest suspicion against me." Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, refused to release him or send him into exile with other priests at that time banished, for fear lest, having been so cruelly handled by the savage Waad, the condition to which their brutality had reduced his whole body, should give the lie to the boasted boundless clemency of King James towards the priests, which was proclaimed by the Privy Council through the Courts of the principal Catholic princes.[2] Meanwhile, the miserable Cecil was carried off by a loathsome disease as he returned from the baths, and King James, being in a more conciliatory mood, commented on the event by saying: "Our ears will now be rid of lying tales." He was indeed, adds Father Tanner, from whom we quote, a special hater of the Catholic faith, and was held to be the inventor and trumpeter of the treasons which he charged upon the priests.

After the death of Cecil no hindrance was offered to Father Strange's departure from England to Belgium. He had been rendered entirely incapable of missionary labour, or of fulfilling any office in the Society. He passed the remainder of his life in great suffering, and employed his time chiefly in reading the lives of the saints; he also arranged a drama which he had composed in English. Being remarkable for modesty and humility, he was very sparing in the recital of his own acts and sufferings. His death occurred at Ghent, November 13, 1639, at the age of sixty-nine, after having been professed of the three vows as a spiritual coadjutor.

We annex from the Stonyhurst MSS. the following narrative of "The imprisonment, examinations, tortures, and exile of Father Thomas Strange."

"Father Thomas Strange was a prisoner in close confinement for five or six years. For three months he lay in what is called the King's Bench Prison, loaded with chains without ceasing day and night. Thence he was taken to the Tower, where for the space of thirty-two days he was

[2] Father Richard Blount in a letter, under the name of R. Dagger, to Father Parsons, dated August or September, 1606, says: "Thomas Strange remaineth in the Tower, still most resolute and constant, notwithstanding his often racking and torturing, insomuch as his very enemies do highly commend him" (*Angl.* vol. iii. n. 64).

buried under ground in a terrible dungeon, with loathsome reptiles for companions, with a light burning night and day, which was, however, often put out by the damp, nor did they allow him so much as a bit of straw for his bed. Here he fell ill of a disease that seemed to be the falling sickness, and on this occasion they took him out, and gave him a very narrow cell, where they assigned him divers keepers, such as seemed the fittest to draw out from him matter of accusation.

"He was often examined by members of the Council, and the King was present behind some curtains. Once at the examination he refused to go on his knees, according to custom, saying that he was a priest, but finally he bent one knee, to show that he meant no disrespect towards them, and a hand appeared from behind the curtains, motioning him to rise. [The Archbishop of] Canterbury began a long invective against the Father, saying that he deserved a thousand deaths, and the Father was not allowed to reply. But the King, tired of Canterbury's insolence, signalled to him to finish, and with a hiss forced him to silence. Then they brought many things against the Father, from which he easily cleared himself. Upon which, Cecil fell into a passion, seeing that he could not fasten any charge upon him. And to excite the King against the Father, he wished to know his mind upon the authority of the Pope to depose his Majesty, and if it was lawful to kill a deposed king. The Father replied that he had been brought to the examination to give account of his deeds, and he desired before going to another point to be declared innocent of the charges laid against him. But Cecil wished above all things to know his opinion; and so the Father replied that the subjects of a deposed king were no longer subjects, and that when a deposed king came to do violence, the subject in self-defence might kill the king. Cecil was not satisfied with this, but wished him to answer straightforwardly if in such a case of deposition it was lawful for the subject to kill his king. But the Father would give no other reply, but that it was lawful to do what the Church had defined. Then, says Cecil, if it is defined in such a case by the Church that the subject can kill his king, you also hold it lawful? Yes, says the Father. On which the Earl of Northampton, through friendship for the Father, interfered, and said: But if the Church, after having deposed a king, gave orders that no private person should kill him, would you not

judge it in that case unlawful? The Father replied that to this precept also of the Church all should pay obedience. Whereupon the King remained content for the time, and did not wish that he should be proceeded with.

"When, later on, the book of Cardinal Bellarmine against the King came out, Cecil thought that he ought to succeed in his purpose, and gave orders to the lieutenant to see if the Father had said anything against the King's book. But the Father, whilst praising Bellarmine, did not wish to speak against the King. But one day, whilst speaking of heretical preachers, he said that there was as great a difference between them and Bellarmine as between Balaam and his ass. Upon which he was accused anew of having compared the King to an ass. And he was brought again before the members of the Council. Cecil, with his adherents, exaggerated beyond measure such an insulting remark. But as the Father denied all that was charged, and there was no evidence, the more indifferent among the Council wished him to state what had passed, and on his doing so, they remained fully satisfied, and ordered the accuser to go from their presence.

"For three successive days he suffered tortures many hours each day upon the rack, causing his hands and feet to swell in a shocking manner; and on the third day he ceased to be sensible of the torture, from his limbs being dislocated and rendered wholly void of feeling. With all this, at the end of his rackings they loaded him with irons, and in this state he was confined to his bed for many months."

[The MS. then briefly refers to the scene between the Father and the minister, who challenged him while he was upon the rack to join in controversy.]

"When they menaced him with death, he answered that he should be a madman not to desire it, if for no other reason than to be free from such a prison.

"The last time he was questioned about Father Baldwin, if he knew him, and he answered yes; but to the other demands they made he answered that he knew nothing, and so they dismissed him, saying that they knew well he would confess nothing against Father Baldwin, and he replied that he knew nothing else of him, except that he was a good religious, and that it was not fair to make him accuse his brother. And this time Cecil dismissed him, saying that he was astonished at him for having, among so many Religious Orders, made choice of being a Jesuit, and that he had sold all he had

to give to them. The Father said to the Earl of Northampton and to Cecil that since nothing could be proved against him they should arrange about the money left by his mother, and not oppose his exile. Northampton promised to help him, and Cecil said he would not oppose him. And so Northampton asked him of the King, and his Majesty replied that he should have been satisfied if he had been sent away a year before. And so the money was made over to a favourite of Northampton, and the Father was given in charge to the meanest official that could be found. However, the man was converted on the way. As he left the Tower, Father Baldwin sent him through his keeper a note, in which were written many names of friends to whose prayers the Father commended himself."

Extract from a letter of Father Thomas Talbot, Master of our Novices at Louvain.

"Father Thomas Strange is staying with us here, who, as I hope, will do good in this place. He is going on gaining strength, both spiritual and corporal, and I hope, with the grace of God, that his behaviour will give satisfaction to all. He has promised me to be guided entirely by me. It seems advisable that your Reverence should procure for him, as for one that has deserved well by the amount that he has suffered, and for his being a great benefactor of the Society, the solemn profession of the three vows, and that with this in view, he should prepare himself in the Novitiate."

Father John Gerard, in his Narrative, mentions Father Strange in several places. Writing from his house in London,[3] and speaking of his state of prosperity at that moment, he says: "For in external matters everything was well and abundantly supplied me. I had several excellent horses for my missionary journeys, and all that I could wish for to carry on the work I had in hand. Then, in the house itself, the arrangements were made in the best way, both for our health and convenience. And for companion I had Father Strange, who is now in the Tower." In a former passage he says: "Father Thomas Strange is at present suffering imprisonment in the Tower of London, where he has had to undergo many grievous tortures, and a long solitary confinement. This solitude, indeed, if we look only to his natural disposition,

[3] See *Condition of Catholics under James I.* Second Edition, p. clxxiv.

cannot but be very irksome and oppressive to him ; but *he* is not solitary who has God always present with him, consoling him, and supplying in an eminent degree and full abundance all those comforts which we are wont to go begging for from creatures."

Further on, he says:[4] "Two other priests who were resident with me in that house (one of whom, as I said before, was Father Strange), at the beginning of their troubles wished to go to Father Garnett, and remain with him, both of whom, however, were taken prisoners on their way. One was thrown into Bridewell, and was afterwards banished, together with two other priests, while Father Strange, the other, was sent to the Tower, where he suffered much, as has been before mentioned."

Mrs. Anne Vaux afterwards wrote a letter to a relative of hers, asking for the release of Father Strange and another. This relative was a chief man of the county in which they had been taken, and she thought she could by her intercession with him prevail for their release. The man, however, proved a traitor, and immediately sent up her letter to the Council. They showed it to her, and said: "You see now that you are entirely at the King's mercy for life or death ; so if you consent to tell us where Father Gerard is, you shall have your life." "I do not know where he is, and if I did I would not tell you." "Why, then, lady, you must die." "Why, then I will die, my lords, for I will never do the other."

In one of Father Anthony Rivers' letters, dated March 9, 1603,[5] mention is made of the arrest of Thomas Hungerford and others at Dover, and their being committed to the Gatehouse Prison. This Thomas Hungerford was Father Strange, *alias* Hungerford, and from the autobiography of his relative John Chapperton, given in the same volume of *Records*,[6] this event is more fully noticed. The facts are briefly these: Chapperton had become convinced of the truth of the Catholic religion, but in spite of his convictions, had continued to live on in schism for a whole year. His relative, Father Thomas Strange, then on the Continent, hearing of this, came over with the charitable purpose of completing the work of his conversion. Having effected it, and persuaded his kinsman to embrace the ecclesiastical state, they started together for France; were driven by adverse winds into Dover, and there,

[4] P. clxxvii.
[5] *Records*, vol. i. series i. p. 57.
[6] P. 193.

apprehended, and ordered to appear before the governor and other town magistrates, who tendered the oath of supremacy, which they refused, and were sent before the Privy Council, by whom they were examined, and committed to prison; and when King James ascended the throne, were released under heavy sureties to appear when called upon."

We proceed to give various documents regarding Father Strange among the State Papers in the Public Record Office.

Dom. James I. vol. xvii. n. 13, 1605. "At Serjeant's Inn, Dec. 6, 1605. The examination of Henry Huddlestone, *alias* Hurleston, Esq., taken this 6 day of Dec. 1605." [Popham's handwriting.]

He confesseth that he toke a howse of Mrs. Vaux in Attleborrow, within three miles of Mrs. Vaux, and soon after Bartlemytyde last, holding the same at will, brought his wife thither, and having the house without any grounds, there was no agreement for payment of any rent, and this ext., with his servant Thornborrowghe, and no other, came upp to London a weeke before hallowtyde last, and lay at the Savoy at one Mrs. Dagler's house, and saith that he came upp for the alteration of certain of his father's bonds by his father's appointment, and on Monday morning the 5 of Nov. last, he met with Rob. Catesby, Thomas Winter, and John Wright, at Purnny's house behind St. Clement's, and came thither for his cloke and other things to be conveyed to his house, and had no conference with them, but onlie words of salutations. And sayth that about 8 of the clock on that Monday, he with his man T. and no other, rode out of town and went to St. Albans that night, and supped there alone; and the next morning, before they came at the water in St. Alban's, Catesby overtook him, and soone after John Wright, and so they four rode together without any other in ther company untill they came to Brickhill, w^ch^ is about 17 miles, and sayth that by the way they had no conference concerning any accident at London. And about one of the clocke in the afternoon, they and one other more, whose face he saw not, came in soon after; they had not dined, but Percy and the other lighted not from their horses; and Catesby, after saluting Percy, bade this exam^t^ go home to his wife. And exam. rode to Mrs. Vaux's in that day, and came thither about 5 of the clocke in the afternoone. And sayth that there was no appointment betweene this exam., Catesby, or any of other, to meet again at any place. And sayth that he had no other speech with Mrs. Vaux than [two lines nearly illegible]. Being demanded whether Gerard the Jesuit, calling himself Brooke, was in the house of Mrs. Vaux when he came thither, confesseth that he saw him there, and there were also at that tyme Mr. [? Wm.] Singleton, calling himself John Clifton and Strange, of the Societie of the Jesuites, calling himself Anderton; and saith that he saw Darcy the priest at Mrs. Vauxes, when Sir Everard Digby was there about a fortnight before Michaelmas; and at that tyme he saw Pierce, a priest, calling

himself Fysher, there was also Greenway the Jesuite. And there was there also Mr. Catesby at that tyme, and Greenway rode away with Mr. Catesby at that tyme. He denieth that either Strange or Singleton were in his company eyther at his being at London, or after he came from thence. And confesseth that they —Mrs. Vaux, this examt, Gerard, Singleton, and Strange, supped together on Tuesday at night. And saith that on Wednesday he rode for his wife and brought her to Mrs. Vaux's. Being demanded of whom at Mrs. Vauxes he heard of the broiles at London, answereth that he heard it of Mrs. Vaux herself, who said she heard it of Sir Geo. Fermour. And saith that whilst Sir Geo. Fermour was there, the said priests kept themselves secret. And saith that by Thursday morning this examt, Strange, Singleton, and Batley tooke their horses and intended to have ridden to Grote, . . . and coming within two miles of Warwick, they heard of the troubles at Warwicke, and found the gates of the towne were shutt, and thereupon they altered their journey and rode to Kenilworth, where they were apprehended. Being demanded whether Strange, Singleton, . . . agreed not over night or the day before that they should ride together the next day, confesseth that Singleton and he had conference together over night to ride to Lancashire. And saith that two of his servants and Thornborrough rode with him, and this exam. tould his wife that if his horsekeeper had been there he should have gone with him to Farringdon in Lancashire. And denieth that he had any speech with Mrs. Vaux concerning his journey, and saith that he meant to have returned in about 10 or 12 days.

HENRY HUDDLESTON,
WM. WAAD.

Exam. per J. Popham, Ed. Coke.

British Museum, 6178, p. 577, Additional MSS. Burghley Papers.[7] "Father Thomas Strange, *alias* Hungerford, 1605, about Nov. 23. [Dec. 6]."

Interrogations to be ministered to Tho. Strange, *alias* Hungerford :

Who first moved you to become one of the Jesuits' Society, and where and when were you thereto so moved?

Who first moved you to sell your land in Gloucestershire; what sum or sums of money received you for it; and what is become of the money?

£2000 therefore is in the Jesuites bank.—T. DAVIES.

Whether were you at any time agent for the body of Jesuites; and how long time dealt you for them?

It seemeth he was agent, for he had the disposall of £20,000 for them.—T. DAVIES.

What conferences or letters during the time of your agency have passed betwixt yourself, Joseph Davis, John Chapperlyn, and Alex. W——y? How many were they; where and when were the conferences had; from whence were the letters sent; and to what effect tended they?[8]

[7] These are the interrogatories administered in the examination on December 6th.

[8] This was probably John Chapperton, his relative and convert named above.

Whether did you not write any letters to Chapperlyn and W—y wishing them to come over sea to you, providing them of money, &c., and when writ you that letter? This letter bears date 12 Aug., the year not set down as I take it, and the latter part thereof is written with the juice of lemons or oranges.

Whether did you not send a messenger of purpose to the said Chapperlyn, wishing him to send you intelligence out of England; what week you sent, and what intelligence did he send you? (See said letter.)

What meant you by writing these words in that letter, *cautè et expeditè omnia*, and what should Chap. have done hereupon for you? (See said letter.)

Whether did you not write a book directly against his M^tie^ title to the crown of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and tending likewise to the disgrace of the State, terming the Engl. nation base for accepting of his Ma^ty^ to be absolute King before they had better trial of him? Who were your compartners in the compiling of this book, and when was it finished?

Whether did not Davis and you together with the said Chap. and Wye specially meet at divers places in Glōrshire about the compiling of the said book, and where and when did you meet?

They met at Doddes-Myll.

Examination of Wye. Fathers Strange and Chap. had speech of this matter in the Gatehouse.—T. UDALL.

Further Chap. letter to Davies requiring him to come to Cirencester and meet him to consult of the project (lest one of them should meddle with another's part) shows that after the undertaking of the matter by the persuasion chiefly of Strange, there was not only diverse meetings, but this business was seriously handled and earnestly followed.

Whether did you not affirm that search had been made at Rome if any dispensōn had been had thence for the marriage between the King's father and mother, affirming further that none such could be found there, and what meant you to use such kind of speech?—T. UDALL.

Whether you are not, or have you not been, inwardly acquainted with one Hugh Owen and Father Baldwyn, residentiaries in the Archduke's Court, and when, where, and by what means grew you into the acquaintance?

Whether were you not made acquainted with the oath of secrecy and constancy lately taken against the King by the Jesuites and their adherents for the effecting of the late horrible treason by gunpowder, and where, when, and by whom were you therewith made acquainted?

Whether did you not take the same oath yourself; where, and when, and who administered it? This oath was taken by Tesimond and others a little before the 17th of May, 1604, and notice was further given that the villainy of the Jesuites and their adherents against his Ma^ty^ would take effect (if not timously prevented) about the beginning of the Parliament intended to have been held in Michas. term last.

How many persons do you know who took the like oath, and are yet undiscovered? Where do they dwell, what names?

Whether did you, together with the chief plotters of the Jesuites, make certain account that the E. of Northumberland would stand surety for the Catholike cause when time served, and what moved you to ground, &c.?

Intelligence from Brussels about Xmas. twelvemonths out of Owen and Baldwyn's own mouths.

Whether you did not any time deal with the said Earl, &c.?

Whether did you not know of any letters sent from Fr. Parsons or others to the body of Jesuits? When were they sent, what purport?

Newcome the monk brought over these letters about May 1604, and they purported the calling of a meeting of their superior heads for the safest compassing of their designs without danger of the loss of blood of good men, and further that there should be such close conveyance and cleanly carriage in bringing these designs to pass that if by casualty some should incur suspicion by the State, or be called in question, the main point (notwithstanding) nor the principal dealers, should ever come in question for the great cause sake.

Whether did you not write a letter to Joseph Davies advising him to get acquaintance with all the best and stirring spirits he could, and what moved you to do so?

This letter was written from St. Omers to Davies in May 1604.

Exd. No indorsement. This paper inclosed in other, dated about 23 Nov. 1605.

Dom. James I. vol. xvii. n. 12, December 6, 1605. "The Exam. of Thomas Strange, *als* Anderton, taken December 6, 1605."

Being demanded what day he went out of London, and in what company, he said first that he rode forth upon Wensday the 6 of Nov. last in the company of Mr. Huddleston and his two men and of Clifton, and the man that was taken with him, and after he had been confronted with the said Mr. Huddleston and Clifton, he said he was not in London nor in the suburbs in three weekes before and that noe man went out of London with him.

Being demanded whoe supt in company with him at supper at Mrs. Vauxes uppon Tewesday the 5th of Nov. last, desireth to be spared of such questions.

And being demanded whoe rode forth with him from Mrs. Vauxes uppon Wensday the 6th of Nov. last, desireth to be pardoned. And being demanded whither he rode, saith he rode into Warwickse; being demanded to what places there, refuseth to answer. Being demanded whether he did not say unto Udall that search was made at Roome for the dispensation of the marriage between the King's father and mother, and that none could be found, denieth the same. But Udall being confronted with him, confidently affirmed yt to his face, that he dyd say soe.

Being demanded whether he ever used any speech for any booke to be made concerning the basenes of the English nation, denieth that he ever spake or dealt for any such matter. And the said Udall being againe confronted with him, also affirmed the same to be true. Davys being also confronted with the said Strange, affirmeth to his face that the said Strange dealt with him the said Davys for the making of a booke concerning the overthrowes of England since the Conquest.

Taken in the presence of Edw. Coke, &c.

Same vol. n. 32. "Exam. of Thomas Strange, Jesuite, taken December 12, 1605."

(*a*) Being demanded whether the letter beginning "Desire my mother," and ending "Thomas Strange," of the date of 28 July, was of his own handwriting or no, answereth that it is of his handwriting, and that it was the 28 of July two yeares past in July last. And for the matter in that letter contained concerning the Spanish Ambass^r, answereth that he wrote it by report, but of whom he heard it, he saith he remembereth not.

And the like answer he made concerninge the saile, and 25,000^li of old souldiers mentioned also in that letter.

(*b*) Being further demanded wherefore he wrote therein that he had all this by true information of a sure carde, and what that sure carde was, desireth favor to have tyme for consultation thereof and he will sincerely answer these same.

(*c*) And the like favor he desireth to answere to the tricks that Chappelyns had mentioned to him, and that yf it were necessary for this Exam^t to know this before then well, this Exam^t wrote in that letter that the juice of oranges or lemmons wo^d serve.

(*d*) He denieth that ever he saw any book written concerning equivoc^on, but saith that Catholiques do hould that they may lawfully equivocate, and so doth this Exam^t hould it lawfull also.

THO. STRAUNGE.

Examd. per C. J. Popham, EDW. COKE.

Dom. James I. vol. xviii. n. 109. 1606, Tower. "The Examination of Thomas Strange, Jesuite, taken the 20 day of Februarie, 1606, at the Tower."

Being demanded whether he was not at Mrs. Vauxes house on the fifth, sixth, or seventh of November last, answereth that he was not.

Being demanded when and where he was last in the company of John Gerrard the Jesuite, sayeth he remembereth not, and denieth that he was to his remembrance in his company this half year; neyther doth he remember where he was in company with Gerrard. Being charged that he said to one that it were dangerous for the King to be excommunicated, for then it were lawful for any forren king to make title to the crowne, answereth that he asked whether the King were excommunicated, and Humphrey his keeper answered that he heard of no such thing; to whom this examinant answered, I hope there is no such thing, and if it were, I should be sorrie for it that any forren Prince should have any color to attempt anything against the Kinge. He confesseth that he knoweth that the Superior of the Jesuits is Henry Garnet, but he hath heard him commonly called by the name of Henry Walley, or Father Walley, and confesseth that Garnet *alias* Walley is his Superior, but how often he hath resorted to him he remembereth not.

He denieth that ever he wrote any letters to Davyes before his coming from St. Omer's, but confesseth that he wrote two or three letters to Chapperlaine, but did not wryght in any L^re that any person should acquaint themselves with the best and stirring spirits or to any such effect, or that he would acquaint any with the maine project.

And denieth that he heard of any other secrecy to be [promised] in any cause.

THOMAS STRANGE.

EDW. COKE, W. WAAD, &c.

Dom. James I. vol. xviii. n. 123, 1606.

I denye to have met with Father Garnet on St. Bartholomew's day last in any place.

THOMAS STRAUNGE.

I take it to have bene on Bartholomew day in the morning before he had said Masse, and I take it was in Islington Flds, or at the haulf Moone in Islington, I am sure it was on a holiday in the forenoone.

HENRY GARNET.

Dom. James I. vol. xix. n. 43. [Declaration of Father Strange in his handwriting], March 13, 1605(6).

Mr. Henry Huddlestone brought the first newes yt ever I hearde of the blowing up of the Parliament house, to Harradowne, the 4th, as I remember, of November last, in the hearing of Mr. Jarret, Mr. Singleton, and myself, where hence Mr. Huddleston, Mr. Singleton, and myself, with 3 serving men, 2 of them Mr. Huddleston's men, the other I knew not, departed some day or two after. Mr. Huddleston intended to goe to a tenant's house of Sir Robert Dormer's, about 4 myles from Warwicke, whose name I have forgotten. I determined to have gone to my cozen, Mr. Thomas Abington; whether Mr. Singleton resolved to have stayed there or gone further I knowe not. We went not throughe Warwicke, for yt many told us by the way there was no passinge throughe Warwicke without beinge stayed. This I assure my honourable lords was the first newes I ever hearde of this last treason. I humbly desire your lords. to be favorable vnto mee.

13 of Marche.

Edd. Coke. THOMAS STRAUNGE.

Dom. James I. vol. xlvii. n. 68, 1609. Endorsed "Mr. Attorney, 6 Aug., 1609."

To the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Salisbury,

May it please your Lordship. In answer of your Lordshipps letter touchinge the trial of Strange the Jesuite, upon consideracon had of the statute, we fynd that he must be tried in the King's benche, *or in the Countie wher his offence is committed or wher his person is taken and apprehended.* Now it appears by his examinacon that he was taken in Warwickshire, and therefore in that respect he cannot be tried here. Then touchinge the other place assigned for trial, wch is the countie in wch the offence is committed, as to that there are two kinds of offences; one the cominge into the realme, the other the abydinge here. If he be indighted for cominge into the Realme, that *must be in the county wher* he arryved, wch as I understand by Mr. Lieutenant [of Tower] was at Dover in Kent.

If he should be indighted for abydinge here, he hath bene under guard and in the Tower, and synce he was apprehended.

Now that cannot be said to be an offence of abydinge here when he is deteyned in prison whether he will or no. So that your lordship may perceive ther is no ground for triall here. And that is all wherewith I have to trouble your lordship at this present. And therefore praying for your lordships' helth and good retorne,[9] I rest

Wholly at yr l's comand,

HENRY HOBARTE.

Lincoln's Inne, this 6 of Aug., 1609.

In 1619, when the Benedictine nuns[10] from Brussels had their new church consecrated, Father Strange, S.J., gave them a pair of silver candlesticks of the value of £20; also a set of green vestments of damask. Father Roger Lee gave a set of crimson vestments of damask.[11] Father Thompson gave two silver reliquaries; and at his kind suggestion four silver images of St. Benedict, St. Scholastica, St. Anne, and St. Maurus were given by Lady Anne Wintour (*née* Somerset), Mrs. George Vaux, and her sister Lady Lovell, and Lady Digby (widow of Sir Everard). Father Baldwin procured them many alms and many useful presents of household stuff, pewter, serge, and the like. He was their Extraordinary Confessor for ten years.[12]

BROTHER EPHREM GOOD, a native of Warwickshire, was born in the year 1594, and entered the English Province of the Society at Watten in 1640, as a temporal coadjutor. In 1655, he was residing in the English College of the Society at St. Omer, as Procurator of the house, and died there July 22, 1657. The Summary of the deceased of the Province states that before entering religion he had been in the service of a noble Englishman, and was a simple and upright man. He was seized with apoplexy brought on by over exertion, and died fortified by the most Holy Viaticum. On the feast of St. Mary Magdalene, whilst the rest of the community were at Mass, on the occasion of a solemn renovation of vows, being then alone, he had got out of bed and falling upon his knees, died in that position, although before Mass he had exhibited no signs of immediate danger. It is believed that he had taken this position out of devotion, and as an act of adoration, at

[9] Cecil would then have been at the baths for his health.

[10] Communicated by Dame Mary, O.S.B., St. Scholastica's Abbey, Teignmouth.

[11] See biography of Father Lee, *Records*, vol. i. series i. p. 456.

[12] See the Life of Father Baldwin, *Records*, vol. iii. series vii.

the time of the Elevation of the Sacred Host in the Mass. He was in his sixty-fourth year, and had been seventeen years in the Society.

John Good, probably his elder brother, was a convert of Father John Gerard, and became an alumnus of the English College, Rome, in 1608, and subsequently a priest. He gave the following biographical account of himself upon applying for admission to the College.

"1608. My name is JOHN GOOD, I am aged about twenty-five years, was born in the parish of Greenbrough, Warwick, where I made my early rudiments. My parents were John and Margaret Goode; my father is a farmer living upon his own property; I was his heir, but was fraudulently deprived of the property by an uncle, on my father's death. My father was a schismatic, my mother a Catholic. I studied classics at Leamington, then went to Oxford, and passed B.A., and leaving Oxford, became a tutor. Then, at the instigation of a certain Protestant minister, I became one likewise, and rashly undertook the cure of souls (as they call it); lastly I have studied humanities at St. Omer's College.

"For about twenty-two years I was a Protestant and for about three months a schismatic. My conversion happened as follows: On a certain Saturday morning I was to have been married to the daughter of my Rector. On that very morning it so happened (by the good providence of God), that my father, who otherwise would have been at the wedding, was seized with sudden and violent illness, which caused the nuptials to be postponed till another time; during this interval a certain schismatic came to me, one John Whalley, who, after some conversations about the Catholic faith, sent me, as he had promised, a book written by Mr. Dorman Nowell; on diligently reading which I conceived such a hatred of heresy, that I earnestly prayed the Holy Spirit to show me the true way of salvation. On finding this, I abandoned my intended spouse and a living of about £50 a year, which I was to have received as her dowry, having suffered much in dreams for two nights, in which I was brought to the conclusion that the Catholic was the only true faith, and that I must quickly enter the Roman Catholic Church. I then determined to leave the country, and made my desire known to Sir Basil Brooke, Kt., who recommended me to Father John Gerard. He, having reconciled me to the Church, sent me abroad.

I made two attempts to get to Belgium, and was twice arrested and imprisoned for nine months: after which, escaping from custody, I passed over."

The Diary of the English College, Rome, states that John Good, *alias* Golding, aged about twenty-four years, was admitted as an alumnus on October 19, 1608, and took the usual College oath August 10, 1609, and was ordained priest on the 6th of April [year omitted]. He left for England April 22, 1615, having completed his philosophy and scholastic theology. He lived peaceably in the College.

The following autobiographical account of a member of the ancient Catholic family of Smythe of Acton Burnell, Salop, and Wootten Wawen, Warwickshire, will be read with interest. After his conversion he was sent by Father Baldwin to the English College, Rome, where he became a priest, and died on his way back to England. The account is extracted from the scholars' replies to the usual interrogatories.

"1600, October 10. My name is JOHN SMYTHE, *alias* CARRINGTON. My father's name is George Smythe; my mother's Anne Gifford. I was born at Ashby Foulvin, Leicestershire, and was there brought up until my tenth year. After that, I made my rudimental studies for nearly three years at Wootten Wawen, in the county of Warwick, and for the same space of time in a village in Staffordshire; whence I went to Oxford for three years, sometimes going away for the vacation. Lastly, from Oxford I went to my parents in the country and lived with them for half a year, and then to London, where I waited during two months for an opportunity of coming hither.

"We belong to a family of the upper class, and are sufficiently wealthy. I have five brothers and five sisters, all Catholics, together with my mother. My father and grandfather are schismatics. My grandfather was twice married. By his first wife he had two sons, one of whom died young; the other, my father, is the only son left. By his other wife, who is still alive, he has many children; both wives were Catholics. My eldest brother is married, and at my departure had only two children. I do not well know my paternal relatives, but the greater part of them I think are Catholic, the rest are schismatics. One is a knight, the others of high birth but of middling circumstances. On my mother's side, nearly all are Catholics, and wealthy; although they have lost much property on account of their religion.

"I was always a schismatic: the primary cause of my being so, or of becoming a Catholic, I cannot recollect. But it is most true that, moved by the instructions and holy life of my mother, I believed from my tenderest years that the Catholic religion was the best, and was afterwards, as I think, induced by her counsels and example to embrace it. Before any priest had been named to me, I had a vehement fear of death, and this for the sole reason that I was not a Catholic. Moreover, I was all the time greatly moved and incited by Divine inspirations; and implored with floods of tears the pardon of my sins and the salvation of my soul, whatever might become of my body. These affections were of very frequent occurrence during the few days before I had conversation with priests; and this in solitary places and when alone, especially when I earnestly used the prayer 'Creator of heaven and earth,' &c. About three years ago, while I was spending my Oxford vacation at home, shortly before the feast of St. Michael, my mother introduced me to the priest who afterwards reconciled me to the Church; but being ignorant who he was, I took him to be an ordinary person and thought very little of his conversation: and, since he was ignorant of my state of mind, he did not speak to the point, but on indifferent matters. Not long after this a certain priest arrived, a grave man, named I think Mushe. Conferring with him, as he had been sent by my mother, I thought him a grave and learned man: and his admonitions, together with his seriousness, and a certain censorious sharpness, renewed my former tears. Observing this, and wishing to try whether I knew and firmly held the chief truths of the Catholic religion, he affirmed that my little sister knew much more than myself, and proved it by putting some questions to me, none of which I could answer until I had heard my sister's reply. Other questions followed, to which I gave equally wrong answers. This filled me with shame and grief. Seeing me so ignorant in these matters he deferred my reconciliation until his next visit, giving me an injunction to learn as quickly as possible the things necessary for the faith. But before his return I had gone back to Oxford, where the first named priest finding me out reconciled me. His name was, I think, Sewell; he was a very aged priest from Rheims, formerly Fellow of Oriel College.

"I have suffered no persecution; for if any danger at Oxford threatened I would return home, and when I feared

that my grandfather would discover my change of religion I then returned again to Oxford. Lastly, partly because of imminent troubles, and especially of my weakness in the faith, I left the university, and going to London obtained letters of introduction from Father Wallis to Father Baldwin, and, assisted by Robert Fullwood,[13] afterwards embarked. Six others were sent at the same time, by Father Baldwin; one to St. Omer's, one into Spain, and three others with me to Rome."

The English College Diary states that "he entered the College as an alumnus, October 24, 1600, æt. 20, in the name of John Smythe, *alias* Carrington of Leicestershire, during the Rectorship of Father Robert Parsons. He took the customary College oath on the 5th of August following, and was ordained priest August 7, 1604. He lived with much edification at the College, and afterwards left to return to England for the recovery of his health September 15, 1604, but died at Parma on the 17th of October following."

Another scholar of the Jesuits of St. Omer's College, and afterwards of the English College, Rome, became a secular priest upon the English Mission. In his replies to the usual interrogatories put to the students, he says: "My name is THOMAS CLAYTON, of the county of Warwick. I am son of John Clayton and Ann Suffield, who have suffered much with great constancy, both in the loss of fortune, and by imprisonment for the Catholic religion. Both my parents are of the higher class; I have many friends, Catholic and Protestant, and several brothers and sisters, all good Catholics. My parents are in moderate circumstances.

"When I was away from home at school, in my blindness I attended Protestant sermons for a few months, unknown to my parents; but as soon as they heard of it they called me home with all haste and sent me to St. Omer's College, where I have studied my humanities for five years."

The Diary of the English College, Rome, states that he entered as an alumnus, under the name of Berrington, æt. about 20, December 4, 1636, Father Thomas Fitzherbert being Rector; he took the usual College oaths on May 1, 1637, and having been ordained priest at St. John Lateran, March 16, 1641, was sent into England, April 13, 1643.

[13] Probably Brother Richard Fulwood, S.J. See his Life, *Records*, vol. i. series i.

The following copies of documents, taken from State Papers in the Public Record Office, relate to the unhappy apostasy of John Jewkes, or Dukes, *alias* John Burton, in which he is stated to have been a Jesuit. Among the records of the diocese of Westminster is a list of "Apostate Regulars." Among them we find the name of *Dukes*, no doubt the same person. We have no Province records to show that he had been a member of the Society. We give an extract from the Diary of the English College at the foot of the documents. If Dukes became a Jesuit it must have been in England after 1618. His name does not appear in the list of Jesuits among the Clerkenwell papers seized in 1627. *Vide Records*, series i. "College of St. Ignatius," London.

Dom. Charles I. vol. lxxii. n. 42, 1627. "Bishop Thornborough, Worcester, to Secretary Conway."

Your honour may be pleased to pardon a presumption enforced of necessity, and to releeve a necessity otherwise subject to danger. There is one *Jewkes*, whom I suppose Mr. Gee in his Catalogue of Jesuits termeth *Symonds*,[14] desireth to confer with me. In this I pray your hon^rs^ direction, or rather sufficient warrant for me to speake with him, if you think it meete. I doubt not but to win him to our Church and State in all conformity. Otherwise for his boldness in seeking to speake with a Bishop I will count him to answere the lawe. If he may be serviceable to the State, I shall (upon warrant sent me) farther acquaint your hon^r^ how far and in what sort I have proceeded. I humbly take leave, leaving your honor in the blessed protection of the Almightie.

Your hon^rs^ humbly to be commanded,

JO. WIGORN.

30th July, 1627.

Dom. Charles I. vol. lxxiii. n. 36.[15] "Sec. Lord Conway to Bishop Thornborough."

He signifies the King's pleasure that he should have conference with one Jukes, a priest, but not to enter into disputation publicly, or urge questions of controversy.

Same vol. lxxiii. n. 58. "Bishop Thornborough to Secretary Conway."

Your lordship may be pleased to understand that according to his Ma^ties^ pleasure signified by your l—p, I have conferred with Mr. Jukes, *als* Symonds, priest and Jesuit, whome I find a good

[14] Gee's list says, "Father Symonds, a Carmelite, author of divers late foolish pamphlets. His lodging is in the lower end of Holborne."

[15] Conway, Letter and Minute Book, p. 277.

scholler, long bred in the College of the Jesuits at Rome,[16] yet upon conference with him he hath now willingly submitted himselfe in all obedience to his Maty and to his lawes wth promise of his continuance with constancy. He hath taken both the oathes of supremacy and allegiance, and hath subscribed his conformity in my booke, among many Popish recusants by me converted in this country. The manner of his submission and subscription under his owne hand, I have sent inclosed in a letter to my Lord Chamberlaine, because his lordsp. required it in his letter sent me, and in your lordship's absence moved his Matie in this business. But a copy thereof I have sent your lordship herein inclosed, &c.

JO. WIGORN.

Hartlebury, viii August, 1627,

Same vol. 581. 1627.

Memorandum.—That I, John Jukes, called sometimes by the name of Symondes, priest and Jesuit, doe this viijth day of August, 1627, willingly submit myselfe before the Reverend Father in God John, Lord Bishop of Worcester, in due and humble obedience to the King's most excellent Matie. And have the sayd day, in the presence of the sayd bishop and divers others, reverently heard Divine service in his lordships chappel at Hartlebury. And did afterwards the same day before the sayd Bishop willingly and readily, with all humbleness upon my knees, take the oaths both of supremacy and allegiance to his Matie, with my sayd obedience to the King's most excellent matie and my conformity to his Matie's lawes, I promise and protest to continue to my live's end. In witness whereof I have hereto subscribed my name, the said viijth day of August, 1627.

The following appears to refer to the same person. Extract from the Diary of the English College, Rome.

"N. 313. Joannes Burtonus alias vero nomine Joannes Jucks Salopiensis, annum agens 30, habens confirmationem admissus est in hoc Collegium ut Convictor inter alumnos summi Pontifici Pauli V. a Rev. P. Thomo Odorno, Rectore de mandato Illust. Cardinalis Farnesii, 22 Dec., 1610. Factus est subdiaconus, 13 Martij, 1616. Diaconus, 19 ejusdem mensis anno eodem. Missus est in Angliam, 22 Ap. 1618.

"Accepit Juramentum in forma consueta, 1 Maij, 1612.

"Ita est

"JOHN JUKES."

(Manu Propria.)

The Diary generally mentions the fact of any of the alumni afterwards entering the Society. He appears to have left before being ordained priest.

[16] The English College, under the care of the English Fathers S.J.

The Catholics of St. George's Residence, and especially of Worcester and the neighbourhood, had their share in the cruel persecutions of the time. We read [17] that in Worcester (1588), "Two old priests and two laymen had been for two years past often brought to the bar at the assize time, and being once asked by Manwood [18] the judge why they would not come to church, one answered stoutly, 'Because we know God's service is not there?' 'Whose service, then?' said the judge. 'Look you to that,' quoth the priest. Whereupon he commanded bolts to be laid upon them, and all that day to keep them fast in the stocks." Regarding these two priests, who became martyrs in prison, the Ancient Editor says further on, in chapter xiii., "Those that died in prison." "In Worcester two old reverend priests, the one of them so terrified at his apprehension that he lost the perfect use of his memory until a little before his death, when it was restored, he and the other there happily changed this life."

"An alms of milk being given to one mother Taylefathes, aged and decrepit, one Rogers, a persecutor that had before offered to discharge his dagg [pistol] at another Catholic that had but the use of one of his hands, he took this milk from the poor woman and washed his hands in it, saying she was unworthy to have alms, and that whosoever gave her anything should repent it all the days they had to live.

"Divers pursuivants dwell in the country. When they have wearied themselves in searching they send to London for their companions. Then they divide themselves into divers troops, and so search in divers places at once; and when one company hath so searched in one place, another company succeedeth in the same, continuing sometimes a month together in this order. Sometimes they give a fierce assault all at one time in one place, slaying all they find, that none escape to give warning to others. There done, in all possible haste, they gallop to the next Catholic house, making forcible entries, leaving nothing unsearched. After a little intermission they come again, saying they have new and more ample commission, and behave themselves accordingly. If any man

[17] "An Ancient Editor's Note-Book," Oscott College MSS., printed in *Troubles*, series iii.

[18] Sir Roger Manwood was made Justice of the King's Bench, October 14, 1573, and Chief Baron of the Exchequer, January 24, 1579-80 (*Troubles*, series i. p. 79, where see his brutal conduct on the Bench in the trial of Rev. C. Maine, martyr).

seems to resist them they by and bye carry them to prison, terming them rebels and the Queen's enemies. There shall they lie without remedy, either for liberty or their goods wrongfully taken away, their worshipful friends about Court telling some in secret, in this cause they durst do nothing, but were it either for robbery, murder, or any such outrage, they could and would help them.

"1588. William Brestock, having his house violently assaulted by pursuivants, and by them his wife stricken down to the ground, coming to recover his wife, who lay sprawling on the ground, and by them set upon, defending himself, was by them taken, his arms pinioned, his legs bound under a horse's belly, and so carried to Worcester Gaol. This happening on Good Friday, to the great comfort of the confessor, for that, carried along the country with many men in arms, which the pursuivants had raised in the Queen's name, he had a forcible apprehension of our Saviour's usage that day, and so rejoiced that he did in some thing imitate it. He after died in prison, annoyed with the corruption of his noisome lodging, leaving his constant wife and four children, the eldest not twelve years old, behind him, and nothing to keep them withal, himself before, for his conscience, spoiled of all." The Ancient Editor in his Note-Book, chapter xiii., 1590, again refers to Mr. Brestock, or Bredstock: "Two gentlemen there dead also in the gaol, Mr. William Bredstock and Mr. William Heath. This Heath was nephew to Mr. Dr. Heath, Archbishop of York and Chancellor of England. These gentlemen had endured much in prison, having continued there three or four years, and all they had, taken from them."

"Many Catholics have fled the realm, others live in obscure unknown places by contrary names. Some commend themselves prisoners to noblemen, whereof one so prisoner, his patience, demeanour, and purity of life were such that the lady of the said house said to some secret friends of hers, 'If all Papists lived so well as my lord's prisoner did, Protestants must needs be in ill state towards God.'"

"A farmer died in prison, despoiled of all he had, leaving his wife and eight children, all under twenty years old, to the world."

The annual reports for this district are very scanty, owing to the troubles of the times. It is remarked in them that the

peace of the kingdom was disturbed by the increase of the civil commotions, in consequence of which Catholics, especially priests, became the special objects of public hostility. Not only were the penal laws then existing rigorously enforced, but it was sought to exterminate the Catholics by plunder and confiscation of their property, and every kind of personal outrage. Consequently, the Fathers had great difficulty in obtaining anywhere a safe refuge, and could rarely find an opportunity of passing from one place to another that they might afford spiritual assistance to the Catholics, or of communicating by letter or otherwise with their Superiors. This is to be regretted, because during this period the Fathers underwent much fatigue and suffering in poverty, watchings, and dangers, and had thus more occasion of practising religious patience and zeal.

1635. This year, in the missions of Worcestershire, the fruits of the labours of the Fathers were again more plentiful, and the con·erts to the faith more numerous.

One of the Fathers in this district had gathered together some children of good family for the purpose of educating them, and found the reward of his zealous labours in their progress in piety and learning. Information of his proceedings was carried to the Council, and a pursuivant was despatched to the spot, who, with the authority and help of a neighbouring Protestant nobleman, assembled an armed force and surrounded the house. The Father and his pupils were apprehended, severely treated, and carried off to London. His house was examined, and two chests of books, and a third containing the sacred vessels, vestments, &c., were seized. The more bigoted Protestants earnestly recommended that these children should be committed to the charge of Protestant masters, and obliged to conform, but after much difficulty and delay they were at length restored to their parents, though the Father himself remained in confinement.[19]

[19] This school was at Mr. Leuson's (or Levison's) residence, near Wolverhampton. In the History of the College of the Immaculate Conception (*Records*, vol. i. "Stanley Grange") will be found the copy of a draft warrant issued by the Privy Council for the search of Stanley Grange, the residence of the Hon. Anne Vaux, where the Derbyshire Fathers had established a school. This draft warrant—which is preserved amongst the State Papers, P.R.O., *Dom. Charles I.* vol. ccxciv. n. 74, 1635—appears by the marginal notes to have been made applicable also to the search of Mr. Levison's house, situated about two miles from Wolverhampton; as also the information of Mr. Lumley, *Dom. Charles I.* vol. ccxcix. n. 36, October 8, 1635. This search, as we have seen by the above quotation from the Annual Letters for 1635, and as appears also

Dom. Charles I. vol. ccciii. n. 88. 1635. Endorsed "9 December, 1635. Two lres., the one to Sir John Persall, the other to Sir W. Wilmes, Kt., about 2 Children. A Lre. to Sir John Persall of Horsley in the County of [Stafford, the MS. torn] Baronet."

Whereas John Stanford, sonne of Wm. Stanford, of Pury Hall in the Countie of Stafford, Esq., being about [MS. torn] yeares of age, was lately found among other children at the house of one Mr. Leuson in the Countie aforesaid, where he was trained up as a scholler, under a Priest or Jesuite. In regard of his nearness in bloude, hee beinge yr grand child, wee have thought fitt to put him into your hands for the present, praying and requiring you to keepe him in yr custodie vntill further orders shall be taken for his educon, &c.

Dated at the Court at Whitehall 9 Dec. 1635.

Signed, Lo. Archp. of Cant.
Lo. Keeper.
Mr. Secy. Coke.

On the same paper (draft).

The Council to Sir Wm. Wilmes, of Sywell in the Countie of Northm, Kt.

Whereas Wm. Andrew, son of Wm. Andrew of Denton in the Countie of Northampton, gentn, being about 12 yeares of age, was lately found amongst other children in the house of one Mr. Leuson in the Countie of Stafford, where he was trayned vp as a scholler under a Priest or Jesuite in regard of his neernes in blood, you being vncle vnto him, wee have thought fitt to putt him into your handes for the present, requiring you to keepe him in your custodie untill further order, &c.

[As before] dated, &c.

On the same paper (draft).

Letter from the Council to Edward Newman of Gray's Inn, gentn.

Whereas John Atwood, son of Anthony Atwood of Acton in the Countie of Worcester gentn, being about eleven years of age was lately found among other children in the house of one Mr. Leuson in the Countie of Stafford, where he was trayned up, &c. [as in the above]. In regard of which wee have thought fitt to putt him into your hands for this present, requiring you to keep him in your custodie until further order shall be taken for his educon.

Dated, &c.

Dom. Charles I. vol. cccv. n. 5. "A letter [draft] to Sir Ralph Done of Dutton in the Countie of Chester, Kt."

Whereas John Blomfeild, a youth of about seventeene yeares of age, was lately found among others in the house of one Luson in

from the following copies of documents from the State Papers, was more successful than the one at Stanley Grange, of which the Fathers had received timely notice, and had dispersed the boys and concealed themselves. Notwithstanding this breaking up at Mr. Levison's school, the Fathers appear to have continued the work of education in another locality two years afterwards.

the Countie of Stafford, where he was trayned up as a scholler under a Priest or Jesuite, in regard of wch upon yr suite and promise to see the said Blomfeild placed at our likeing, or else remayne with you as a servant, where he shall be otherwise educated than as before. Wee have thought good to putt him into your hands, but withall wee must lett you know wee expect to have a good accompt of your undertaking for him. And &c.

Dated 23 Dec., 1635.

Signed, LORD ARCH. OF CANT.
LO. KEEPER, and
MR. COKE.

N.B.—All the above draft letters are in Sir John Coke's handwriting.

1637. In this year the Fathers found means to collect a number of boys for education, and a favourable report is given of their progress in piety, and in Greek and Latin literature.

1639. The Fathers of this Residence had the comfort of seeing the Catholics enjoy a more favourable opportunity of hearing Mass and frequenting the sacraments than perhaps in any part of England. A case is recorded, showing at once the danger of tampering with the conscience in the Sacrament of Confession, and its healing effects when rightly used. A certain Protestant woman, who had become a Catholic, had been induced by false shame to omit in her general confession two sins of her past life. In this state of impenitence she remained for nearly twenty years, constantly agitated by the consciousness of her guilt; but instead of seeking the simple and proper remedy she sank into despair, lost her health, and nearly her reason. At length, through the condescending mercy of God, she confided the cause of her suffering to her husband, a Protestant, who kindly and wisely called in one of the Fathers. Under his guidance, assisted by Divine grace, she relieved her conscience by a full and penitent confession, and was restored to health, both mental and bodily.

1641. In spite of the bitter persecution of the times, yet, through the grace of God, very few abandoned the faith, and an unusual number of Protestants were reconciled to the Church. One of the converts was a Protestant minister, whose reception, it was confidently hoped, would prove very advantageous to religion. Many Catholics, however, had been left without spiritual attendance. Some of the Fathers undertook the charge of this portion of the flock, and comforted and

encouraged them with great charity, often experiencing the singular protection of Providence in the dangers to which they thus became exposed.

1641. That the search for priests and Jesuits was severe at this period is instanced by the following report of a Parliamentary pursuivant deserting his search of Little Malvern Court:[20]

"These are to give notice to all those whom it may or shall concern that I, Charles Wright, messenger and servant to the Commons House of Parliament, have made diligent search in the house of Thomas Russell, of Mawborn parva [Little Malvern] in the county of Worcester, esquire for Jesuites and Romish priests; also Massing stuffe, Popish relics, Popish books, and warlike ammunition, but did not find any such in the house, as John Bayley, of Worcester, who was with me at the searching of the house, doth witness, as also that the said Thomas Russell is and will be ready at all times to attend the pleasure of the honourable House.

"Given under my hand, February 28, 1641.

"Charles Wright, messenger,

"John Bayle,

"... of the ... of Poyke (Powick)."

1645–9. In Worcestershire and Shropshire, the Parliamentarians were in possession of the country; but through the mercy of God they were less hostile to Catholics here than in other parts. Hence the Fathers were generally able to remain at their posts. One of them was seized while vesting for the altar, but he was immediately released on bail, as being the chaplain of the ancient Catholic family in which he lived, and was no further molested. Another Father was denounced by a man through enmity to the Catholic gentleman with whom that Father resided. On their appearance before the magistrate, the informer was asked whether he

[20] The original is preserved in the valuable collection of MSS. of C. M. Berington, Esq., of Little Malvern Court, who has kindly allowed the Editor to transcribe it. This lovely spot, so well known to the visitors of Malvern, was for many generations the seat of the Russells, and eventually passed to the Berington family. It was in the days of persecution a famous resort and city of refuge for the persecuted priests and Jesuits. The position of one or two "hiding-holes" in the roof are still pointed out: probably the ingenious contrivance of the martyr, Brother Nicholas Owen, who was well acquainted with these parts. Mr. Berington still keeps up the ancient domestic chapel for the benefit of his tenantry and the neighbouring Catholics. He possesses also a rich collection of MSS., relating principally to the ancient priory of Little Malvern and to the Russell family. These have been assorted with much pains by Mr. Parsons, late of Oriel College, Oxford.

had seen the Father receive Holy Orders, and on his replying in the negative, he was ordered out of the court with a severe rebuke, and the Father discharged.

The Earl of Shrewsbury, nephew of his holy predecessor (who had been the highly favoured guest of the Duke of Bavaria), after suffering great losses, had left the kingdom, providing, nevertheless, that one of the Fathers should remain at his seat to preserve the Catholics in their faith, and afford means of conversion to Protestants.[21] This Father laboured for both these purposes with great success. Through his exertions two Catholic schoolmasters opened public schools, which were attended by several Protestant children; and some Catholic females likewise kept public schools for girls. Catholics and Protestants alike wondered at the boldness of these undertakings. The Father, by his sermons and catechetical instructions, and the frequent missionary excursions which he made on foot, won the good will of all parties. He received threatening notices from time to time, but these caused no abatement of his zeal.[22]

Of the Fathers in the other missionary districts there is no other notice than the summary report that they bore their share of the common sufferings, were subjected to want and spoliation, lived in constant apprehension of the incursions of the

[21] The holy predecessor must have been George, the ninth Earl, the great benefactor of the English Jesuits, and the chief founder (along with the Duke of Bavaria acting under his influence) of the College at Liege, 1614. He died unmarried, and was succeeded by his nephew John, the tenth Earl, 1630. The place referred to was no doubt Grafton Manor, near Bromsgrove.

[22] This Father was, probably, he who in some ancient accounts and papers contained in the portfolio of the Residence is called John Brook, and is said to have resided at Grafton in 1639, though we cannot trace any Father John among those bearing that surname. In a MS. account-book within the same portfolio, in the handwriting of the martyr, Father Anthony Turner, one of the five executed at Tyburn, June 30, 1678-9, in Oates' Plot, are several notices which name this Father Brook. "John Talbot [Earl of Shrewsbury] took out of Mr. Brook's trunk at Grafton £100 belonging to his successor, lent it to my lord of Worcester, and engaged himself and his heirs to pay it. He did not." Again, "1645. Mr. Appleton gave £100, which Lord John, Earl of Shrewsbury, took out of Mr. Brook's trunk, as by his own note which I have is acknowledged, and not yet paid." In a list of "desperate debts" in the same account is, "Lord John Talbot's £100." In a paper endorsed by Father A. Turner are, "Mr. Brook's words to Mr. Standish before his death, written from his own mouth." It has no date. Among several other small sums of money named is the following entry: "Moneys of the Society, and belonging to this district, extant in a secret place, buried near to Tom Coachman's house, the same being as I remember four score and five pounds and nine shillings." This Father is stated to have died some years after in Worcester.

soldiery, and other dangers, and were often driven to flight or concealment.

1649. The death of one of the Fathers in this residence is reported this year. Father John Weston, *alias* Wright, a native of Suffolk, æt. 60. He had served in the mission twenty-six years, having been sent to it immediately after his noviceship. He was made a professed Father in the year 1632, and was highly esteemed by all for his religious integrity and exemplary conduct.

No further general reports appear to have been made until the year

1672, in which there were six Fathers resident in the district, and forty-two conversions are reported. Among the conversions to the faith was one of a young lady, the daughter of a wealthy knight. She had been brought to the faith in 1670, by the Father Procurator of Paris, who was then here, and the event having been omitted in the Annual Letters for 1670, is supplied in this year's report. Her conversion was the result of a miracle. While yet a Protestant, she was attending a Mass in the English Convent at Pont-à-Musson, in the year 1670, on the feast of St. Luke, when, as she frequently related both in and out of confession, she beheld the Sacred Host at the time of the Elevation resplendent with rays of light. Renouncing the world, she entered the English Convent at Rouen, where she gave a great example of constancy. Soon after her entrance, but before her profession, news arrived of the death of her father, who had left her a fortune of eight thousand pounds. Notwithstanding, she did not allow herself to be drawn back again to the world, but, firm to her holy purpose, she consecrated both herself and her fortune to God.[23]

[23] The Poor Clares of Rouen were sent there from Gravelines in 1644, but could not procure the necessary patents from the Parliament of Rouen till 1650. In 1651 the first stone of their convent there (now occupied by Visitandines) was laid by three daughters of the Countess of Portland, three daughters of Lady Brown (Montague), and the daughter of Lady Gage. Four of these ladies afterwards became nuns there. This convent is now represented by St. Clare's Abbey, Darlington. We have made inquiries of the Lady Abbess with a view to ascertain if practicable, who this celebrated convert was. It is just possible she may have been the holy nun, Mother Mary of the Cross, whose life was written by the Rev. Alban Butler in 1767. She was a Protestant and a lady of rank, and having gone to the theatre with a relative, King Charles II. was so struck with her, that her friends considered it prudent to send her out of England. In fact, she herself earnestly desired to take that step. Her friend Lady Danby (then Lady Bridget Osborne) accompanied her to Paris, where she was first brought to think about Catholicity. She there

MISSIONS, AND FATHERS CONNECTED WITH THEM.

Some of the missions of the Society in the Residence of St. George are very ancient, and probably anterior to the formation of the residence itself. Among these were :

Badgecote, in the neighbourhood of Bromsgrove the property of the Wintour family. *Cooksey*, the seat of Dame Helen Wintour, towards the support of a missioner for which, she settled in 1670 an annuity of £10, charged upon her estates, and payable to the present day ; and *Pursall Hall*, or Green, near Bromsgrove. These places became eventually merged into the most ancient of them all, *Grafton Manor*.

About two miles from Bromsgrove lies this ancient manorial residence of the Talbot family. The old manor house was destroyed by fire in 1710. The late Dr. Oliver, in a note in his *Collectanea*,[1] says : "The Grafton estate was forfeited to the Crown by the attainder of Humphry Stafford, Esq., and King Henry VII., July 17, 1486, bestowed it on Sir Gilbert Talbot, as a reward of his faithful services, and entailed it on the heirs male of his body lawfully issuing." Several missioners are mentioned in the old records of the Residence, namely, Father John [? Joseph] Brook, 1639 ; Father Lawrence Standish, *alias* Fisher, 165– ; Father Robert Grosvenor, 1654 ; Father John Terwhitt, 1660 ; and Father John Harvey, *alias* Barton, 1670. Father Robert Gravener (or Grosvenor), *alias* Robert

took the name of Talbot. According to Mr. Butler she was received into the Church about 1672. The records of the convent state that she was reconciled by Father Shirburne, a Benedictine monk, who later on told her of the English Convent of Poor Clares at Rouen, which she entered August 24, 1674, aged twenty-two years ; was professed September 8, 1675 ; chosen Abbess December 23, 1702 ; and died March 21, 1735, in her eighty-second year, in the odour of sanctity. In several places in the old records of the convent her name is given as Mary Parnell ; but the name Parnell has been erased, and "Talbot" substituted by a later hand. This being a famous Worcestershire name as connected with Grafton Manor, combined with the fact of the conversion being recorded as one of that district or county, raises the suspicion that she may have been the very convert named in the Annual Letters, all allowances being made for the writer of them, owing to imperfect information. Through humility, she would never acknowledge her real name and rank. We thank the Lady Abbess for the information afforded, and add this note solely with the view of eliciting further light on the subject, referring our readers to Mr. Butler's edifying and interesting biography of the holy Abbess.

[1] Preface, p. viii.

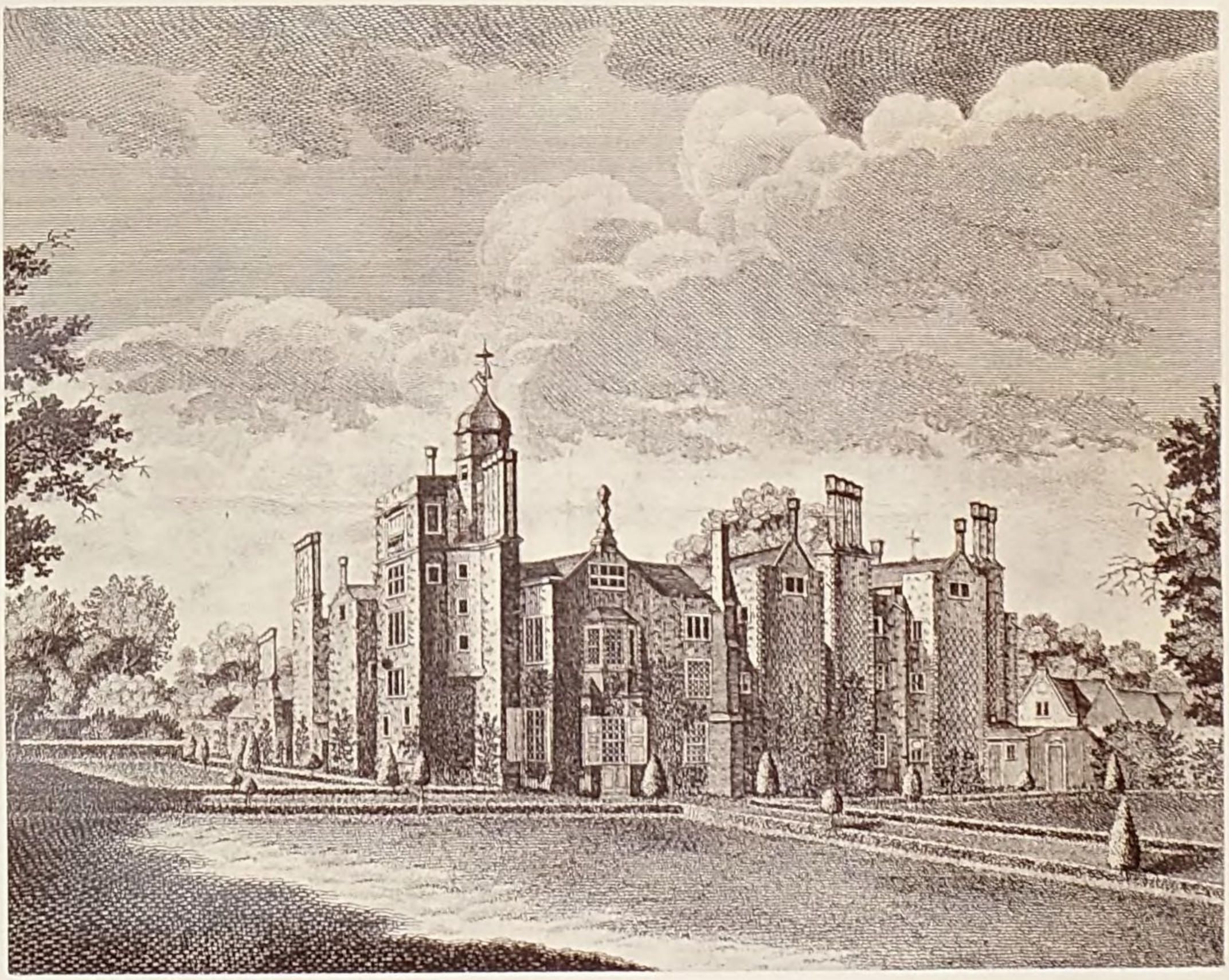
Arden, was a native of Yorkshire, born in the year 1582, entered the English College, Rome, as an alumnus, at the age of thirty-two, on October 26, 1614, and took the usual College oath on May 1, 1616. Having been ordained priest at Rome on December 27, 1616, he was sent into England on April 29, 1620, and in the same year entered the Society of Jesus. He was made a formed spiritual coadjutor on February 23, 1630, and died full of days and merits on February 14, 1668, æt. 86; after spending forty-eight years in religion. His biography is given in the Residence of St. Michael's, the Yorkshire District, *Records*, vol. iii. series vi.

Father Lawrence Standish belonged to the old Lancashire family of that name. He was born in the year 1605, and entered the Society at the age of twenty-one in 1626, under the name of Lawrence Fisher, which he bears in the Catalogue of members of the English Province for the years 1642 and 1655, as a missionary in this Residence or District. Lawrence was a favourite name also in other families of the neighbourhood, and the Rev. T. E. Gibson informs the Editor that the feeling arose from a special devotion towards St. Lawrence the martyr, some of whose relics were deposited in St. Law rence's Church, Chorley, having been brought over from Normandy in 1435, by Sir Roland Standish, knight. Father Standish was professed September 19, 1641, and was sent to the English Mission in 1636. We cannot discover the date of his death, but his name occurs in various old papers among the archives, and there is a letter from him to Father John Terwhitt, dated Grafton, January 22, 1650, requesting him to apply to Father Barton the Superior for a missioner or two to help them at Grafton, as the few there could not satisfy all.

Among the scholars' interrogatories in the English College, Rome, we trace a convert of this Father, who says in his replies in 1658, on applying for admission to the College: "1658. My name is George Slaughter, of the parish of Suckley, in the county of Worcester. I was baptized by John Ranstor, June 4, 1635, and received Confirmation at St. Omer's College, where I was also educated. I was converted from heresy ten years ago by the help of Father Standish of the Society of Jesus."

We do not however find his name entered in the English College Diary.

Hanley Castle, near Malvern, which in the last century was for many years the scene of the missionary labours of Father Felix Bartlett, gave birth to a worthy priest, who after



having studied under the English Fathers of the Society at St. Omer's College and elsewhere, passed on to the English College, Rome, for his higher course. On his admission to the latter College, he gives the following short account of himself: "March, 1658. My name is Thomas Weedon, *alias* Williamson, I am son of Thomas Weedon and Elizabeth Collins; was born in the parish of Hanley Castle, Worcestershire, February 12, 1637; and am now in my twenty-first year. I have spent six years in Brabant and Mechlin, and two years at St. Omer, in my education. My parents and relations are of a noble stock, but their circumstances do not now, as formerly, correspond; they are all Catholics; I have one brother and five sisters. I have been a Catholic from my boyhood; but I cannot affirm that my father was so from the same age; he was afterwards, but before I was born, liberated from the terrible yoke of heresy, he suffered much for the faith, and is in good heart for suffering more. It is my desire to embrace the ecclesiastical state, and having completed my studies to labour in the vineyard of our Lord."

The English College Diary states that he entered as Thomas Williamson, *vere* Weedon, of Worcestershire, October 11, 1658, and took the College oath, June 2, 1659; Father John Manners being then Rector. He was finally ordained priest and sent into England in January, 1663.

The English Province appears to have had an unbroken connection with this ancient locality for upwards of two hundred and fifty years, until the retirement a few years ago of the late Rev. Henry Campbell from the active duties of the mission on account of his advanced age.

Hinlip Castle and the neighbourhood, including Worcester itself, was probably the most ancient of all the missions, or at least its history is most easily traced through its missionaries. This place, once the seat of the Abington family, and a noted refuge for persecuted priests, must ever be held in especial memory and veneration in the annals of the English Province of the Society. The old mansion was founded by John Abington, cofferer to Queen Elizabeth.[2] Father Bartoli, in his notice of Father Oldcorne, says that the mansion is three miles from Worcester, and unrivalled in the county, scarcely yielding to any in the whole kingdom, &c. Hinlip was

[2] We subjoin a photograph from a woodcut by J. Ross, Worcester, 1776, of a south-east view of this noble seat. Annexed to the woodcut is a fine portrait of the founder, John Abington.

especially marked by the number and security of its hiding-places, some of which we shall have occasion to notice in the lives of Fathers Garnett and Oldcorne, and of Brother Ashley.[3]

The martyrs, Fathers Henry Garnett and Edward Oldcorne, are so intimately connected with Hinlip Castle and the Residence of St. George, that we here insert their biographies, as also that of Brother Nicholas Owen, the companion of Father Garnett, and who, being seized with them at Hinlip, expired under his tortures upon the "Topcliff" rack, November 12, 1606, "his bowels gushing out with his life." We here notice also Brother Ralph Ashley, the companion of Father Oldcorne in life and death.

[3] Harvington Hall, near Kidderminster, a fine old moated brick mansion, with its tall chimnies, possessed, we are informed, a curious hiding-place under the staircase, a portion of which lifts up like a trap-door and reveals the secret chamber and old pallet. It is now the property of Sir William Throgmorton. In the times we treat of (1605–6) it was the seat of the Pakington family, being in possession of Humphrey, or his father John Pakington, both rigid Protestants. Lady Mary Yate, daughter and coheiress of Humphrey Pakington, became a Catholic about the time of her marriage with Sir John Yate, and came into possession on her father's death, August 6, 1631. Her mother, Abigail Pakington, followed her into the Catholic Church. But the Pakingtons had been Protestants, and strongly anti-Catholic, from the time of Henry VIII., Westwood Park and other property coming to them from the spoliation of Church lands. Coughton, the seat of the Throgmortons in Warwickshire, often visited by Father Garnett and other missioners, had also its secret recesses; and an altar-stone is said to have been found concealed in one of the angle turrets.—[Communicated by C. A. Buckler, Esq.]

THE LIFE OF FATHER HENRY GARNETT.

In giving a full biography of our glorious martyr Father Henry Garnett, it has been thought better to introduce by way of appendix the various examinations and statements of the Father, now existing among the State Papers in the Public Record Office, as well as a copy of the arraignment from the original manuscript in the British Museum,[1] which is evidently the account that Father John Gerard had before him when writing his Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot. To this is added, in brackets, the copious and able comments of that Father upon the trial.

The case against Father Garnett was singularly weak; the multiplied examinations and statements that were extorted from him in the Tower of London, were twisted and strained in every possible shape by the ablest lawyers of the day, Coke, Popham, &c. The martyr was placed under examination no less than twenty-three times, when various unfair means were resorted to, such as threats of the torture (if he was not actually racked), prevention from sleep, and it is strongly suspected even drugging. Coke, in his speech at the trial, endeavoured to excuse the long delay, confessing that the Lords of the Privy Council "had spent twenty-two days in examination of this business." The trial itself had been for a length of time deferred from day to day in order to afford opportunity for collecting evidence, and it was only after every other means had failed, that the disgraceful (to use the mildest term) "hole in the wall" scheme was resorted to by the Privy Council. Yet after the closest attention paid to the communications between Father Garnett and Father Oldcorne in their respective cells by the spies employed in that shameful work, so little confidence did the authorities repose in their garbled, and in some instances absurd, reports, that their lordships actually condescended subsequently to apply to the tortured and condemned Father Oldcorne himself, for a true and faithful account in writing of what really did take place between them. The reader is referred to this manly and clear exposition in the life of Father Oldcorne.

[1] Additional MSS. 21,203, *Plut.* ciii. F. Papers relating to the English Jesuits, purchased of G. Bumpstead, November 13, 1855.

In fact a modern anti-Catholic writer admits that Cecil had no evidence to warrant him to arrest the Father, until they put a servant of Catesby, a poor man named Thomas Bates, to the torture, and wrung from him in his agony statements, "for which," as he afterwards declares in a letter written shortly before he was hung, "I am heartily sorry, and I trust God will forgive me, for I did it not out of malice, but in hope to gain my life by it, which I think now did me no good."

The same writer, speaking of the conspirators, observes that, long after they had taken to accusing each other in their confessions, they continued to screen their priests, the names of Garnett, Oldcorne, Greenway (Father Tesimond) never passing their lips; and then he places his own interpretation on their silence, and calls them liars, whose object was to screen their persons, not to clear their fame. But the admission of the fact of their silence under torture and even to death itself is sufficient for our purpose—fully confirming, as it does, the Narrative of Father Gerard upon this important point. Finally, the same writer adds that Thomas Winter, in all the ample declarations which he made in the Tower, carefully refrained from saying one word that could have clouded Father Garnett's fame.

Mr. Jardine, another adverse writer, in speaking of certain papers that are missing from the collection in the Public Record Office, observes that, "if the merits of the controversy respecting the criminal implication of the Jesuits depended upon the fair effect of the original documents now to be found in the State Paper Office, impartial readers might probably hesitate to form a decided opinion upon the subject." Fortunately a *literal copy* of the principal papers in question, viz., the report made by the "hole in the wall" spies, was written out by no less an authority than Archbishop Sancroft himself, and a copy of this, preserved in the Public Record Office, is reproduced in our history; also "copious extracts" (to use Mr. Jardine's own words) from the originals of *all* the papers were made by an equally great authority, Dr. Abbott in 1613, and published by him in his *Antilogia;* so that the opinion of "impartial readers" cannot be affected by the loss of the original documents.

Father Henry Garnett was born at Nottingham,[2] in the

[2] In this we follow the general opinion, though some confusion exists among his biographers as to the place of his birth. Father John Gerard fixes it in Derbyshire. "His parents were well esteemed, and well able to main-

year 1555, where his father, Mr. Briant Garnett, was master of the Free Grammar School, and by him he was brought up in the Protestant heresy. His mother was Alice Jay. As a boy he was educated in the famous College of William of Wykeham at Winchester, where he obtained the rank of captain, and by his modesty and urbanity, his natural abilities and quickness in learning, so recommended himself to the superiors that, had he pursued his studies at New College, Oxford, whither he was to have been transferred from Winchester, he might safely have calculated on attaining the highest academical honours. But he resolved, by the grace of God, upon embracing the Catholic faith, although his old professors at Winchester, Stemp and Johnson, themselves Catholic in heart, together with another named Bilson, at first favourable, but afterwards hostile to Catholicity, made every exertion to persuade him to remain. But abandoning all these fair prospects and allurements, and desirous only of the things of eternity, he was reconciled to the Church and crossed over to Spain, and from thence proceeded to Rome, where he entered the Novitiate of St. Andrea, on September 11, 1575, and made his noviceship under Father Fabius de Fabio, a man of remarkable sanctity and of good family. Pursuing his studies under such masters as Clavius, Suarez, Bellarmine, Pererius, &c., he became a great proficient in all kinds of learning, yet not so as to neglect the better part, for he gave serious attention to the science of the saints, and to the study of Christian and religious perfection. By each of the above masters he was greatly esteemed on account of his religious virtue; and one of these, the great Cardinal Bellarmine, undertook with his powerful pen to vindicate his character against the wicked slanders of English writers,[3] published after his martyrdom. He was em-

tain the charge of their family. His father was given to learning, insomuch that he made profession thereof, and taught a free school in the next shire town, which was of Nottingham" (*Condition of Catholics*, p. 297). Father More (*Hist. Prov. Angl.*) names Nottingham, "or, as others write, Hennary in the neighbouring county of Derby." A manuscript life of Father Henry Garnett, in the Public Record Office, Brussels, of which Collection of MSS. a transcript exists in Father Richard Cardwell's collection at Stonyhurst, says that the Garnett family had a seat in Derbyshire, but that Father Henry Garnett was born at Nottingham. Father Tanner (*Martyrs S.J.*), also gives Nottingham, but makes a curious mistake in calling it *urbs nobilis Derbiensis*.

[3] Modern anti-Catholic writers have revived these Protestant slanders against the martyr's morals, both as a boy at Winchester and subsequently as a priest, but without adducing any trustworthy evidence, or attempting to answer previous refutations. The reader is referred to a note appended to the report of the spies, given in the Appendix.

ployed as Penitentiary at St. Peters, and for some time was Professor of Hebrew at the Roman College, and during the sickness of the famous Father Clavius temporarily supplied his chair in the school of mathematics. Father Clavius found him so profoundly versed in mathematical sciences, that he opposed his return to England as a missionary, and, by order of Father General, he was detained for two years in Father Clavius' school. When that great Professor recovered his health and resumed his chair, zeal for souls weighed more with Father Henry than fame for learning. He accordingly, by earnest entreaties, obtained leave to be sent upon the English Mission, and left Rome in company with Father Robert Southwell on May 8, 1586, landing safely in England on the 7th of July following. When in England Father Garnett was known by the following *aliases*, gathered from various sources, viz.: John Marchant, Whalley, Darcy, Farmer, Meaze, Phillips, Humphrey, Roberts, Fulgeham, and Allan.[4] Father Weston (*alias* Edmonds) in his autobiography[5] thus recounts his meeting the two Fathers: "After the lapse of some days, when I had returned from my journey, the news was brought me that two of our Fathers had arrived in London. The tidings pleased me greatly; and, although these times of persecution were most terrible, during which many were delivered up to death, houses were laid waste, and Catholics were filling the prisons in every quarter of the kingdom, still it was no small consolation to me to find faithful and brave sharers of my perils in the midst of so many adversities. So I prevented

[4] Father Garnett, as the Superior of the English Jesuits, has been accused of being a man of many names and domiciles, spending most of his days and nights in evading spies, &c. This was the case with almost every Catholic clergyman, whether Secular or Regular, in those cruel times of persecution. And why so? They acted under dire necessity—they did not create the cause: Protestant bigotry and injustice, then at its height, was its parent. England's ancient faith must be stamped out by main force. Penal laws—such as had never before stained the statute-books of England, or of any other nation since the days of the early Christians—were enacted. The cry was, "Strike the shepherds, and the sheep shall be scattered." The sheep must be fed, or perish. Their pastures are the holy Sacraments and rites of the Catholic Church, founded in the adorable Blood of its Chief Shepherd, Christ Himself; and these can only be supplied and administered by the lawful shepherds, the priests: who, unlike the hireling, willingly expose their lives for the sheep. Hence the necessity of adopting *aliases*, and of seeking refuge in hiding-holes and "the dens and caves of the earth," and of resorting to every species of concealment that art and caution could devise; though vast numbers did, notwithstanding, fall victims of their ardent zeal and charity, as our *Records* abundantly prove.

[5] Father Morris, *Troubles*, series ii. p. 138.

all delay and hastened to the inn to pay them a visit. They were Father Henry Garnett and Father Robert Southwell. We saluted and embraced each other, and in that same place we dined together. On the following day (as there was no safe place in London, either in the way of inns or private houses) we left the city and travelled nearly ten leagues till we came to the house of a Catholic gentleman, and an intimate friend of mine. To him our appearance was a pleasure so great and desired (as the event proved) that it was not possible for us to wish or dream of any reception more loving or even devout." Father Morris observes[6] there cannot be much doubt that this house was Mr. Bold's in Berkshire, where the three Jesuit Fathers celebrated with such devout solemnity their meeting on English soil. And he gives a most interesting account of that house and family, and of the meeting which took place there.

Father Garnett spent some time in missionary work, and upon the final committal of Father Weston, the Superior of the English Mission, to Wisbeach Castle, in 1587, he was appointed to succeed him as Superior of the Mission, a post void of honour, full of danger and of liability to a most cruel death, which, nevertheless, he undertook with great confidence in God. No one was more actively sought out by the Protestants for death, no one lived in such a perpetual change of hiding-places, often most confined; besides peril to himself, the Superior was affected by the dangers of all, and had to sympathize with every one's troubles, chains, prisons, and death. Father More tells us that he so combined the arduous duties of a laborious missioner and an admirable Superior as to secure the veneration of his brothers in religion, the love of externs, and the esteem of all, being possessed of the keenest intelligence, a sharp and solid judgment, an extensive knowledge of affairs, readiness in counsel, and, what is rarely found combined with these gifts, simplicity, candour, and a most confiding heart. To these he added a wonderful moderation and gentleness, approaching to exemption from all feelings of perturbation; his manner was easy, his countenance pleasant and modest. He was, besides, a man of brilliant genius and learning, well versed in the arts and sciences, and a famous linguist. It was but natural that so rare a combination of gifts should win the affection and veneration of both acquaintances and strangers. And in the matter of the treason charged

[6] P. 140.

against him by his enemies, they could not abstain from praising him, acknowledging him to be a man of great authority and esteem among Catholics, adorned alike with many gifts of nature and of grace. The Earl of Northampton, who had a chief hand in the tragical fate of the Father, could not forbear expressing his admiration during the trial. Father Robert Parsons, Prefect of the Mission in Rome, observes that in the whole course of the eighteen years in which he governed the English Mission, a period of the most chequered and difficult character, not one of his fellow-religious, nor any of the friends and fellow-labourers of the Society among the secular clergy ever spoke or wrote to Rome a sharp word against Father Garnett—a most irrefragable argument in favour of his singular prudence and merit. He was a man, in fine, of whom Bellarmine did not hesitate to speak as incomparable in learning and holiness of life. Father Tanner observes that he governed the English Province with the utmost prudence, as appeared by the great increase of Catholicity throughout the whole kingdom, both of the labourers and of the fruits gathered; for whereas upon his arrival in England he found but one priest of the Society out of prison, at his death (1606) he left forty most profitably occupied. For the eighteen years that he was in office his meekness to all was such that no one ever reported of him but with the highest praise and commendation. The labourers themselves he formed into apostolical men by suitable admonitions, and at stated times collected them together to go through the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius, whence he sent them forth to the battlefield, as it were, full of fire and a terror to the devils. During these spiritual retreats they were wonderfully protected by the providence of God, for though their arrest often seemed inevitable, yet they always escaped, and returned in safety to their missionary labours.

Besides these annual retreats, he sometimes assembled them for the shorter retreat of three days, called the triduum of recollection, that they might refresh their souls in retirement with pious meditations, voluntary penances, manifestation of conscience, and mutual confession, ending with a renewal of religious vows. Later on we shall give an instance of the sagacity of Father Garnett, or rather his prophetic spirit in dispersing one of these meetings just in time to escape the sudden and unexpected attack of a band of pursuivants.

His departure from Rome was a source of great grief at

the Roman College, where his virtues and talents were justly appreciated. Father General Aquaviva himself, when urged by Father Parsons to send him upon the dangerous English Mission, pondering the uncertainties and risk of the undertaking, replied that he was greatly troubled, because by sending him there he was exposing the meekest lamb to a cruel butchery. Indeed, when a boy, he got the nickname of the *lamb*, which ever after clung to him on account of his mild and gentle disposition. So perfect was his meekness, that no opposite motion of anger or indignation ever manifested itself in him, not even when he stood arraigned upon a false and abominable charge, before an unjust tribunal, by accusers thirsting for his blood. In fine, his life and conscience were so spotless, that, to say nothing of the angelic virtue against which he never offended, even in thought, Father Thomas Stanney, who had been his confessor for the last sixteen years of his life, solemnly declared that in the sacred tribunal he could only find the merest trifles to name, such as scarcely approached to a fault at all.[7]

We find frequent and interesting mention made of Father Garnett in the personal Narrative of Father John Gerard.[8] He says:[9] "On my arrival in London, by the help of certain Catholics, I discovered Father Henry Garnett, who was then Superior. Besides him, the only others of our Society then in England were Father Edmund Weston [commonly called Father Edmonds], confined at Wisbeach (who, had he been at large, would have been Superior), Father Robert Southwell, and we two new-comers [Father Oldcorne and himself].

"I used to visit my Superior (Father Garnett) several times a year, when I wished to consult him on matters of importance. Not only I, but all of us, used to resort to him

[7] Dr. Oliver, in his short notice of the Father in his *Collectanea S.J.* writes: "Of the talents of this good Father for government, of the great augmentation of the Society under his auspices—(for he left behind him above forty members in the English Mission)—of his zealous exertions to promote the greater glory of God, and the prosperity of all our Seminaries abroad, regular and secular—of his undeviating attention to cement brotherly union among the labourers in the vineyard, without distinction or exception—of his charity for the distressed—of his candour and cheerful piety—of his moderate, peaceable, and loyal character—of his love of suffering—of his iniquitous trial and barbarous execution, but meek departure to our Lord at London on the 3rd of May, 1606, it is better to say nothing here than too little. We must content ourselves with believing that, with the wise and the good and the unprejudiced, his memory will go on increasing in esteem and veneration."

[8] The narrative is given in Father Morris's *Condition of Catholics.*

[9] *Ibid.* p. xxiv.

twice a year, to give our half-yearly account of conscience and renew the offering of our vows to our Lord Jesus. I always remarked that the others drew great profit from this holy custom of our Society. As for myself, to speak my mind frankly, I never found anything do me more good, or stir up my courage more to fulfil all the duties which belong to our Institute and are required of the workmen who till the Lord's vineyard in that country. Besides experiencing great spiritual joy from the renewal itself, I found my interior strength recruited, and a new zeal kindled in me afterwards in consequence.

"On one occasion we were all met together in the Superior's house, while he yet resided in the country, and were employed in the renovation of spirit. We had had several conferences, and the Superior had given each of us some advice in private, when the question was started, what should we do if the priest-hunters came suddenly upon us seeing that there were so many of us, and there was nothing like hiding-places enough for us all. We numbered then, I think, nine or ten of ours, besides other priests our friends, and some Catholics who would also have had to seek concealment. The blessed Father Garnett answered: 'True, we ought not all to meet together, now that our number is daily increasing; however, as we are here assembled for the greater glory of God, I will be answerable for all till the renovation is over, but beyond that, I will not promise.' Accordingly, on the very day of the renovation, though he had been quite unconcerned before, he earnestly warned every one to look to himself, and not to tarry without necessity, adding: 'I do not guarantee your safety any longer.' Some, hearing this, mounted their horses after dinner and rode off. Five of ours and two secular priests stayed behind. Next morning, about five o'clock, when Father Southwell was beginning Mass, and the others and myself were at meditation, I heard a bustle at the house door, and directly after cries and oaths poured forth against the servant for refusing admittance. The fact was that four priest-hunters, or pursuivants, as they are called, with drawn swords, were trying to break down the doors and force an entrance. The faithful servant withstood them, otherwise we should have been all made prisoners."[10]

The servant's delay enabled the Fathers to retire in good

[10] For the rest of this interesting account, see *Condition of Catholics*, p. xxxix.; also *Records*, series i. "Life of Father Southwell," p. 321.

order to the hiding-holes, after having stowed away all the chapel things; so that the officers, after a long search, were foiled, and had to retire. The Fathers who escaped were Fathers Garnett, Gerard, Oldcorne, Southwell, and Stanney, with two secular priests and two or three laymen.

Like a good captain, he was the last on such occasions to retire to the hiding-place, waiting first to see all in safety. Regarding this search and the persecutions of the period, we give the following extracts from a letter of Father Gerard to the Very Father General Aquaviva, dated March 17, $159\frac{3}{4}$.[11]

Last year was so stormy for us, as for all other Catholics, that, in addition to our other troubles, there was no possibility of our meeting. For though sometimes in the course of the year we were two or three together, yet we never could all assemble, either to take counsel on our affairs or to renew our vows. But towards the end of January, or in the beginning of February this year, while our enemies were taken up by the meeting of Parliament, and their plans for fresh persecutions, by coming at different times, and in two separate companies (that if it should please God one should be taken, the other might escape), we succeeded by God's help in happily accomplishing our desire. We now see in it the providence of God, for there have been but two quiet intervals of time in all this space, and these have been the very occasions chosen for our meetings. Our present quiet is far from consisting of the abrogation of unjust laws, or the free exercise of religion. It is but the expectation of still harder things, both in laws and in penalties. For very cruel minds are not contented with the blood and oppression of the innocent, but if they pause in their cruelty, it is that they may look forward to and plan worse things still . . .

We hope that these our meetings are as pleasing to God, as we feel they are offensive to the devil. . . . But we would not have our dearest and sweetest friends in ignorance of our difficulties and dangers, for in all our anxieties we feel this most present consolation, that there is no moment of time in which we may be undergoing sufferings, or fearing something dreadful, but that at that moment at least, some of our friends are feeling for us, commending us to God, making light by their prayers what would otherwise be beyond bearing.

He then tells us how they met on St. Luke's day, 1591, for the renewal of vows, and were freed from imminent peril.

[11] See Father Morris's *Troubles*, series i. "Life of Father Tesimond," taken from Father Grene's copy from the autograph, Stonyhurst MSS. *P.* p. 556.

That solemn meeting of ours was fixed for the three days that precede the feast of St. Luke. . . . The house we had chosen for the purpose of our assembly was that which we had almost always employed on former occasions. It was the house of two sisters [Eleanor Brooksby and Anne Vaux], one a widow and the other a virgin, both of them illustrious for goodness and holiness, whom, in my own mind, I often compare to the two women who received our Lord. . . .

Of a sudden there arrives a Queen's messenger. . . . Rosaries, chalices, sacred vestments, all other signs of piety are, with the men, thrown into a cavern : the mistress of the house is hidden away in another hiding-place. . . . On this occasion, as often enough on others when the pursuivant came, the younger sister, the unmarried one, passed herself off for the mistress of the house. . . . To all the other discomforts this is to be added, that in cases like this it is necessary to contend with men who are hard to satisfy [the searchers]. This the young lady always did with such skill and prudence, as to be able to control their pertinacity and talkativeness. She was remarkable at all times for her virginal modesty and shamefastness, but in the cause of God and the defence of His servants, the *virgo* became *virago*. She is almost always ill, but we have seen her when so weakened as to be scarce able to utter three words without pain, on the arrival of the pursuivants become so strong as to spend three or four hours in contest with them. When she has no priest in the house, she feels afraid ; but the simple presence of a priest so animates her, that then she makes sure that no devil has any power over her house. This was proved to be true in this cruel search in particular. . . . For, quite miraculously, one pursuivant who took into his hand a silver pyx, which was used for carrying the Blessed Sacrament from place to place, straightway put it down again, as if he had never seen it. Before the eyes of another lay a precious dalmatic folded up. He unfolded everything else, but that he did not touch. I should never stop if I were to write down the edifying things that have happened in this or other searches.

From the "Chronicles of St. Monica's Convent," quoted in *Troubles*, series i. pp. 151, seq., Father Morris gives a long and stirring account of another search at the same place, as described by Sister Frances Burrows who was an eye-witness, and herself the heroine of the scene.

We take the opportunity of inserting three letters from Father Garnett to Father Parsons. The first of these gives very interesting information regarding the persecutions ; the second is a curiosity as regards the cipher, and is otherwise historically interesting.

Copy of original letter. Endorsed, "Father Garnett to Fr. Rob. Parsons, September 6, 1594, About divers points of persecution." Address, "A molto mag. Sign., Il Sig. Marco Tusinga, Vinezia." [12]

✠

Good Syr,—Among so many crosses which now every day more and more do oppress us, this is one of the greatest that we have of late been abridged of that commodity which hitherto hath been of writing and hearing of you. I hope it be in part already mended, and doubt not but that it will continue for a while. Yet this I desire you to consider, that the safety of sending letters from hence as it now falleth out is greater than of receiving; and therefore it behoveth you to send with great wariness, for it were no small prejudice unto us if any letter of yours should miscarry, as I hear I know not what rumour one hath of late, but I hope it be false. Whereas by our ordinary means of sending there hath been no mischance, although we have been constrained to forbear them until now. A fortnight ago I adventured to try, and wrote unto my friend in Anvers, who I doubt not but hath let you understand of such occurrences as then I could adventure to write.[13] In the mean season I prepared myself to send a full relation of this year, hoping to have some large discourse in readiness before this letter to send you. But being coursed by my creditors, I was constrained to leave all my notes of sundry matters of edification, neither have I any means to come either by them, or by my alphabet, until I see further what will happen to the place of my abode. Yet to entertain your stomach, and to provoke your appetite against a full repast, I send you a dainty collation of Mr. Cornelius his happy combat, which I caused one of my friends to write as he heard it of those which were privy, and pressed almost always in the action. Another copy I send unto Claud. [Father General Claudius Aquaviva].

Letter of yours I received none since that which you wrote to meet with Mr. Henry W. [Walpole]. Wherein I am sorry I gave you such occasion to dilate of my obscurity. But I assure you that I always wrote as plainly as I could comprehend; and such things as I left out were altogether unknown to me, and as easy to be guessed by you as by me. Neither can we by any means know the circumstances of such matters as come unlooked for, and even as it were by mere chance unto us. The like I say of my cousin William's company; where I understand in general by him that things grow worse and worse, with no order but confusion and danger of great scandal. If you think it be not too late to seek to remedy such things, you may take order, but in this I could do no

[12] Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vol. i. n. 81.

[13] This friend was the famous Mr. Richard Verstegan. See note in *Records*, vol. iii. p. 437.

more than I have written already. No person may be named, or particularly required in change, for that were to breed further inconveniences than we seek to remedy; but it must be put to the free election of such as desire to leave their country for indisposition or other respects, and then will the other company procure that such shall desire it as are fittest to be spared. Neither can this be propounded to the council by any leave; but by those which desire to be delivered from thence; which they must do by writing to their own friends by ordinary post. Briefly, you see the end which we desire; you know to find the means.

Now, Sir, to write you in particular of all our broils here were an infinite labour, this year having been so fertile of troubles. I had written largely in my letter which I had prepared in answer of your last; but my friend durst not carry it, and so brought it me again. And in very truth it is a wonder to see how God hath protected our letters of late; for I could write of two or three several escapes almost miraculous, if I could declare it without revealing the means of my sending, which I should be very loath should appear in my letter, if it chance to be taken. Yet now will I briefly touch the things of most importance.

About the same time which Mr. Walpole was taken, Mr. Cornelius was apprehended with divers others, as you shall fully perceive by the relation which you shall receive herewithal. Soon after followed the arraignment of Patrick Collyn, who was innocently condemned for intending the Queen's death, in whose arraignment how Jesuits were maliciously slandered I have already written, and caused others to write. The death of Lopez, a supposed Jew,[14] although he showed himself at his death of the Queen's religion, is greatly derived [*sic.*] to the discredit of Catholics, although most unjustly; wherein this was most worthy to be wondered at, that it could not quit him of his supposed treason that he had immediately after he was moved thereunto revealed the case to the Queen. The two Portugals which died for the same cause showed great religion in their death.

The Friday night before Passion Sunday [March 15th] was such a hurly-burly in London as never was seen in man's memory; no, not when Wyatt was at the gates. A general search in all London; the Justices and chief citizens going in person. All unknown persons taken and put in churches till the next day, and no Catholics found, but one poor tailor's house at Golden-lane end, which was esteemed such a booty as never was got since this Queen's days.[15] The tailor and divers others there taken lie yet in prison. Some of them have been tortured. That mischance

[14] "Lopez was a Jew, the Queen's physician, living in London, a rich man, and knew no Jesuit in the world; nor was acquainted with any Catholics in England that I know of" (Father Gerard's Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot).

[15] This was in fact Father John Gerard's lodging-house. See Father Morris's *Condition of Catholics*, pp. xlv. seq.

touched us near. They were our friends and chiefest instruments. Of this also you have, I think, heard already by my friend in Anvers. That very night had been there Long John with the little beard,[16] once your pupil, if I had not more importunately stayed him than ever before. But soon after he was apprehended, being betrayed we know not how. He will be stout, I doubt not. He hath been very close, but now is removed from the Counter to the Clink, where he may, in time, do much good. He was glad of Mr. Homulus his company,[17] but he had him taken from him, and carried to Newgate, whence he hopeth to redeem him again. Edward, John's companion, was once taken in a garden in the country, but he showed himself nimble, leaped into the house, shut the door, and escaped away. [Father Edward Oldcorne].

Two months ago were taken eleven youths going from Chester towards Spain—all in Bridewell hardly used. A fortnight sithence two boats were gone down with eight passengers, two of the which were women, and five boys; but lying overlong beneath Gravesend, and the women crying out for fear of tempest, they were descried and taken all, except one old man and a little wry-necked boy, a charge of mine, of whom I wrote and had your consent to send him. Before that tumult of Golding-lane, about the latter end of February, they had laid a plot of these great stirs, and had prepared the people's minds by a proclamation, wherein they commanded strait watches to be made certain days in the week, everywhere for priests and Irishmen, whose late attempts to kill the Queen had been discovered; and all Irishmen not inhabitants in towns and citizens, banished England; and all persons not belonging to some nobleman, or courtier, banished the court, and commanded, for whatsoever suit, to repair to certain officers in places appointed near the court; and with their licence to enter the court; all passengers to be stayed who were not known, or had not testimony to appertain to some nobleman. This proclamation I had sent you in my letter which was burnt; now it is not to be found, neither hath it been straitly executed, and now almost forgotten. Since Easter a commission was granted to about twenty persons who are in London, and ten miles about, to search and inquire for coiners, priests, and lurking Papists, and to use towards them all forcible means for the disclosing of their dangerous practices; and this busieth them all the day long. The statutes of the last Parliament are rigorously executed, save that many servants are still retained because warning is not given everywhere to their masters, according to the statute.[18]

[16] "John Gerard," written in margin.

[17] This was Brother Ralph Emerson, S.J. Homulus being his *alias* name, and derived from his small stature. He was then a prisoner in the Clink. See his Life, vol. iii. series v.

[18] The statute here alluded to (35 Eliz. cap. i.) had been lately passed, and though directed more immediately against the Puritans, in some points equally affected Catholics. It provided that any person having

This week was the storehouse of Rochester burnt, to the loss of thirty or forty thousand pounds. Some say it was maliciously done by two Frenchmen, who are taken; others think it was done by chance. One Yorke, and Williams, both captains, were lately taken at Middleborough, and in the Tower. It is reported abroad that they meant to kill the Queen. . . .

It is time now to leave for the second year, although I have not yet received all for the first; but I shall die shortly; I pray you leave order at the place. I have laid out already all the second year's pension by reason that the young widow and her children have been settled of late. I pray you *consider whether it were not convenient to have here some Scotch or Italian Jesuits that could speak English, for such are not subjects to the law*, and many would deal with them which leave us. The money I promised I have in great part sent. More I cannot, for the creditors are bankrupts. I pray you see that what is sent may be beneficial unto us, for there is great need, and our purse is ever empty. This with most lowly commendations, and earnest entreaty of your prayers, I cease this 6 of Sept.

Yours always to command.

The signature has been cut off by some pious thief.

Same to same. Original letter, same vol. MSS. n. 82. This letter is endorsed: "Father Garnett, November 19th, about Cecil Fixer, 1594." On the address is written: "For Father Parsons." The letter is chiefly in cipher, and deciphered in another hand.

Good Syr,—About a fortnight ago we all met, and every one desireth to be remembered unto you. I have given every one charge for his part to get informations of historical matters, although they say it is very hard, and that they have from time to time sent such things as they cannot learn again; but what may be done shall be, and that will ask [take] time, and I hope you will accept what we are able to compass, the times being harder than ever, and we having no trusty friend which may show his face, and so we live in as great ignorance of our own affairs as yourself. I sent you of late a new copy of the chronicle, which I take to be the

attained the age of sixteen years, who for the space of one month refuse to attend the service of the church, and was present at any other religious meeting or assembly, should, on conviction, be imprisoned. It ordered all offenders, not Catholics or married women, who should still continue obstinate for the further period of three months, to be punished by confiscation and banishment; and it forbade all heads of families, after due notice from the ordinary, or from some other appointed officer, to relieve, maintain, or keep in their houses any one who should presume to violate its provisions. To enforce it, the Council immediately addressed letters to the archbishops and bishops, enjoining them to make inquiry in their respective dioceses, and forthwith to return a list of offenders.

author's own, together with a great work of D. Sargdall [? Langdale] wherein it seemeth he took great pains, but I never read it. The note of books of Protestants and Puritans are very hard to be gotten. I have used the best means I could advise, and yet have
f. Cecil by sea western part of Irld.
no assurance 204 was this last spring 448 constrained to 98; he
he a Scot the Council
said 404 was 330, and after information of 201, sent away, another
English still in prison Raulippe he dwells
331 being 484. Still his name is 5162342621614o, 40 42116634052
at Dunkirk
61 18143. This is certain. The other is probable, which I heard of one who said he had it of another honest man, who saith thus
saw letters from f. Cecil to the Treasurer's son
402526110470, 410 204 411 247 290, where he acknowledged being
west part of Irld. Spain to goe to Scotland
in 98409404 came from 184 11 3067 411 75, and that he was not
brought [? taught]
yet fully 2951611730311 8, but when he was he should understand, and thereupon he was sent away. The party said he knew
f. Cecil's hand the Treasurer
20431625221. This also is certain, that 247, inquired of
Fixer's host
296515635152 31675228 (for how they two fell acquainted I wrote
how do t h t h y friends and he
long since 3168162167183118 3114315, 401 404 well, but he is
gone and is he gone
30674263 401 6552 404 well 30674263, sayeth the other, I am very glad of it, with other words of kindness.

Here is no news that I can learn, for we live all as it were in a wilderness. Her Majesty hath been in danger by a short sickness, but thanks be to God, well recovered, and was yesterday at the triumphs all in yellow, that it was comfortable to behold her so fresh and lusty.

The marriage of the Lady Vere to the new Earl of Derby is deferred by reason that he standeth in hazard to be unearled again, his brother's wife being with child, until it is seen whether it be a boy or no. The young Earl of Southampton, refusing the Lady Vere, payeth 5000li. of present payment. Sir Thomas Wilkes goeth into Flanders, as it is thought for peace, whereby the arraignment of the three Jesuits, Southwell, Walpole, and Gerard is stayed. Gerard is in the Clink somewhat free; the other two so close in the Tower that none can hear from them.

The Earl of Essex hath the reversion of the Master of Wards.

Topcliff and Tom. Fitzherbert pleaded hard in the chancery this last week; for whereas Fitzherbert had promised and entered into bonds to give 5000li. unto Topcliff if he would prosecute his father and uncle to death, together with Mr. Basset. Fitzherbert pleaded that the conditions were not fulfilled, because they died naturally; and Basset was in prosperity. Basset gave witness what treacherous devices he had used to entrap him; and Cook, the Queen's Attorney [Sir Ed. Coke], gave testimony openly that he very well had proved how effectually Topcliffe sought to inform

him against them, contrary to all equity and conscience; so that all the court flouting Topcliffe, the matter was put over to secret hearing, where Topcliffe had the upper-hand.

priests from Rome
I look for 183 410 117 shortly, whereof I am very glad.

The old woman is well. Her children seek almost all to
Catholics
be 319; and some help of 4 [explan. word destroyed] would further it. And so having now no more to write I cease to trouble you, earnestly craving your prayers this 19th of Nov.

Yours always to command.

Father H. Garnett to Father Parsons.[19] Endorsed, "1598. Address, "Al molto mag. Sign. Il Sig. Marco O'Haviano, Vinegia."

Good Syr,—Our friend is now gone safe from hence. I wrote unto you in my last a fortnight ago of his companion whom I thought necessary to admit (having an old licence thereunto of Claude [Fr. Gen. Cl. Aquaviva] for a certain number not expired, so that I sent them over) that he might be a greater comfort and stay to our friend. He is every way sufficient. I pray you be a comfort to our friend; and for anything past, or for any new desire of his if it happen, let him know; you will not lose him; for so it is best for him, and us in my opinion; for many things must be pardoned to his infirmity of head, and he is generally here well thought of. Mr. Coleton and I are like to grow great again, and so is Mr. Mush as I think also. But we are now writing to and fro upon some complaints of his that a gentleman prisoner, in a book which he made in his extremity to his wife, spoke over partially of us. Whereupon, besides many sharp words which I can answer well enough, he said there be apostate Jesuits, and apostate Seminary priests. I had necessary occasion to answer these and other words of his though not to me, yet to two several parties; and told him that those which are lawfully dismissed are in as good a case as he, and perhaps in more secure; for that their vows cease to bind them; he had a dispensation in his, which, if there were not sufficient cause on his part, is nothing worth. Therefore I desire him to show those apostate Jesuits, or else keep them to himself. He writeth again kindly and bluntly, and marvelleth that I feel not the loathsome smell of Langdale, Perkins, and one Thomas Dury, now a married man in Scotland; who all, saith he, ran away, and were never dismissed. Now, although this toucheth none that ever were of this Mission, yet it were expedient to know whether they be dismissed. I expect Octavius greatly. All are well. And so wishing my duty to all, I cease.

Always to command,

28 January, 1598. H. G.

[19] Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vol. ii. n. 33.

Father Gerard, in his Narrative,[20] gives a very interesting account of the seizure of the house in Golding-lane, on which occasion he had a very narrow escape. We transcribe his story as another proof of the almost prophetic sagacity of Father Garnett:

"The hidden traitor [John Frank] wholly unknown to his master [Mr. Wiseman] was watching his chance of giving us up without betraying his own treachery. At first he settled to have me seized in a house [in Golding-lane] which had been lately hired in London for my own and my friends' purposes. From his master's employing him in many affairs, he could not help knowing the place which his master had hired for my use. Consequently, he promised the magistrates to tell them when I was coming, so that they might surround the house during the night with their officers, and cut off my escape. The plan would have succeeded, had not God provided otherwise through an act of obedience.

"My Superior [Father Garnett] had lately come to live four or five miles from London.[21] I had gone to see him, and had been with him a day or two, when, having business in London, I wrote to those who kept the house to expect me on such a night, and bring in certain friends whom I wanted to see. The traitor, who was now often seen in the house, which belonged ostensibly to his master, learnt the time, and got the priest-hunters to come there with their band at midnight.

"Just before mounting my horse to depart, I went to take leave of my Superior. He would have me stay that night. I told him my business, and my wish to keep my appointment with my friends; but the blessed Father would not allow it, though, as he said afterwards, he knew no reason, nor was it his wont to act in this manner. Without doubt he was guided by the inspiration of God, for early next morning we heard that some Papists had been seized in that house, and the story ran that a priest was among them. The fact was that my servant, Richard Fulwood, was caught trying to hide himself in a dark place, there being as yet no regular hiding-place, though I intended to make some. As he cut a good figure, and neither the traitor nor any one else that knew him was there, he was taken for a priest."[22]

[20] *Condition of Catholics*, pp. xlvi. seq.

[21] Probably White Webbs in Enfield Chase, called Dr. Henrick's house (P.R.O., Gunpowder Plot Book, n. 70. Note by Father Morris).

[22] See Narrative, *Condition of Catholics*, p. xlvi.

On one occasion after Father Gerard's committal to the Tower, his fidelity to his Superior, Father Garnett, was put to the dreadful test of the horrible "Topcliff rack,"[23] which nearly cost him his life. He was under examination by the Commissioners.

"'Did you not,' said Wade, 'lately receive a packet of letters; and did you not deliver them to such a one for Henry Garnett?'

"'If I have received any such,' I answered, 'and delivered them as you say, I only did my duty. But I never received nor delivered any but what related to the private money-matters of certain religious or students, who are pursuing their studies beyond seas, as I have before said.'

"'Well,' said they, 'where is he to be found to whom you delivered the letters, and how is he called?'

"'I do not know,' I answered; 'and if I did know, I neither could nor would tell you.' And then I alleged the usual reasons.

"'You tell us,' said the Attorney-General, 'that you do not wish to offend against the State. Tell us, then, where this Garnett is; for he is an enemy of the State, and you are bound to give information of such people.'

"'He is no enemy to the State,' I replied; 'but on the contrary, I am sure that he would be ready to lay down his life for the Queen and the State. However, I do not know where he is, and if I did know, I would not tell you.'

"'But you shall tell us,' said they, 'before we leave this place.'

"'Please God,' said I, 'that shall never be.'"[24]

Father Gerard then gives a thrilling description of his torturing, and of the instruments and horrid rack dungeon.

Father Garnett is again named in the Narrative on the day of the desperate escape of Father Gerard from the Tower: "I myself, with Richard Fulwood, went to a house which Father Garnett had in the suburbs,[25] and there Little John and I, before daylight, mounted our horses, which he had ready there for the purpose, and rode straight off to Father Garnett, who was then living a short distance in the country.[26] We got there by dinner-time, and great rejoicing there was on my

[23] For a description of the new and terrible invention, see *Records*, vol. i. "Life of Father Southwell."

[24] *Condition of Catholics*, pp. xcvi. seq.

[25] Probably his house in Spitalfields.

[26] Perhaps at White Webbs.

arrival, and much thanksgiving to God for my having thus escaped from the hands of my enemies in the name of the Lord." Father Gerard's escape was effected October 4, 1597.

In prosecuting the history of the persecution of the English Catholics one stands astonished at the numerous instances o the providence of God in the escape of the priests from the hands of the pursuivants, until God's ordained time should come for their capture. One of these is thus related concerning Father Garnett by Father Gerard.[27]

"I ought not, however, to omit an incident that happened during his [Brother John Lilly's] detention in the Tower, since it is in such things that the dealings of God's providence are often to be very plainly recognized. While he was under examination about me and others of the Society, Wade, who was at that time the chief persecutor,[28] asked him if he knew Garnett; John said he did not.

"'No!' said Wade, with a sour smile, 'and you don't know his house in the Spital[29] either, I dare say! I don't mind letting you know,' he continued, 'now that I have you safe, that I am acquainted with his residence, and that we are sure of having him here in a day or two to keep you company. For when he comes to London he puts up at that house, and then we shall catch him.'

"John knew well that the house named was Father Garnett's resort, and was in great distress to find that the secret had been betrayed to the enemy; and though kept as close as possible, yet he managed in a few days, by God's good providence, to get an opportunity of sending some little article, *wrapped up in blank paper*, to a friend in London. His friend on receiving it carefully smoothed out the paper and held it to the fire, knowing that John would be likely to communicate by the means of orange-juice if he had the opportunity, and there he found it written that the residence of Father Garnett had been betrayed, and that he must be warned of it. This was instantly done, and in this way the Father was saved, for otherwise he would assuredly, as Wade had said, have betaken himself to that house in a day or two. Now, however, he not

[27] *Condition of Catholics*, p. cxliii.

[28] This man, hardened against every feeling of pity and mercy, was the rack-master of the Tower.

[29] Spitalfields, a district without Bishopsgate, which once belonged to the Priory and Hospital of St. Mary Spital, founded in 1197, in the parish of St. Bodolph (Cunningham's *Handbook of London*, p. 463). Note by Father Morris.

only did not go, but took all his things away, so that when the house was searched they found nothing. Had it not been for this providential warning from our greatest enemy, they would have found plenty; they would have found him, his books, altar furniture, and other things of a similar nature. Father Garnett, then, escaped this time by John's good help, as I had done previously."

Father Garnett, in a letter dated April 9, 1598, addressed to Father Parsons, says: "There hath been terrible searching of late. This week past, they kept the house of Mr. Abington, in Worcestershire,[30] three days, beating down all at their pleasure, and eating up all the provision, and took away two servants, the master not being at home. . . . We are constrained to shift often our dwelling, and to have divers houses at once, and also to keep divers houses at those times when we run away, for we cannot remove the old woman[31] so often, and the place of my residence is like a little college, never without four or five. We were yesterday five of our own family [Jesuits], two being driven unto me for fear [Father Tesimond and perhaps Father Joseph Pollen], and continual resort is of others to me. There is none taken but he is asked for Henry [himself], and yet he scapeth, not by any worldly policy, but because he is unfit for the combat; for otherwise, he is as much a *pecorella* as ever he was, and so I pray you tell Benedictus Pererius, who Henry understandeth should say on a time, *Io mi meraviglio come quella pecorella ha scappato tanto*—'I wonder how that little lamb has escaped so often.' I remember him and other my friends oft to my comfort. I sent to Alphonso Agazzari [S.J., Rector of the English College, Rome] Father Southwell's breviary that he used in the Tower, but it is taken. He must accept my goodwill."[32]

Father Garnett made the solemn vows of a Professed Father of the Society on May 8, 1598. A very few days after he, with Father Tesimond, went to the house in Spitalfields. On the 6th of May he wrote: "Concerning profession, I mean myself to despatch on Monday next. . . The Saint [St. Michael] I have ever since acknowledged the protector and patron of my mission."[33]

[30] The chief residence of Father Oldcorne, the martyr, and frequently of Father Garnett, and where eventually they were both arrested.

[31] By the "old woman" was meant Father Robert Parsons' aged mother (see *Troubles*, Series i. p. 148). Note by Father Morris.

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] The 8th of May is the feast of the Apparition of St. Michael (*Ibid.* p. 149).

An Italian letter, undated, says: "Thus far the holy angels have not failed me, *potentes virtute*, who are to defend me, as I hope, for the greater glory of God; for, as I left Rome on St. Michael's day, in May, I chose that most blessed spirit, and all his companions, as the special patrons of this my mission. By the time I had spent nine years here, I began to doubt a little whether my patrons meant to patronize me any more, for I never could have expected to have remained in safety half that time. See, now, I have come to the end of the twelfth year.[34] I had notice many weeks ago to prepare myself for my profession, and as lately I received a letter from our Father General that I was to make it at once, I did so on the feast of St. Michael, just as if he himself had arranged it so."

Father Tanner observes that God so frequently, and in such a variety of ways, assisted Father Garnett in his government of the English Mission, and the progress of religion was so prosperous, that the Father was universally known amongst the Protestants as the "Little Pope," of whom neither the Church nor the Pope himself could produce the counterpart.

He lived chiefly in or near London, which he found more convenient for sending over new recruits for the English Seminaries in Italy, Spain, and Belgium; for all these youths he had to provide both lodging and clothing. He was burthened with the daily necessities of various Catholic families, and would even sometimes penetrate, in company with the gaolers, into the London prisons themselves, to bring opportune consolation to members of his flock. His portrait was painted to the life, and hung in the public thoroughfares of the city, to render his capture more certain; and more than once he narrowly escaped arrest at the hands of faithless Catholics, who were seduced by the large rewards offered by Government for his capture.

We meet with further interesting mention of Father Garnett in Father Tesimond's Autobiography.[35] He says: "I resolved on the following morning [he landed at Gravesend March 9, 1598] to find, if possible, the place of residence of the Superior of the Mission, who at that time was Father Henry Garnett. . . . My companion directed me where he thought it probable

[34] This clearly gives us the date of his leaving Rome, viz. May 8, 1586. That he entered England on July 7, 1586, appears by the ending of one of his letters—"Now in the last day of my fifteenth year in this wilderness, July 6, 1601" (*Troubles*, series i. p. 149).

[35] *Ibid.* pp. 177, seq., and Stonyhurst MSS.

I might get news of him, that is, to certain intimate friends of the Society, for the place where that Father lived was known to a very few persons, who could be thoroughly trusted." In a few hours he obtained the desired information. "It was about twelve or thirteen miles from London, near a village called Uxbridge, and the name of the house was Morecroftes. I and my companion walked thither, and arrived there an hour or two before sunset. We were received with the warmest welcome and the greatest imaginable charity. I found with Father Henry two or three other Fathers of the Society, who had come to confer with him on their affairs. This they were accustomed to do, one at one time and another at another. We had been with Father Henry two or three days at most, when one day, towards evening, a man came out from London on purpose to tell us that the Privy Council had had notice of that house, and that that night, without doubt, the Queen's officers would come to search it. It was a perfect marvel, and as such I noted it at the time, to see the great peace and serenity of soul that Father Henry showed when he heard this news. In truth, he proved himself to be an old soldier and experienced captain, accustomed to such assaults. Without being the least disturbed, he spoke to all with his usual modest cheerfulness, bidding them recommend to our Lord the necessities of that house; and, after taking some corporal refreshment to enable them to walk during the night, to get themselves ready, as best they could, to go one in one direction and one in another, following either the directions that he gave, or that they knew how to take. There were some, on the other hand, who showed great signs of fear, bringing all sorts of reasons to show how impossible it was to escape so urgent and manifest a danger. Good Father Henry, whom I afterwards saw perfectly calm, as he was now, on some ten other occasions in dangers greater than this, consoled and strengthened them all by a few grave words. He gave orders to hide in the hiding-places, which had long since been prepared for such an occurrence, everything that could show that the house belonged to Catholics, as books, altar vestments, pictures, and everything of the sort; and then he stowed away all things of greater value. Lastly, when it was dark, he sent away those that were guests or strangers, that they might return to their usual dwelling-places. Amongst these was I, the new comer, whom he directed, until he otherwise disposed of me, to go towards London, with directions that some of us should wait for him at

a village called Brentford, about half way between the house we were leaving and London. His object was that we should go together to another house he had in London, which he kept on purpose to be able to retire to it in similar emergencies."

All arrived safely at Brentford, whence they proceeded, with Father Garnett, in a boat, by the Thames, to London, and reached the house "in the suburbs, near a place called the Hospital" (Spitalfields). This house served them for some time as a place of concealment, but very soon afterwards, in July, 1599, as we have already seen, it was discovered and broken up.

We find the name of Father Garnett standing at the head of the list of Jesuits which we have so often had occasion to refer to in the course of our *Records*, viz., "The names of the Jesuits in England, with the places of their abode."[36] This document is endorsed by Cecil, "A note of the Jesuits that lurk in England."

Mr. Garnett, with Mrs. Brooksby, of Leicestershire, at Arundell House. He hath lodgings of his own in London.

On March 24, 1603, Queen Elizabeth was called out of this life, and King James I. succeeded to the throne of England. He had given great hopes and even promises to the Catholics before his coming to the crown, that he would put a stop to their sufferings and grant them some toleration at least of their religion. But they quickly found that he was not disposed to make good these promises, and that, instead of repealing or qualifying any of the penal statutes of Elizabeth, he promulgated new laws and additional severities against the professors of the ancient religion.

The reader is referred to chapter xvii. of Father Gerard's Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot—printed from the original MS. at Stonyhurst College, in Father Morris' *Condition of Catholics*—for a summary of the penal statutes against Catholics and their religion. His first few chapters give a very full exposition of the desperate grievances of Catholics, which finally brought on the Gunpowder Plot conspiracy. Father Gerard says:[37] "They made it death to receive the absolution of a priest; yea, death to harbour a priest in your house, or to give him a cup of drink, or any assistance in his need; death to persuade any to embrace the Catholic religion. They laid the *præmunire*, which is a punishment worse than death, for keeping an *Agnus Dei*, or hallowed grains, or such-like comforts

[36] *Dom. James I.* vol. vii. n. 50, 1603. [37] P. 15.

of soul that come from Rome. Finally, whatsoever the wit or malice of the least pitiful hearts could find out, all that was inflicted and laid upon our backs."

The majority of Catholics in the country, though finding their hopes sadly disappointed, submitted to this new cross, after the many others which they had endured, and prepared to bear it with Christian patience. But some few, about fourteen in all, headed by Mr. Catesby, were driven to desperation by these additional inflictions and the treacherous conduct of James, and conceived the mad and wicked design called the Gunpowder Plot, for a full account of which the reader is referred to the Narrative of Father Gerard.

Mr. Catesby, its chief promoter, either of his own accord or at the instigation of a certain Minister of State[38] (supposed to have had a great hand in the contrivance of the Plot, and to have been particularly anxious to draw the Jesuits into a share in the odium of it), laid open the design in confession to Father Greenway (or Greenwell), whose true name was Tesimond, S.J. The Father represented to him the wickedness of the project, but could not prevail upon him to desist; however, Catesby consented that Father Tesimond should communicate the case under the seal of confession to Father Garnett; and if the matter should otherwise come to light, he gave leave that both one and the other might then make use of the knowledge which he thus imparted to them, and not else. Father Garnett was horror-struck at the proposal, and, as he could not disclose it, laboured at least to prevent its execution, and he so far prevailed that Mr. Catesby promised he would attempt nothing without the consent and knowledge of the Holy See, which Father Garnett knew well he would never obtain.

Father Gerard, in chapter v. of his important Narrative, tells us of the conduct of Father Garnett upon his suspicions being aroused.

In the meantime Father Garnett understanding by some friends that Mr. Catesby was much missing from the places where he was wont continually to resort for spiritual helps; and hearing also, that he and other gentlemen of his forward humour did keep much together and had many secret meetings, he began to suspect they had something in hand that might tend to some commotion and that they did labour to get adherents for some attempt to be performed in forcible manner. Whereupon he wrote presently to his

[38] Challoner's *Missionary Priests*, Appendix.

Superiors at Rome, that by their means there might be procured from His Holiness a prohibition to be sent unto Catholics from attempting anything by way of force, and of this kind he wrote divers letters which myself have seen since that time. And having had good commodity to see the copies of them lately in a place where they are safely kept, I will set down his own words written in several letters, that the reader may see his wise and quiet proceeding and the mild spirit of the man, much different from the calumnious reports his enemies have given of him concerning this action and directly contrary to the turbulent spirit of those that have been professed teachers of heresy both in those and other countries.

And first he wrote one letter to his Superiors in the year 1604, dated on the 29 of August, whilst the Spanish treaty for peace was yet in hand and some hope yet living in Catholics that their peace would also be included, in which he hath these words (showing how difficult a matter it was for Catholics to be heard in their own cause even by some of those that were to plead for them). "Some," saith he, "are so jealous of their peace that whosoever dealt earnestly with them to further religion, they sticked not to say that they were seditious and statesmen. 'Nunquid pax est perniciosa religioni?'[39] said one of them. But no wise men misliked the peace, and we hope for good of religion, which Catholics do patiently expect." In the same letter of Father Garnett's one may see also what difficulty he had on the other side with some Catholics to keep them quiet if some mitigation should not be obtained for them after so long expectance, wherein he meant belike Mr. Catesby and some such whom he most feared, about which he wrote these words following in cypher: "If the affair of toleration go not well, Catholics will no more be quiet. What shall we do? Jesuits cannot hinder it. Let Pope forbid all Catholics to stir." These are his words, which sufficiently declare both his desires and endeavours to further peace and to hinder the contrary.

About a month after he wrote another letter in answer of one he had received from his Superiors not long before (as I perceive by the party that hath the keeping of these letters), wherein they did require to be informed whether himself or any of the Society in England were against the peace, or did favour or further unquiet proceedings in any respect; for that such an information had been sent to Padua out of England, but not known by whom, unto which he answered as followeth: "That which was written to Padua, that the King is much moved against Catholics through the fervour of some Jesuits, is known to be false here by all, as well enemies as friends. For they were the setters on of the suit for peace, and the Agent always used their counsel, and without their credit and friends he had never gone so forward. Besides, an Earl of great account commended publicly the Jesuits in the Parliament House,

[39] "Can peace be hurtful to religion?"

as persons wise, learned, and of sincere conscience, and great setters forward of peace. In Watson's business it is well known how many had been entangled, and what danger would have followed if they had not hindered.[40] For although they cannot hinder what every tumultuous head intendeth, yet can they carry with them to peaceable courses the best and most Catholics. Finally, our enemies see our courses and stick not to say that we flatter the Council, whose good opinion we have gotten. Thus humbly saluting yourself and all our friends, I cease this 21 of September." Thus the good Father, in whose words we may see how, with truth and sincere dealing, he was able, and had need to defend himself and his Company from virulent surmises and false informations on both sides; some informing they did bend to the one extremity, and some thinking they did lean unto the other; but virtue is in the mean, in which path both he and his did walk.

Father Garnett began to suspect that the gentlemen aforesaid had something in their heads, and perceived by divers words and signs, that they were the more strange with the Society; and as it were offended that the Society were still so earnest to persuade all men to expect the providence of God, and the help that might be procured by the mediation of other Princes, wherein also they assured all Catholics that His Holiness would effectually procure them to do their best. These gentlemen were impatient to hear of any longer stay upon unlikely hopes, and therein esteemed the Society hinderers of their good, as may appear by a letter of Father Garnett, written on the 8th of May, 1605, wherein he hath these words set down all in cypher: "All are desperate, divers Catholics are offended with Jesuits; they say that Jesuits do impugn and hinder all forcible enterprises. I dare not inform myself of their affairs, because of the prohibition of Father General for meddling in such affairs." Then out of the cypher followeth: "And so I cannot give you exact account: this I know by mere chance." Thus much Father Garnett, whereby may appear both what commandment he had received from his Superiors and how carefully he performed it, even to the offence of these forward-minded Catholics, who were then well advanced in their cruel enterprise. For this was after they had left the mine, and hired the cellar, as I said in the last chapter, as more commodious for their purpose. But of all that Father Garnett had not then the least imagination, only so much as he gathered by generalities he informed his Superiors that they might hinder. Whereupon, having soon after received answer of these from Father Parsons, with strict charge in the name of His Holiness, with Father

[40] Watson's plot was revealed to Father Gerard, who informed Father Garnett, and he immediately took steps to make it known. The intention appears to have been to seize the King's person whilst hunting. See *Condition of Catholics*, p. 74.

General's letters also to the same effect, that he and his should continue, by all means possible, to hinder any insurrection or undutiful proceedings against his Majesty or the State. Unto those letters Father Garnett made this answer following, dated July 24, of the same year 1605.[41]

Magnifice Domine,—Accepimus Dominationis vestræ litteras, quas eâ quâ par est reverentiâ erga suam Sanctitatem et vestram Paternitatem amplectimur. Et quidem pro meâ parte quater hactenus tumultum impedivi. Nec dubium est quin publicos omnes armorum apparatus prohibere possimus; cum certum sit multos Catholicos absque nostro consensu nihil ejusmodi (nisi urgente necessitate) attentare velle. Duo tamen sunt quæ nos valde sollicitos tenent. Primum ne alii fortassis in unâ aliquâ Provinciâ ad arma convolent, unde alios ipsa necessitas ad similia studia compellat. Sunt enim non pauci qui nudâ suæ Sanctitatis jussione cohiberi non possunt. Ausi sunt enim, vivo Papâ Clemente, interrogare, num posset Papa illos prohibere, quominus vitam suam defendant? Dicunt insuper, suorum secretorum Presbyterum nullum fore conscium, nominatim vero de nobis conqueruntur etiam amici nonnulli nos illorum molitionibus obicem ponere. Atque ut hos aliquo modo leniremus et saltem tempus lucraremur, ut dilatione aliquâ adhiberi possint congrua remedia, hortati sumus ut communi consilio aliquem ad Sanctissimum mitterent, quod factum est, eumque ad Illustrissimum Nuncium in Flandriam direxi, ut ab ipso suæ Sanctitati commendetur; scriptis etiam litteris, quibus eorum sententiam exposui, et rationes pro utrâque parte. Hæ litteræ fuse scriptæ ac plenius fuere, tutissime enim transferentur. Atque hæc de primo periculo. Alterum est aliquanto deterius, quia periculum est ne privatim aliqua proditio ut vis Regi offeratur, et hoc pacto omnes Catholici ad arma compellantur. Quare, meo quidem judicio duo necessaria sunt; primum ut sua Sanctitas præscribat quid quoquo in casu agendum sit; deinde ut sub censuris omnem armorum vim Catholicis prohibeat, idque Brevi publice edito, cujus occasio obtendi potest nuper excitatus in Walliâ tumultus qui demum in nihilum recidit. Restat ut (cum in pejus omnia quotidie prolabantur) oremus S. Sanctitatem his tantis periculis ut brevi necessarium aliquod remedium adhibeat, cujus sicut et Rdæ. Ptis. vræ. benedictionem imploramus.[42]

Londini, 24 Julii, 1605. Magcæ. Dnis. Væ. Servus
HENRICUS G."

[41] *Condition of Catholics*, pp. 76, seq. In *Dom. James I.* vol. xiv. n. 41, are copies of Father General's letter to Father Garnett of June 25, 1605, and of Father Garnett's answer of the 24th of July.

[42] "We have received your letters and accept them with all the reverence due to His Holiness and your Paternity. For my part, four times, up to the present, I have hindered disturbances. Nor is there any doubt that we can prevent all public taking up of arms, as it is certain that many Catholics would never attempt anything of this sort without our

Father Gerard after observing upon these letters, and the efforts of Father Garnett to suppress disturbances and obtain at least a delay until a cooling card might be sent from Rome, in answer of this his letter, proceeds to give extracts from other letters of Father Garnett : one of the 28th of August,

Wherein (having first declared how both his houses were discovered unto the Council, and he thereby utterly unfurnished of a safe place, and thereupon resolved to spend most of the summer in travel to visit a holy well of St. Winifred, which is a great pilgrimage in England, and to do what good he could at friends' houses by the way, both going and coming, until a fit house could be provided for him, wherein he might settle for the winter) ; this declared, he wrote as followeth : "And for anything we can see, Catholics are quiet, and likely to continue their old patience, and to trust to the King or his son to remedy all in time. The increase of Catholics is great, and I hope in this journey (which I undertake to-morrow, both for health and want of a house) I shall have occasion of much good. I leave for

consent, except under the pressure of a great necessity. But two things make us very anxious. The first is lest some in some one province should fly to arms, and that then very necessity should compel others to like courses. For there are not a few who will not be kept back by a mere prohibition of His Holiness. There were some who dared to ask, when Pope Clement was alive, whether the Pope could prohibit their defending their lives. They further say that no priest shall know their secrets ; and of us by name even some friends complain that we put an obstacle in the way of their plans. Now to soften these in some way, and at least to gain time, that by delay some fitting remedy may be applied, we have advised them that by common consent they should send some one to the Holy Father, which they have done, and I have sent him into Flanders to the Nuncio, that he may commend him to His Holiness, and I have sent by him letters explaining their opinions and the reasons on both sides. These letters are written at some length, as they will be carried very safely. And this for the first danger. The other is somewhat worse, for the danger is lest secretly some treason or violence be shown to the King, and so all Catholics may be compelled to take arms. Wherefore, in my judgment, two things are necessary : first, that His Holiness should prescribe what in any case is to be done ; and then, that he should forbid any force of arms to the Catholics under censures, and by Brief publicly promulgated, an occasion for which can be taken from the disturbance lately raised in Wales, which has at length come to nothing. It remains that as all things are daily becoming worse, we should beseech His Holiness soon to give a necessary remedy for these great dangers, and we ask his blessing and that of your Paternity."

[Dr. Lingard in his Appendix to vol. vii. p. 541, speaking of the difficulty presented in this letter, "where Garnett says on July 24 that he has despatched the common messenger to the Nuncio in Flanders, whereas it is well known that Baynham the messenger did not leave England before September," proceeds to say in explanation: "It now appears to me that Garnett has been misunderstood. He does not say that he had actually despatched the messenger to the Nuncio, but that he had directed him, 'direxi,' which may mean nothing more than that he had given to him instructions with letters of credence. Now it was very possible that, after he had done this, events might happen to prevent the immediate departure of Baynham, or to retard it for a few weeks, in which supposition the letter will perfectly agree with the fact."]

substitute," &c. And so he proceedeth to show whom he left to despatch his London business in his absence. But where Father Garnett said in this letter that for ought he could see Catholics were quiet, his meaning was, no doubt, quiet from any attempts, as he supposed. For as for other quietness, or repose from persecution, you shall see what quiet there was by another letter of his written in October following, towards the end of his journey; which, being the true relation of the present state of things to be seen in such a man's letter, I think it best to set it down verbatim: "My very loving Sir, we are to go within few days nearer London, yet are we unprovided of a house, nor can find any convenient for any long time. But we must be fain to borrow some private house for a time, and live more privately until this storm be overblown. For most strict inquiries are practised, wherein if my hostess be not quite undone, she speedeth better than many of her neighbours. The courses taken are more severe than in Queen Elizabeth's time. Every six weeks is a several court; juries appointed to indict, present, find the goods of Catholics, prize them, yea in many places to drive away whatsoever they find "contra ordinem juris," and put the owners, if perhaps Protestants, to prove that they be theirs, and not of recusants with whom they deal. The Commissioners, in all counties, are the most earnest and base Puritans, whom otherwise the King discountenanceth. The prisoners at Wisbeach are almost famished; they are very close, and can have no help from abroad; but the King allowing a mark a week for each one, the keeper maketh his gains, and giveth them meat but three days a week. If any recusant buy his goods again, they inquire diligently if the money be his own, otherwise they would have that too. In fine, if these courses hold, every man must be fain to redeem once in six months the very bed he lieth on. And hereof (that is of twice redeeming) besides other precedents, I find one in this lodging of ——, where now I am." (In his letter it is described, but here not fit to set down.) "The judges now openly protest that the King now will have blood, and hath taken blood in Yorkshire; that the King hath hitherto stroked Papists, but now will strike. And this is without any least desert of Catholics. The execution of two in the North is certain, and whereas it was done upon cold blood, that is, with so great stay after their condemnation, it argueth a deliberate resolution of what we may expect. So that there is no hope that [Pope] Paul [V.] can do anything; and whatsoever men give out there, of easy proceedings with Catholics, is mere fabulous. And yet I am assured, notwithstanding, that the best sort of Catholics will bear all their losses with patience. But how these tyrannical proceedings of such base officers may drive particular men to desperate attempts, that I cannot answer for. The King's wisdom will foresee. In my journey," &c. So he proceedeth to relate some particular occurrence that happened in his journey not needful here to be set down, yet towards the end of the letter he setteth down this: "I

have a letter from Field, in Ireland, who telleth me that of late there was a very severe proclamation against all Ecclesiastical persons, and a general command for going to the church, with a solemn protestation that the King never promised nor meant to give toleration." All these are Father Garnett's words truly and sincerely set down as they lie in his letter written by his own hand, dated October 4, 1605,[43] which I am the more glad I lit on, because it doth agree so just with my former relation of the state of England touching persecution of Catholics before the time of this late conspiracy; whereby some may see, by the plain words of so grave a witness as Father Garnett was, how much they are deceived, when they think that the persecution was caused by the conspiracy and not, *e contra*, the conspiracy intended and attempted by those gentlemen out of impatience to bear so great abuses, and that from so base and cruel enemies as the Puritans are, who were everywhere made princes over Catholics, though otherwise not thought worthy to be esteemed or countenanced.

All these, I say, be Father Garnett his letters, whereof I have seen the copies and have truly set down his own words as they are in the same (as I assure the reader upon my conscience), and the letters themselves, as I understand for certain, are as yet to be seen in Rome under his own hand, if occasion require. And by all these it is most apparent that Father Garnett was as careful as a man could be, to observe the strict commandment he had received both from His Holiness and from Father General and Father Parsons his Superiors not to assent to any tumult, but to use all means he could to keep Catholics in quiet and in their former long combined patience, which he performed of his part with all sorts, and therein prevailed with the most and the best, as himself noteth. And how effectual his persuasions were, may also appear in that, when the gentlemen were up in arms, no Catholic of account would come to assist them, no, not those who were hard by the place; and men of great power, much greater than those that were risen: yea and some of them near of kindred, some nearly allied unto them; and yet they would neither go, nor send them any assistance; yea, they shut their gates against them, when others came to demand it. Such was their resolution to obey the order they had received and to keep themselves quiet, according to the commandment they had from His Holiness, by the means of Father Garnett made known unto them. And whereas, Father Garnett did fear at the first, and afterwards find, that he could not rule some others so well, them he persuaded to defer at the least all such practices, until they had sent to know His Holiness' will: he, in the mean time, labouring, as we have seen, to have an effectual prohibition by a public instrument from the same authority. So that it is most

[43] This date is an interlineation. Father Gerard has not noticed that the passage, "I have a letter from Field," &c., is taken from the PS. of this letter, and that the PS. bears date 21 Octobris. For this omission he has been severely blamed by Mr. Tierney (Note by Father Morris).

apparent, he was not only innocent from any furtherance or approbation of the treason itself; but also an earnest hinderer of all kind of undutiful courses and violent attempts: and therein a most diligent and religious observer of his Superiors' will and commandment. Yet all this would not serve to work sufficient patience, or any longer expectance in the minds of these foresaid gentlemen, who, although they bare Father Garnett in hand that they would expect answer, this, as it seems, was but a show of expectance in them, and continued only until they saw the Parliament was almost at hand, and that it was too late for him to send further notice to his Superiors, and receive their answer. And they, in the mean time, proceeded, as afterwards Father Garnett also chanced to know, very much against his will, as will appear in that which followeth.

Father Gerard then continues in several chapters to show how, in the meanwhile, the conspirators proceeded in their purpose—and how the Plot was discovered by the Parliament, when Catesby, along with Percy and the two Wrights, and attended by a few followers, taking up arms went for shelter to the house of Mr. Littleton, Hagley, near Stourbridge, and being there attacked by the Sheriff of Worcestershire, was slain with the three others in the conflict; the rest were taken, examined, tortured, and convicted, and were all executed except Mr. Tresham, who died in the Tower, having first written a declaration clearing Father Garnett of being privy to the Plot, while the others asserted the same before their executions, stating emphatically that no priests were engaged in it. From the examination of the prisoners it was apparent that no other Catholics were implicated in the conspiracy, as the King himself acknowledged in a speech, to the great comfort of the Catholics; in spite of which the Fathers of the Society were by the industry of their bitter enemies, the Puritans, drawn into the affair, the King was incensed against them, and through them against the Catholic religion. The Puritans "knew very well how great esteem Catholics did generally make of the Fathers of the Society. . . . At these Fathers, therefore, did they resolve to level their first poisoned arrows, drawn out of the quiver of malice, and shot from the bow of open injustice." Father Gerard then mentions the evidence of Thomas Bates, Mr. Catesby's servant, who being engaged in the Plot was seized, when, through fear of death and torture, seconded by hopes of favour, and "most earnestly urged by persons of great authority to confess some proofs or likelihood that the Jesuits were in this action, the poor man out of frailty and desire of life (as

afterwards himself affirmed), told them that his master, and another of those gentlemen," had been at Lord Vaux's house, Harrowden, with Fathers Garnett, Tesimond, and Gerard, "and that he had been sent with a letter by his master, after they were up in arms, to a house in Warwickshire," where Fathers Garnett and Tesimond then were.[44] "This was the ground and the only foundation upon which they built that great and slanderous calumniation against all the Jesuits in England." Upon such evidence, two months after the discovery, it was resolved to issue a public proclamation against the Jesuits, beginning with Fathers Gerard, Garnett, and Tesimond.

Fathers Gerard and Tesimond withdrew to the Continent.[45] In the meantime, Father Garnett thought best to retire to a house of great safety in the neighbourhood, where he meant to lie private till the heat of the persecution was passed. This house, called Hinlip, was two miles distant from the city of Worcester, and so large and fair a building that it might be seen over great part of the country; indeed its size and commodiousness had often caused the owner of it much trouble, being an eyesore unto some Puritans of great wealth that were neighbours, within some miles, and nothing so well seated; who therefore procured often warrants to search that house in hope to find some priest there, for which the house and the whole estate of the gentleman might be forfeited to the King, and so begged by them that were the informers. But this being often essayed was never permitted by God until this time. Father Garnett wrote, probably from this retreat, the following protest to the Privy Council, November 30, 1605. The original is partly in Father Gerard's hand and partly in Father Richard Blount's.[46]

My very honourable and good Lords,—After twenty years almost complete in this employment (of a missionary), by the appointment of God and my Superiors; being newly charged, as I understand, with the late most horrible attempt, as if I had been accessory thereunto, and in particular had to such intent given the Most Holy

[44] Bates, before his execution (for his life was not spared), wrote "a letter of regrets," repenting his frailty, which is copied at length by Father Gerard, *Condition of Catholics*, p. 210.

[45] As our object is to collect from the various scattered materials a consecutive history of Father Garnett, we have extracted largely from Father Gerard's "Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot," in this portion of our biography.

[46] Dr. Oliver published a copy of this document in the *Catholic Magazine*, 1823, pp. 198–201.

Sacrament to six of the confederates at the very undertaking so bloody an enterprise, I humbly crave your honours' patience, if for the honour of God and the Catholic cause, and particularly of the Order of which I am a member, and have in this kingdom some special charge, I say somewhat with all possible brevity, for my just purgation, though, as I hope, this my disgrace ariseth rather of calumnious reports than of any material accusation. If, therefore, it may please his Majesty and your honours to afford the credit of an honest man, hitherto by God's grace unstained, unto a Catholic religious priest, tied by vow of obedience to his General and to the Pope, even in this particular case; one also who hopeth for everlasting salvation, and dreadeth the most strict and severe judgment of Almighty God. By these titles, bonds, hopes, and fears, I protest that howsoever in spiritual matters and acts of charity, which I have to afford to all sorts, some of this unfortunate company may chance to have had my help and assistance, yet in this enterprise, as unfit for me to deal in as it was bloody in itself, they never made me privy, much less asked my consent to their purposes. To this testimony of God, which is the greatest that can possibly be found or imagined, I add a most excellent witness on earth, which is the Pope himself, who very well knoweth, and I doubt not will testify if need be, that I procured an *express prohibition* of all unquietness (upon occasion of Watson's plot, and other fears), which were here divulged by the Most Reverend Archpriest, and I thereupon certified His Holiness, and assured him of all quietness of Catholics in general, in respect that no public tumult could be intended but some of us might know it, and so by all possible means hinder it. But, because in so afflicted a number it were to be feared that some private persons, forgetting all Christian patience and longanimity, as experience of other countries besides our own hath taught us, might break out into fury, I wished a *prohibition under censures* of all violence towards his Majesty or his officers, reputing it as a great stay to all Catholics from such outrages, if such things (as might be hidden from us or other quiet persons, especially reverend priests, and therefore not possible to be hindered by any industry of our own) were avoided by terror of dying in the most horrible state of *excommunication*, to their utter perdition of body and soul, of whatever conspirators. And this, my motion, I doubt not but will take good effect hereafter by occasion of this late conspiracy. That it was not done before, it is like the only cause hath been either want of time or hope of regard of all Catholics, to the *bare commandment* of so eminent a person in all Christianity.

And I will here, for the next testimony of my clearness and innocence, in the third place, allege so many witnesses as there are Catholics that I have conversed withal. They will, I am assured, all testify how carefully I have inculcated this commandment of His Holiness upon every occasion of speech; whereof I will infer

that it is no way probable, in never so prejudiced a judgment, that the author of this conspiracy durst acquaint me or any of mine with their purposes, knowing both this contrary commandment and the special account which, above all other virtues, we make of holy obedience; and I may very well say with St. Paul: *Si enim quæ destruxi, iterum hæc ædifico, prævaricatorem me constituo.*[47]

The fourth argument of my innocence shall be not so much a testimony as a challenge. Let the rack tortures, let the confessions of the conspirators, yea, let all our greatest adversaries utter what they can for my accusation, and yet I know my innocency in anything spoken or done ever since the first entrance of his Majesty's reign can never be blemished; and if in any point there may be the least doubt, I humbly beseech your honours to suspend your censures till I, knowing the exceptions against me, may with mine unfeigned integrity freely clear myself, to the satisfaction of all men of honour and wisdom.

These former arguments being of that nature and power as may convince even the most wilful spirits either of too much malice or ignorance in their uncharitable surmises against us, yet let me, I beseech you, add some few more which are so probable that, in a moral matter as this is, they make a moral kind of certainty. It is not unknown what kind of affection and love we and all our Society have ever borne to his Majesty's royal person, parents, and issue, and for mine own particular, how I behaved myself at his first entrance into this realm, and in the furtherance of peace with princes abroad, in which two points it may be better privately spoken than committed to paper, how well I have deserved in the conspiracy of Watson (my name and others being *falsely* used for to move divers confederates). By my special diligence, divers were delivered out of the trap. In Wales, though the matter was not such as was feared, yet I suppose my admonitions were not unfruitful. In this most horrible furnace, prepared for the best of the realm, besides the King's own person, the Queen, and the two princes, there would have been included divers lords and ladies, and others of special account, so highly honoured and affected by me, that I would rather have for every one severally lost my life a thousand times than to have permitted their hazard. And finally, that I may say nothing of the disgrace of our whole Society with foreign princes if we had been faulty, these bloody matters, or any other matters of war or State, are so repugnant to priestly or religious profession, that we ought all to remember upon what occasion our Saviour said to His disciples, *Nescitis cujus spiritus estis*,[48] and if we neglect this there want not censures of Holy Church and of our Society to testify, bridle, and restrain us from the transgression of our duties in such degree.

And as for six of them receiving at my hands, &c., I think I never saw six of them together in my life; and in such conspiracies

[47] Galat. ii. 18. [48] St. Luke ix. 55.

never anything was heard of to be done publicly with kissing of the sacraments, or vowing, or such like, as ridiculously some imagine; so that in case any of them used any help in sacraments, I notwithstanding do truly say, in a like case with Achimelech, *Non scivi servus tuus quicquid super hoc negotium, nec modicum, nec grande.*[49]

This, my very good lords, amongst many things which I could allege for my innocency, I have briefly, but with all sincerity of unfeigned love to his Majesty, set down these few; and with the same sincerity and purity of mind I humbly offer to him all fidelity and loyalty, both for myself and all others who are under my charge, assuring him and also your lordships that we will in prayers, examples, actions, exhortations, and whatsoever labours he will impose upon us, seek with all our endeavour to preserve and increase the temporal and everlasting felicity of him and his royal Queen and issue. And thus I humbly take my leave, desiring Almighty God to bring us once to meet together where we may incessantly praise the King of kings and live together for everlasting ages.

"The proclamation," continues Father Gerard, "being published, and containing besides other persuasions large promises to any that would be discoverers of any of the three, it happened that there was a gentleman called Humphrey Littleton, then fallen into trouble for receiving and concealing Mr. Robert Winter, one of the principal conspirators, and Mr. Stephen Littleton, his kinsman, who had joined the conspirators. These two having escaped from Stephen Littleton's house, where the rest of the conspirators were, some slain and some taken, and eluded arrest for a month and more in several places where they lay hid, finally came to Humphrey Littleton for harbour, and he received them into his kinswoman's house, where he then lay, and kept them in his own chamber, where they were discovered and apprehended. Humphrey Littleton, therefore, being in danger of his life for having harboured them, and seeing so large promises of favour and rewards to those that would discover any of the three, thought to save himself from a temporal punishment by doing that which deserved an eternal pain, and sent up word to the Council that he had been not long before at Mr. Abington's house, called Hinlip, where he heard a Jesuit preach called Oldcorne, who did there reside for the most part, and where he thought also Garnett was to be found.

"Upon this information a warrant was presently despatched into the country to Sir Henry Bromley, a Knight, who was the

[49] 1 Samuel xxii. 15.

nearest Justice of account to Mr. Abington's house, and who was best experienced in searching of that house, which he had often performed before upon less likelihood of success than he now carried with him by means of this discovery and the extraordinary powers given him. He came therefore to the house on a Sunday morning very early, accompanied with above a hundred men, armed with guns and all kind of weapons, more fit for an army than an orderly search. And beginning to beat at the gate with great importunity to be instantly let in, the Catholics within the house soon perceiving their intention made all the haste possible to hide both the priests and the Church stuff and books, and all such persons and things as belonged to the priests, or might give cause of suspicion. In the meantime sending to the gates, as the custom is, to know the cause of their coming, and to keep them in talk with messages to and fro, from the master and mistress of the house, all to gain time, whilst they within were hiding all things in the most safe places they had.

"But Sir Henry Bromley, impatient of this delay, caused the gates with great violence to be broken down, which yet he could not perform in so short a time (by reason they were very strong and answerable to the greatness of the house), before they within had made all safe which they would hide from this violent invasion. The Knight being entered by force, sent presently some principal persons with men enough to assist each of them into all the several parts of the house, as well to take possession of the same as to seize any persons that were suspicious, and to be sure that nothing should then be hidden after his entry. Himself showed to the mistress of the house (Mr. Abington himself being from home) his large commission to search, and the proclamation against those for whom he would search. She yielded to his authority, and gave him full power to do his will. He began after the accustomed manner, to go through all the rooms of the house, which were many and very large; he had with him Argus' eyes, many watchful and subtle companions, that would spy out the least advantage or cause of suspicion, and yet they searched and sounded every corner in that great house till they were all weary, and found no likelihood of discovering that they came for, though they continued the daily search, and that with double diligence, all the whole week following. But upon Saturday, two laymen that did usually attend upon the two priests, and were hid in a place by themselves, being almost starved to death, came out

of their own accord. For they had placed the priests in another hiding-place, where there was some provision of victuals laid up for their sustenance a few days; but themselves were forced to go into a place on the sudden, which, though it were safe from finding, yet had no provision at all to eat, and it is said they had but one apple between them in all those six or seven days. Whereupon they thought it best to come out; and yet not that so much to save themselves from death by famine, as for that they perceived the resolution of the searchers to be of staying in the house until they had either found or famished those whom they knew to be within. Therefore these two virtuous men, being in hope that upon their taking the searchers would be satisfied and depart (as either thinking them to be priests, or that if there had been any more to be found they would also have been forced to come out), this hope made them resolve to offer themselves to their enemies' hands, to save the lives of those whom they loved better than themselves. And their coming out was in such manner as could endanger nothing but themselves; one of the two especially, whose name was Nicholas Owen, abounding in discretion, which was the man that attended on Father Garnett.[50]

"They, therefore, perceiving that some of the searchers did continually by turns watch and walk up and down in the room where they were hidden, which was a long gallery four square going round the house, watched their time when the searchers were furthest off, and came out so secretly and quietly, and shut the place again so finely, that they were not heard or perceived when or where they came out, and so they walked in the gallery towards the door, which they thought belike to have found open. But the searchers being turned back in their walk, and perceiving two strange men to be there, whom they had not seen before, presently ran unto them and asked what they were. They answered they were men that were in the house, and would be content to depart if it pleased them. The others asked whether they were priests; they answered they were Catholics, and that further they would not answer, being no doubt desirous to be taken for priests, the better to satisfy the insatiable mind of those blood-suckers. Then being asked where they had been all that while, they answered they had hid themselves, being Catholics, to avoid taking. And being urged to tell or show the place where, they absolutely refused.

"But the searchers knowing well that it must needs be in the

[50] See the Life of Brother Nicholas Owen in our present series.

gallery, began afresh to search more violently than ever, and to break down the wainscot with which it was lined, and the walls also in a number of places. And so they continued with all violence for five or six days after, and leaving no place untried, it pleased God to end the misery in which they kept those two good Fathers by their so long and strait inclosure, and to deliver them into their hands, by permitting the searchers at last to light upon the very place itself. For the Fathers were resolved there to have ended their days (which could not much longer have continued, the wretchedness of the room and their slender provision considered) rather than by coming out to have endangered their friends in whose house they had been so charitably harboured. But it was God's will to have their great patience and many virtues better known by their public suffering of a violent death, than it could have been if they had perished privately in a corner. The searchers therefore having found and entered the secret place, they took the two Fathers out of their close and painful prison, and seized upon such Church stuff and books as were also laid up in the same place, which had made the room more strait and uneasy for them than otherwise it would have been. When the Fathers were taken, they soon recognized Father Oldcorne, because he had continued in that country many years, and was well known and highly respected by most of the Catholics in all those parts.

"He had also been often seen by many heretics of the country, and was once in their hands before in Queen Elizabeth's time, taken on the sudden by some that came to search the house, as he was walking with another gentleman in the garden. But then out of his ready wit he escaped their hands; for coming with the searchers to the door, which led from the parlour into the garden, and finding it locked (which it is like the servants had done after they perceived the search, to allow time to pull down the altar and hide the Church stuff and other things), Father Oldcorne called the servants hastily, as though reprehending them for keeping out the Queen's officers, and when they came to open the door he stept in first, as if continuing his finding fault with their long stay, and suddenly shut the door upon the searchers, leaving them in the garden with the other gentleman; himself presently got into a secret place, perhaps the same which now was found, though then they could not find neither it nor the man again, though they sought him long and with great diligence. And the like

strange escapes had happened to Father Garnett often, though in other manner.

"Father Oldcorne being recognized, they laboured much to know whether the other were Father Garnett or no; and, though they brought divers to him to see if they knew him, yet they could find none for a good while that could or would identify him, until at last one poor man was brought, who had drunk too much of that cup of contradiction with which the craft of heresy hath sought of late to infect the minds of some of the weaker sort, thereby to divide and so to destroy the kingdom of faith in our country; and having known him before and been beholden to him, he called him both by his own name Garnett, and by other names that he had known him to go by, by which he was also described in the proclamation. It is thought he hoped for some favour from the Council for this his good service unto them (though a priest, and then a prisoner at Worcester). Father Garnett's answer unto him was with great mildness and charity, according to his custom."

We subjoin a copy of the original instructions from the Council to Sir Henry Bromley for the search of Hinlip.

Dom. James I. vol. xviii. n. 29, 1606. Levinnius Munch, Cecil's secretary, to Sir H. Bromley, of Holt Castle. Endorsed, "Directions for search at Hinlip House."

In the searche first to observe in the parlour where they use to dyne and supp in the east part of that parlour, it is conceived there is some vault, which to discover you must take care to drawe downe the wanscott, whereby the entry into the vault may be discovered; and the lower parts of the house must be tryed with a broach by putting the same into the ground some foot or two, to try whether there may be perceived some timbers, w^ch^ if be, there must be some vault underneath it.

For the upper roomes, you must observe whether they be more in breadth than the lower roomes, and look in which places the roomes be enlarged, by pulling up some boards you may discover some vault.

Also, if it appears that there be some corners to the chimneys, and the same boarded, yf the bordes may be taken away there will appeare some.

Yf the walls seem to be thicke and covered with wainscott, being tryed with a gymlet, yf it stick not on the wall, but go through, some suspicion is to be had thereof.

Yf there be any double loft over two or three foot, one above another, in such places any may be harboured privately.

Also, yf there be a loft towards the roof of the house in w^ch^ there appears no entrance out of any other place or ledging, that must of necessity be opened and looked into, for these be ordinary places of leiving.

Sir Henry Bromley having now what he desired, presently despatched posts to the Council with this news, and kept the prisoners at his own house in the meantime, until he might receive further order.[51] The priest who thus betrayed Father Garnett was named Anthony Sherlock. The following is a copy of his examination upon his arrest.

Dom. James I. vol. xviii. n. 51, 1606. The examination of Anthony Sherlock, priest, taken before Sir Henry Bromley, Kt. and John Fleet, Esq., on January 30, 1606, Worcester.

Fyrst. I confesse that leaving the Univy of Oxford, where I had been student 8 or 9 years, I went over seas into France in the year 1586, was made priest at Rouen by Bishop Rosse, and returned into England again within the same year of my departure thence. And grew into acquaintance first with one Lady Stoner near Henly-upon-Thames. I continued there for the most part of three or four years, saying Masse in her howse many tymes.

After that I came into Warwiche, and at Brayles and Wolford with a widow continued three or four years, named Margaret Byshopp, and continually said Masse there.

Then I came into Worcestershire, and the Lady Wynefore [Wintour] growing into acquaintance, once or twice at the most said Mass in her house; and at Alchurch with Mrs. Heath; and at Hawkesley with Mrs. Middlemore for the most part; and at Tamworth in Warwiche with Mr. Richard Dolphin two or three years. After that I went into Staffordᵉ where all this while in divers places I continued the same custom; in Rydware at a widow's howse, named Knowles, and at Wednesbury wᵗʰ Mrs. Comberford. And Parkington with Mrs. Stamford until Easter last, when by the death of my best friend I was forced to seek further, and retired again into Warwiche, where I have continued for this mean whyle, more tossed and tumbled with adversity than any sea with contrary wynde or weather, many dayes and nights lying without dores, harbourlesse and comfortless, until the xxvii of this present January, when I was taken in Yardley in the Countie of Warwick, in a poore man's howse, John Greene, with whom I had continued three days, and on Sunday last sayde Mass there, Mr. Greene and his wyfe being present; reckoning and esteeming this my apprehension the greatest grace and goodness of God to me. Nam afflictio dat intellectum.

From the concluding words of the confession we fear the unfortunate priest conformed. He was, however, together with Mr. Green, the receiver, committed to Worcester Gaol.

Dom. James I. vol. xviii. n. 38. Sir Henry Bromley's letter to the Council. "To my most honourable the Earle of Salisbury; with all haste for the King's service."

[51] The reader is referred to the lives of Father Oldcorne and Brother Nicholas Owen, for much interesting matter connected with the arrest. Also to a long intercepted letter of Father Garnett to Mrs. Anne Vaux, March 2, 1606, given below.

My especial good Lord,—I have pursued the servise your Lpp. and the rest of the lords have imposed on me for the search of the traytors, and gave it for you for that I could never get from Mr. Abington, nor any other in the house, the least glimmering of any of theas traytors, or any other person to be hear. Some presumsion I had (besides your L'pp's commandement) to continue me hear, as finding beds warme, and sundry parcells of apparell and bookes and writings that shewed some scollars used. Mr. Abington was not at home when I cam, but was gon to Pepperhill to Mrs. Talbots, and cam home on Munday night. I shewed him his Ma^ties^ proclamation and my warrant for the search, but absolutely denieth that he knoweth or ever saw any of thos parties, but Jarrard in his uthe (youth) sum foure or fyve and twenty years ago, and neaver saw him sithence. I did neaver hear so impudent liers as I finde hear, all recusants, and all resolved to confes nothing, what danger soever they incur. I holding my resolution to kepe watche longer (thogh I was out of all hope to finde any man or any thinge); yet at last yesterday being Wensday, fownde a number of Popish trash hid vnder boords in three or fower severall places; the particularities I refer to the relation of this bearer. Wedsday night late I went to my howse to take my rest, being muche wearied, leaving my brother the charge of the howse with sundry of my servants and a sufficient garde besides in and rownde abowt the howse, so that this Thursday morning thar cum two forth for hunger and cowld that give themselves other names, but shurly on of them I trust will prove Greneway, and I thinke the other be Hall.

I have yet presuasion that there is on or to [one or two] more in the house, whearfore I have resolved to continue the gard yet a day or to. I cowld by no meanes persuade the gentlewoman of the howse to depart the howse, without I showld have carried her, w^ch^ I held so uncivell as being so nobly borne as I have and do undergo the greater difficulties thearby. I have sent you the examinations of the parties w^ch^ I have committed, and do expect your Lp. pleasure what shall be dunne with them. More at large your L. may hear gather of the bearer, or of myselfe at my cumminge up. In the mean tyme I trust his Ma^tie^ and your LLp. will accept of my willinness and reddynes to do you better servis when I shall be commanded. In the meane tyme I most vmbly takeing leave of your Lp., remayning euer

At your Lp. commandes,

HENRY BROMLEY.

Hindleap, this 23 of January, verry late.

I desire to know what you will have dunne with Mr. Abington. I thinke good in the meane time to restayne him to a magistrats howse at Worcester.

Same vol. n. 52. Sir Henry Bromley to Salisbury.

My especiall good Lord,—I have received the letters of my LL's, dated 26 January, the 29th of the same, by w^ch^ I am glad to hear of your LL's good acceptance of my service, but I have secunded my first letters with matter more acceptable and certayne than the first. For your Lp. may be assured I am possed of Garnet and Hall. I browt them to Worcester with purpos to commit them to the gayle, but was afterward persuaded by

Sir W. Walche and Mr. Fleete to bringe them to my owne howse, as well to have them carefully tended, that I might restore them to strength to inable them for the journey, as also to kepe them from conference w^th^ **the** rest of the prisoners, among whom there is to or thre necessary to be examined, for that they will not confess anything hear. The on is the hors keeper that receaveth all strangers' horses, the other is one Gerrard, Mrs. Dorritie Abington's man, that ever attendeth on thes preasts, bringeth up thear vittayles, and hideth them when thear is occasion. There is also on Charnocke that came from Jones, the Herifordshire preast to have receaved Ro. Wintowr, and S. Littleton at Sq. Lit. handes.[52] Now althogh your LLp.'s do require me to cum away preasently with the to first I tooke, yet do I presume (having taken theas other of more importance) yet to stay untell I hear farder from your LLp., and then I will do as I shall be directed. In the meane tyme I will prepare myselfe, having tired out myselfe, my servants, and my horses, and a great mayny of the cunty with watching these wet winter nights, and this day having ended the thorow searche of the howse, I purpos to give over this werysum accion, and I may say truly verry chargeable.

Furder it may pleas your Lp. thear was browt to Worcester yesternight a poore priest apprehended in a pore man's howse whos name and fashon of life asserteth by his owne confession w^ch^ Mr. Fleet and I send your Lp. I thinke him no great dangerous man. Easy to be converted. I have shewed Garnet. He acknowligeth he hath scene him by the name of Walley. It may pleas your Lp. Mr. J. Fleet, his Ma^ties^ Attorney in the Marches, hath dunne great servis both at this tyme and in the former troubles. He deserveth to be remembred and thanked, and protected from the insolence of Abington and others, who have abused him for his forwardness in his Ma^ties^ servis. &c.

HENRY BROMLEY.

Holte Castell, this 30th of January.

Same vol. n. 64 and 64 I. Sir Henry Bromley to Salisbury.

My especiall good Lord,—I have browt you vp the prisoners, the names whearof your Lp. shall receave herein inclosed. I cowlde not bringe them vp in thre days, for Mr. Garnet is but a weake and wearisome traviler, to-morrow in the evening I trust to bring them vp to London, before w^ch^ tyme I desire to know your Lp.'s pleasure what you will have dunne with them, and then I shall be ready to make your Lp. and the rest of my LL.'s a farder account upon commandment. In the mean tyme I remayne,

Your Lp. most vmble to command,

HENRY BROMLEY.

Wickham, this 5th of Feb., $160\frac{5}{6}$, late.

N. 64 I. "The names of suche prisoners as are cominge upp with Sir Harry Bromly."

I. Thomas Abington, Esq.
II. Humphrey Phillipps, *als.* Henry Garnett.
III. John Vincent, *als.* Hall.

[52] This was Father Robert Jones, afterwards Vice-Prefect or Superior.

IV. William Andrews, *als.* Nicholas Owen. Eyther a priest or servant to Garnett.

V. George Chambers, servant to Hall.

VI. Edward Jarret, servant to Mrs. Dorathie Abb., and the partie atttending the priests.

VII. William Glandishe, servant to Mr. Abb. and his hors-keeper. Thought fitt to brought upp as one that should know all suche as resort to the howse.

Mr. Thomas Abington, the lord of Hinlip Castle, continues Father Gerard, "who came home two days after the search began, was presently apprehended. Sir Henry Bromley, soon after receiving order from the Council to bring up Fathers Garnett and Oldcorne, with a good guard, to London, he at once started towards London, attended with a great number of horses for the more safe custody of his charge. But the more he conversed with Father Garnett, the more he grew in estimation of him, and the more he respected him in all things, although he be otherwise a very earnest Puritan, and one of the forwardest that way of all Worcestershire. It happened by the way that the minister who went with Sir Henry Bromley as his chaplain or preacher, seeing Father Garnett so modest, and to speak so little, especially of matters of controversy, probably thought that he was utterly unskilful in them, and desirous to get himself some credit, began to provoke Father Garnett to the combat; but the Father, loath to give offence unto any, and esteeming the example of modesty more fruitful to a proud heretic than to contend with one so likely to resist the known truth, once or twice put him off with a mild answer, showing only what the other should believe in such a case, and forbearing to allege any further reasons. Whereupon the heretic grew more insolent (as their custom is), and then began in sort to triumph in the hearing of others, which Father Garnett perceiving, and then doubting that his good meaning would be so easily discerned by his silence as misconstrued, without giving further answer to the minister, he hastened his horse a little to overtake Sir Henry Bromley that rode before, and told him how his chaplain had divers times provoked him to disputation, which he had purposely forborne, being loath to offend him in whose custody he now was; and partly also, because he knew such disputations to be often fruitless where there is no judge of authority to restrain the subdued party from entering into terms of blasphemy and such like, which himself was not willing to hear, and therefore thought it better in

such a case to be silent. But that if it pleased Sir Henry to hear the one and restrain the other, in case it should be offered, he then for his part was very ready to give his minister satisfaction to anything he would or could propound. Sir Henry commended very much his wisdom and discretion, and called the minister presently, willing him to propound all things freely that he would, but yet with modesty. So the minister began to discourse after their diffuse manner, producing many things not digested into any good method, nor founded upon any sure grounds of faith or learning. Father Garnett suffered him to speak his fill, as long as he seemed to continue in one matter, and then desired leave to speak. Then he, in few words and excellent order, related the substance of all that the other had said, and then repelled it with so substantial grounds, and with such demonstration of learning, and that even in those kinds which they most esteem and stand upon, which is the Scriptures and Tongues, that it put the minister to silence, and the Knight to great admiration, and all the audience were so satisfied both with his modesty and profound learning as it was reported presently by them all over London, to the great commendation of the good Father. But Sir Henry Bromley seemed so greatly to admire and love him, that he affirmed to divers gentlemen of account, when he came to London, that he never in his life met the like man to Mr. Garnett either for modesty, wisdom, or learning, and that he would kneel before the King to save his life, if he were not found guilty of the Powder Plot."

When they were come to London, the two Fathers were first committed close prisoners to the Gatehouse, their two lay-brother companions to other prisons. "When Father Garnett entered the gaol, there stood a great number of prisoners at the gate expecting to see him as he passed, whom he seeing asked aloud, 'Is there any of you that are in for the Catholic faith?' And divers Catholics answering, 'Yes, yes, we are Catholics, and prisoners for our conscience.' 'Then,' said he, 'I am your fellow.' So he was locked up in a chamber.

"And it was two days after before he was examined, whereof the reason was guessed to be that the Council, hearing so much fame of his virtue, gravity, and learning, and knowing well how much he was respected by many great persons, and esteemed also by the Ambassadors of the Catholic Princes then residing

in London, it made them very wary, and to deliberate much how to proceed with him, and would not call him to examination before they had informed themselves of as much as they could learn of his words and carriage at his taking and bringing up to London, many of which (to our great grief and loss) are unknown to us; for that the three that were taken and brought up with him are all put to death, and were kept close until their death, and the times also have been so troublesome since, that we could not have such means as we desire to meet and talk with those that were eye-witnesses of many notable accidents, which we hope to do hereafter, and to have many things brought to light which will be greatly to God's glory and all our comfort.

"The third or fourth day after Father Garnett was committed to the Gatehouse, he was sent for to be examined by five or six of the Privy Council, at which time, as ever after, they used him with great respect, unusual from meaner commissioners than the Privy Council when priests are examined, and especially those of the Society, whom, as being more hated by them, they are accustomed to revile with many bitter and disgraceful terms, whereof traitor is the least. But to Father Garnett the contrary was so far used that the Lords themselves would seldom speak unto him but they would put off their hat, and sometimes hold it off a good while, and they did usually call him Mr. Garnett at every word. Of this his first examination we have not the particular; but this only in general, that he answered so to all their questions that he gave them great satisfaction, and they after his departure gave him great commendation. Yea, one of the Council said, 'he could not be misliked but for matter of doctrine only. As for the Powder he was clear of it.' So he was sent back to the Gatehouse for the time. But that time was very short, for he was soon after lodged in a stronger hold and in a straiter prison, where neither any that wished him well could come near him to understand how he was used, and where there wanted not instruments full of subtlety and cruel hatred against him, who would be sure to use him far otherwise than so mild a disposition and so worthy a man deserved."[53]

We think it better to insert in this place, although it was written somewhat later, an intercepted letter from Father Garnett, then in the Tower, to Mrs. Anne Vaux, giving a detailed account of his arrest and subsequent examinations.

[53] *Condition of Catholics*, p. 160.

Dom. James I. vol. xix. n. 11.[54] Father Garnett to Mrs. Anne Vaux, dated Shrove Tuesday, 2nd of March, but endorsed and probably finished 4th of March. "For Mrs. Anne, or ane of ours first. Keep all discretely secret."

✠

JHESUS PAX.

Shrove Tuesday.

A. I purpose by God's grace to set downe here briefly what hath passed since my apprehension, lest evil reports or untrewe may do myselfe or others iniurie.

B. After we had bene in the hoale 7 dayes and 7 nights, and some odd hours, every man may well think we were well wearyed, and indeed so it was, for we generally satte, save that some times we could half stretch ourselves, the place being not high eno', and we had our legges so straightened that we could not sitting find place for them, so that we both were in continuall paine of our legges, and both our legges, especially mine, were much swollen, and mine continued so till I came to the Tower. If we had had but one half-day's liberty to come forth, we had so eased the place from bookes and furniture, that we could have abidden a quarter of a yeare.

B. We were very merry and content within, and heard the searchers every day most curious over us, which made me indeed think the place would be found. And if I had knowne in time of the proclamation against me, I would have come forth, and offered myself to Mr. Abington, whether he would or no, to have bene his prisoner.

C. When we came forth we appeared like 2 ghosts, yet I the strongest, though my weaknes lasted longest. The fellow that founde us ranne away for feare, thinking we would have shotte a pistoll at him, but there came needless company to assist him, and we bade them be quiet, and we would come forth. So they holpe vs out very charitably, and we could not go, but desyred to be led to a house of office. So I was, and found a bord taken vp where there was a great downfall, that one should have broken his neck if he had come thither in the dark, which seemed intended of purpose. We had escaped if the 2 first hidden souldiers had not come out so soone, for when they found them they were curious to find their place.

The search at Henlip was not for me, but for Mr. Hall [Oldcorne], as an abbetor of Robt. Winter. Then came a second charge to seek for Mr. Gerard. Of me never no expectation, so that it was onely God's pleasure to have it so as it is. *Fiat voluntas eius.*

Sr. Henry [Bromley] by the proclamation kept me straight, and made of me exceedingly, saying I was a learned man and a worthie priest. I acknowledged not my name, but referred all to my

[54] The capital letters in the margin are Sir Edward Coke's, the Attorney General.

meeting with my L. of Salisbury, who would know me. Yet never did I deny my name to Sr. Henry, but desyred him to call me as he would, for he called me by diverse names, but my most common was Garnett. I tould him that in truth it was not for any discourtesy, but that I would not in the places we are, be made an obloquy, but when I came to London I would not be ashamed of my name.

D. We were carried to Worcester in his coach, where he had promised us to place us in some bailyes, or other citizen's house. But when we came there he said he could not do as he wished, but must send us to the gaole. I said in God's name, but I hope you will provide we have not irons, for we are lame already, and shall not be able to ride after to London. Well, said he, I will think of it, and sent me to rest in a private lodging, with one to looke to me, because he would avoide the peoples gazing. When he had dispatched his busines, he sent for me, and tould me we should goe with him to his howse; so we did in his coach, and were exceedingly well used, and dined and supped with him and his every day.

E. On Candlemas Day he made a great dinner to end Christmas, and in the middest of dinner he sent for wine to drinke health to the King, and we all were bare. There came accompanying the wine a white wax candell lighted, taken at Henlip with Jesus on one side and Maria on another. So I desyred to see the candell, and tooke it in my hands, and gave it to Mr. Hall, and saied I was glad yet that I had carried a holy candell on Candlemas Day. So I pledged the health, yet with favour as they said, in a reasonable glass.

F. I parted from the gentlewomen, who were very kind to me, as also all the howse, who were with us continually, insomuch that Sr. Henry was afraid we would pervert them. And the like caveat he hath given to my keeper here, whom I have sent to him sometimes. I desyred them all to think well of me, till they saw whether I could iustify myselfe in this cause.

G. All the way to London I was passing well used at the King's charge, and that by expresse order from L. Salsbury.

I had always the best horse in the company. Yet was I muche distempered the first and last night, w^ch^ last night I was lodged in the Gatehouse, and could not eate anything, but went supperless to bedd, and all the while there could eat very little, onely contenting myself with bread, an appell, and some wine, according to my purse, though my keepers drank also with me, I thinking to have remained still there. But I am far better here, then close there, if I could have my morning delight, which there cannot be had neither.[55]

[55] Every Catholic knows that "the morning delight" of a priest is the opportunity of saying Mass. Attention is called to this point because a modern writer suggests to his readers a very different and most unwarrantable interpretation of the passage.

H. I had some bickering with ministers, by the way, 2 very good schollers, and courteous, Mr. Abbot and Mr. Barlow, mett us at an inne; but 2 others, rude fellowes, mette us on the way whose discourtesy I rewarded with plaine wordes, and so adieu. They were discharged by authority.

I. On St. Valentine's Eve I went to the Councill Table at White-Hall, a great multitude behoulding both going and cominge. One said there was a Provinciall; another there goeth a young Pope. When I came to the Councell, I kneeled, and was bid stand; and I asked whether my letters had bene seen. All denyed it. So I made my trew protestation of innocency in this case. They wished I would not so earnestly protest, for they had sure proves. So my L. of Salsbury first began. And his interrogatories and my answers, with some intermingled disputations, especially of equivocation, yet with all courtesy, lasted 3 houres almost. All the interrogatories were about the authoritie of the Pope, and my L. of Salsbury said, "You see, Mr. Garnett, we deale not with you in matters of religion, or of your priesthood, or of the Real Presence, but in this high point in which you must satisfy the King, that he may know what to trust unto. I was glad to have this occasion to be accounted a traitour without the Powder-house, rather than within.

K. And thinking myself also obliged to professe the faithe of the Supremacy, answered in many articles according to their demands, plainly yet modestly, and with great moderation; also of rigorous opinions, affirming that none could attempt violence against the King; no, nor the Pope commanding; that I thought he was not excommunicate; that in case one were excom^{e} none could execute the sentence without the Pope's consent. Being asked whether all that held the religion established in England were heretics, I said that the religion was hereticall; of the persons I would not judge. But are they excommunicated? If they be formally heretics they be excommunicate in Bulla Cœnæ. If onely materially because they never had sufficient knowledge to the contrary, no. May the Pope excommunicate our King? The Pope is successor to St. Peter, to whom Christ said: *Pasce oves meas*, and so he may excommunicate the King also. They urged me to sett downe our King. I refused for reverence of our King, which they allowed at length. Whether might the Pope exempt subjects from their fidelity upon cause of excommunication? I said there was a Canon, *Nos Sanctorum* wherein was such a determination which lay not in my power to abridge. May the Pope command anything unlawful for obedience? "Nothing that is unlawful may be lawful for obedience."

After some rest I had another houre before them with Mr. Attorney, to small purpose, for I refused to acknowledge any of my own names but Garnett, or to name any person which might be endanged by me; though after in my other examin^{s} I thought

better otherwise, in respect that all was knowne before, and I charged with treasons in some special places, but I am sure I have hurt nobody.

L. On St. Valentine's day I came to the Tower, where I have a very fine chamber, but was very sick the 2 first nights with ill lodging. I am allowed every meale a good draught of excellent claret wine; and I am liberall with myself and neighbours for good respects, to allow also of my owne purse some sack; and this is the greatest charge I shall be at hereafter, for now fire will shortly be unnecessary if I live so long, whereof I am very uncertaine, and as careles. And herupon I will tell you a pleasant discourse. I said here in one examination to my L. Chief Justice, and Mr. Atturney and Sr. Wm. Waade, that I cared not for my life, but whether innocently to die as I hoped (and yet am sure) or guilty, death was welcome. Mr. Atturney said it was pity it should be, for I was a man fitte to live and serve my country. Notwithstanding, in another examination, talking of the day I was first at Henlip, I said if I had a calender I could tell, for I thought it was St. Sebastian's day, or the next to it. O, saith he, you have saints for every day. I said we had for the most. Well, saith he, you shall have no place in the calender. I am not worthy, said I, of a place in the calender, but I hope to have a place in heaven. Yet he is very courteous, and we sometimes are pleasant.

M. They asked me whether I did not christen a child at White Webbs. I said I thought such a thing might be, but I remembered not. Sir W. Waade hearing of a child borne in the howse [here occurs an indecent observation.] The other two reprehended him, and said the father lived in the howse, and was one Brokesby, with a bauld head, and a reddish beard. I said that that place was a place of justice, and such calumniations were unfitte, wherein Mr. Atturney took my part. Sr. W^{m} is very kind in usage and familiarity, but most violent and impotent in speeches when he entereth into matters of religion. He saith all the Jesuits order shall be dissolved upon this, as the Templars. I sayd private faults do not prejudice the whole. But the Jesuits shall now [be sent] all out of England. I sayed that if yt pleased the King to graunt free liberty to other Papists I would presently send away all Jesuits. My L. Chief J. sayd it was more than I could do. I sayd I would trye. Indeed, I feare me some perticular thing may be done this Parliament against Jesuits. My advice is that they hyre themselves private lodgings, and helpe their friends abroade, and say they are dismissed for a time by their Superior. This I think best till Fa. Generall's will be known.

N. In my last examination they said they could believe me in nothing I said. Why then, said I, you must bring witnesses; they said they would this weeke; and we expect them again, and then either torture or arraignment. For we are indicted already.

They wondered to see me so constantly deny their principall objections, whereof they made sure ground, and asked me whether I thought they would send out a proclamation against me without grounds. I answered I as much wondered at the proclamation, knowing my conscience ; but if their grounds were trew (as they are not) no mervaile at all.

O. They much urge me to name such noblemen as the conspiratours in the Spanish action built on, for they would not acquaint any more at the first, but when the time should come, then they made sure reckoning of Northumberland, Rutland, Montague, &c. But in trewth I never heard any such thing. I may chaunce be tortured for these. I say I utterly dissuaded that intent, and they promised to desist, and that they tould me they would only sue for pensions in Spaine.

P. I acknowledged I commended Bainam only for a souldier into Flanders, and denyed that ever I sent or was to send to him, or for a nobleman, whose name they say began with Mount, any letters beyond.

No servants I have taken knowledge of, onely Mrs. Parkins, tho' they name her sister also, and say they will have her. Corpus Christi lodging I think is safe.

Q. They charge me with a prayer made or penned at the beginning of the Parliament, and the minister is my accuser. It is in verse. I said I never penned prayer ; but I guess what they meane.

R. They verely thought I was at White Webbs, with the conspirators.[56] I say, if after the first of Sept. I was ever there, I am guilty of the Powder action ; for this very protestation they urged upon me. The time of my going to Coughton is a great presumption. But all Catholics know it was necessity.[57]

[56] The Privy Council, who had their spies in every direction, entertained grave suspicions about White Webb's house, which lay on the borders of Enfield Chase, some ten miles from London : a sequestered spot, most suitable for its purpose. Their lordships had heard, probably through treacherous domestics, of frequent resort of strangers there. A modern Protestant writer, after giving a coloured description of the mansion, labours to invest it with an air of mystery to suit the taste of his readers—it was full of hiding-holes, dark mysterious vaults, subterranean passages, a rendezvous of suspicious persons, strangers in considerable numbers constantly coming and going, &c. But the facts are very simple, the mystery alone existing in the fanciful brain of the writer. The house had been taken by Father Garnett, ostensibly for those two charitable ladies, the Hon. Ann Vaux and her sister, Mrs. Brookesby (of whom more in a subsequent note,) to serve as a place of refuge for the scattered Jesuit Fathers in which to meet their Superior occasionally, and for the purposes of religious retreats and renovations of spirit and of vows, according to their Constitutions, and to treat upon the affairs of their missions. Father Oldcorne fully explains this in his examination in the Tower, on March 6, 1605–6, as will be seen in his Life below. See also *Records*, vol. i. pp. 75, seq.

[57] Dr. Lingard, in his *History of England*, vol. vii. Appendix, pp. 545, 546, Edit. 1849, in defence of Father Garnett upon the points of his going to Coughton, and the prayer he said or used there, observes—

S. Mr. Atturney biddeth me to provide to answer a certain conference of mine and Greenwells [Father Greenway], but I hope I shall well enough, though I doubt not but Mr. Catesby hath fained many such things for to induce others. And I doubt not that, if I may have justice, but to cleare myself of this powder as for other treasons. I tell them I care not for a thousand.

T. In truth I thank God I am and have bene *intrepidus.* And herein I mervaile at myself, having had such great apprehensions before. But it is God's grace. And I often feare torture. Yet it is the same God, and I cannot be tortured but for justice; that is either to wrong myself or others. As I cannot be condemned but for justice; that is, for not betraying such as either I had diverted from their purpose, or was never acquainted with their purpose at all.

You may join to this such things as I have before written, and you have all of any importance.

My L. Chief J. asked me whether I were never a corrector of a printer. I said yes (for there have I dined often with him), and tould him that I was beginning the lawe. Mr. Attur. wished I had gone on. O, saith Sr. William, he would have marred the law as he hath done divinity with his equivocation. Sr. W^{m} telleth me of two seminaries intended for Spain and Italy in London. You know better.

For yourself, when I know how you can place yourself to your contentment, I will advise you who you may relye on. *Saluto ex toto corde omnes carissmos et amandismos meos.*

I was examined 3 severall dayes here, once before and after dinner.

V. They were nothing satisfied in my 2 last examinations, and the last but one, they threatening torture, I said I hope God would give strength, &c., and tould them how S. Basill, being threatened

"What could take him there at such a time, with the knowledge he possessed? It certainly bears a suspicious appearance, and Garnett himself was aware of it. In his conversation with Oldcorne [the conversation stated to have been overheard by the "hole in the wall" spies], he expresses his anxiety on that head: and in a letter to Anne Vaux, he writes: 'The time of my coming to Coughton is a great presumption; but all Catholics know that it was necessity.' What then was that necessity? Coughton was his appointed station for the festival of All Saints; he was expected there by the different Catholic families in those parts; all who used his ministry would be there to receive the Sacrament from him. He could not disappoint them without exciting among them strange surmises as to the cause of his absence. At Coughton we are told that he prayed to be 'rid of heresy,' and called upon his hearers to pray for some good success towards the Catholic cause. The spies who overheard his conversation with Oldcorne, understood him also to state that he had made a form of prayer and a hymn for the success of that business (Interlocutions of the 23rd and 25th of February). In this there is much mistake and misrepresentation, arising perhaps from the difficulty of hearing; for the form of prayer was one in common use, and the hymn had been a portion of the service of the day for centuries."

with the like by Valens his officer, answered *Pueris ista minare.*

W. They read to me Mr. Greenwell's [Greenway] words in confession, which I verily think he never spake.

X. For Bates was sorry of that he had confessed, and said it was to save his life.

Y. I condemned Mr. Greenwell's words if they were spoken. Where is he and Mr. Gerard? Faux was courageous unto the end, so that he is wondered at. There is a muttering here of a sermon which either I or Mr. Hall made. I fear mine at Coughton.

Mr. Hall hath no great matter, but only about Mr. Abington, tho' Mr. Atturney saith he hath more.

For God's sake provide bedding for these 3, James, Jhon, Harry, by begging or by money if there be to spare, your owne necessities always regarded. I know not how Mr. Strange is provided. May be he knoweth how to send out: for to me he cannot send.

The original of the above MS. is entirely in the martyr's own handwriting.

Father Gerard observes in his Narrative,[58] "that the expectation of this matter touching Father Garnett was great in every place, and the opinions of men very diverse as to what would become of so notable a man, being so famous for learning and piety and modesty as that his very enemies could speak no other but much good of him, to the sight of all men." After giving various surmises, and amongst others that his imprisonment was a pretext for a money redemption, and that he knew one devout gentlewoman who offered £500 as a fee to a courtier, that was very likely to obtain it if that had been their intention, continues: "Briefly, the general report was that he was free from the Plot, and not to be touched with this conspiracy, which even Protestants affirmed to be most likely, in that he was not accused by any of the conspirators, as might be easily seen in their printed examinations, for that above all the rest would have been printed, if by favour or force or fear it could have been wrung out of them. Now as for Catholics, it was generally their opinion that he was innocent, for they knew very well he could not be guilty who had so often and so effectually laboured to stay them from all attempts or disobedience, though in matters of much less moment than this so cruel intention against the Parliament House.

[58] *Condition of Catholics*, pp. 161, seq.

"But whilst all London and England was full of expectation what issue this cause would have, and every man gave his judgment of the matter according to his several humour and opinion, that course was taken which was from the first intended, and he was delivered up to the Lieutenant of the Tower, a fit instrument for such a purpose, as being a man most pliable to the will of those that had no will to do Father Garnett good. And the man's mind and manner of proceeding may be seen by his first salutation to Father Garnett when he was brought into the Tower, for presently he began to revile him, saying 'he was a plotter of all treasons.' But Father Garnett gave him no answer, and being demanded why he did not answer to those accusing words, he said: 'he was not moved with his words, for Christ his Master had taught him by His own example to bear quietly such contumely.'

"His lodging and first usage there was not evil in exterior things (supposing the condition of the place), which doth allow no bed or any such provision to any prisoner but such as himself doth provide from his friends abroad; which help, until it be procured, a prisoner there may by favour have some straw to lie upon, and that was Father Garnett's couch until such necessaries could be sent unto him, which in his case could hardly be procured without danger to the senders, and must be done with great circumspection, as not doubting but all those that furnished such things would be watched narrowly, and perhaps dogged to their home, which is an ordinary practice in all such cases.

"Being now settled in the Tower, the Council came thither to examine him, but found him always the same man, both constant in his faith and function, and faithful to his friends. For though they pretended they would not deal with him in any matter concerning his Priesthood (desiring, indeed, to have his case esteemed different from others against whom they had formerly proceeded), yet were many questions such, as if he had answered either weakly or unwisely, he must needs have brought many of his friends to great trouble; as, where he he had lived for a long time, how he had been maintained, what places he was at in that last journey, what company he had met at the places which they affirmed he did stay in, and finally, whom he knew or had had any dealings withal. But he quit himself so wisely, and answered so resolutely in them all, as sufficiently declared he neither could lawfully, nor would

upon any condition detect others, knowing nothing by them but the exercise of Catholic religion and practice of virtue. Finally, there was not any whosoever of high or low degree that came in trouble by his default or oversight. There were also many occasions offered in those several examinations of showing his skill and knowledge in matters of learning. In particular for matter of equivocation, wherein he was much and often urged, and ever gave them such satisfaction as in reason they could wish no more. The particulars of divers such-like things we cannot as yet procure, they are kept so close (as commonly it is most done where they find least advantage); only that matter of equivocation being spoken of again at the bar by Mr. Attorney, then he referred to the former full satisfaction he had given them in his several examinations.[59]

"The Council, finding that no advantage was to be gotten of him in his examinations, either against himself or others in this chief matter, they committed the care and charge of proceeding with him in that kind unto the Lord Chief Justice and the Attorney-General, Popham and Coke, both professed enemies to Catholics and their religion, who were so forward or rather so desirous to undertake the business, that (as it is said) they offered, if they might have their full scope to deal with him as they thought good, they would undertake to prove him guilty in the Plot of Powder.

"Father Garnett was delivered over to their pleasure, and they examined him very often. In all which, though they found no advantage at all, yet, after three or four examinations, they were so bold as to give it out that he had confessed all. But this was for another end. For hereupon presently the Attorney spake in the Parliament House to have eight Jesuits condemned of this treason by the High Court of Parliament, *vidlt.*, Garnett, Hall [Oldcorne], Greenway, Gerard, Hamon [Hart], Westmoreland (there being no such of the Society), Cresswell, and Baldwin. But the Parliament refused to condemn these men without better proof of their being guilty, and therefore willed the Attorney (seeing he had Garnett's examinations) to lay down the next day the proofs before them, which he promised to do in so clear manner as their lordships

[59] The opening of the Public Record Office enables us to supply what Father Gerard could not obtain. We therefore give below copies we have made from the State Papers of the various examinations, &c., of Father Garnett.

should rest satisfied of their guiltiness, and that by Garnett's own confession. At the time appointed he brings his proofs, which all turned out to be no confession of Father Garnett (as he had promised), and indeed nothing else but mere conjectures, imaginations, and inferences of his own, and that with so little colour of likely truth as no man applauded the motion, although there were very many that were no friends to the parties accused (to speak the least), and so Mr. Attorney's motion died, and was never after revived. Yea, a nobleman coming from the Parliament at that time, said to his friend, that these lawyers were so accustomed to lie that they could say truth in no place. But indeed Mr. Attorney must be excused for this time, the cause and case being very particular and a thing much sought for and long desired; and if it could have been thus huddled up without further examination, that so many of the Society might have stood convicted by Act of Parliament, it would have been (as they well hoped) a stain of record to the whole Society. There were also some questions sent unto Father Garnett from the Parliament itself, and he answered to all their demands by writing in such sort as gave good satisfaction.

"The Chief Justice and Attorney, in the meantime, often visited Father Garnett, and daily vexed him with subtle examinations and cruel interrogations, but finding they could win nothing by these means, they devised, by treacherous stratagems, to discover the secrets of his heart, if any were concealed by him of which they might take advantage. And to this end caused the keeper that had particular charge, to keep his prison close and surely locked, and who alone was admitted to come unto him and to bring him his meat and other necessaries which he wanted. This man was directed to feign himself much moved with Father Garnett's behaviour and words (as, indeed, they were sufficient to move a better and wiser man than him that had not been without grace), and to pretend that he began to be much inclined and almost won to the Catholic faith, and, in the meantime, to show himself very friendly, and promise to be faithful to Father Garnett in anything wherein he might do him service. And the fellow was so cunning in this art of cozenage, and set so fair a gilt upon his copper, that the good Father, being full of charity, "which believeth all things, hopeth all things," did hope the best of his mind, though he meant not to trust him so far as might greatly endanger either himself or others until he had

better trial. But yet he made use of his offer so far as to send by him some notes of ordinary matters (as the fellow might think); first unto a prisoner in the Gatehouse, a virtuous priest and his kinsman of his own name, unto whom he sent a short letter concerning some necessaries that he wanted, which letter being written with ordinary ink, he wrote besides in the margin and in the free parts of the paper some other things with the juice of orange, which could not be seen without holding to the fire, and would not have been suspected if the letter had only by casualty come to light. But this faithless messenger, opposing his malice to the Father's charity, carried the letter presently to be scanned, which imported (besides the writing in black) a brief relation of the Father's estate, the effect of his examination, and that he was so clear of the Powder that the same could not be proved against him. When this letter was thus read by warming at the fire, because it could not then be delivered to the priest, they therefore counterfeited the Father's hand and sent it to Mr. Garnett in the Gatehouse, to deceive him also and to make him to return answer to the Father, that so he might think himself secure, and be emboldened to commit yet further trust unto this false messenger.[60]

"Then the Father, knowing how great care his friends abroad had of him, hoped he might use this man in like manner unto Mrs. Anne Vaux, a noble gentlewoman, and aunt

[60] *Condition of Catholics*, pp. 166, 167. See likewise *Records*, vol. ii. p. 481, "The Life of Father Thomas Garnett, martyr," the nephew of Father Henry, where this fact is fully recorded. The art of counterfeiting writing was then in great perfection. We read that this letter was so cunningly counterfeited that it could not be distinguished from Father Henry Garnett's own writing (and his hand was a most uncommon one). It was signed also, and had received a licence to pass from the Lieutenant. We read also in the same Life and page, that Cecil himself once tried another and darker stratagem upon Father Thomas, on his being taken from prison for embarkation, in pursuance of his sentence of banishment. A paper had been counterfeited as Father Henry Garnett's, containing untrue confessions and statements injurious both to Catholics and to himself. A messenger was sent with it to Father Thomas to procure his signature as attesting it to be his uncle's writing. Fortunately it was not in this instance so cleverly executed, and Father Thomas Garnett discovered the attempt. He related this fact to his keeper the night before he suffered at Tyburn. This "art of cozenage" was practised to a great extent to entrap by chance the victims assailed. In *Records*, vol. iii. p. 765, "Father Grene's MS. *F.*" we read in the case of the Rev. John Bost, the martyr, who after fearful tortures at York, was sent to the Tower of London. "Also in the Tower he was cozened with a counterfeit fellow, who said he was fallen and desired to have his help and favour. He [Bost] said he thought it an impossibility for any prisoner to be in the Tower and not to be cozened."

to the now Baron Vaux of Harrowden, who had for a long time showed great devotion and charity, serving Christ in His servants, much like, in her intended course, to those holy women of whom the Evangelist speaketh: *Quæ secutæ sunt Jesum a Galilæa ministrantes ei* [Which followed Jesus from Galilee, ministering unto Him],[61] and out of her great and faithful charity to Father Garnett, followed him, indeed, not only when she might with liberty enjoy the comfort of his spiritual and fatherly counsel, but also with great constancy and an undaunted mind, seeking by all means possible how she might assist him in his troubles. She therefore, being most desirous to perform all friendly offices to Father Garnett, and understanding that Father Thomas Garnett in the Gate-house had received a letter safely (as it was thought) by the means of this keeper, she procured to speak with the man, and finding by all outward signs that he did much affect the good Father, she thought she might be bold to make use of him. And so she did, desiring to know what he wanted, and what she could do for his comfort. So that under hope of this safe means there passed divers letters between them by this keeper, all which were first delivered by him to those that had employed him in that bad office; who procured the letters to be so finely counterfeited, that being delivered they were received on both sides for the true hands of the first writers.[62]

[61] St. Matt. xxvii. 55.

[62] These intercepted letters are among the State Papers in the Public Record Office. Copies of several are given below. The Hon. Anne Vaux and her sister Helen, wife of Edward Brookesby, Esq., were zealous Catholic ladies, devoting themselves to the service and help of the priests and afflicted Catholics in these severe times of persecution, regardless of the personal danger they incurred by their charity. They were daughters of William, the third Lord Vaux of Harrowden, by his first wife Elizabeth, daughter of John Beaumont, Esq., of Grace-Dieu, Leicestershire, and both of them were the spiritual children of Father Garnett. Anne was desirous of entering into religion herself at the time of his martyrdom, and the Father, as her director, wrote her some instructions about it, as will be seen below. She does not, however, appear to have eventually taken that step, for we meet with her some thirty years later (1635) at her mansion of Stanley Grange, Derby, still engaged in her zealous services to religion, converting her house into a College for the education of Catholic youths of the nobility and gentry, under the care of the Fathers of the Society in the district (see the account of the seizure of this school by the Privy Council, *Records*, vol. ii. pp. 316, seq.). The enemies of the Catholic faith did not fail to make a handle of the pious zeal of these good ladies, raising the most abominable slanders both against them and the martyr himself. Father Garnett alludes to these wicked libels upon the scaffold, and with his dying lips solemnly protested against them, declaring that for his own part he had always been free from such crimes, and upon his conscience believed those virtuous gentlewomen to be so too, and that consequently

"But in the meantime, finding nothing by all this that might touch Father Garnett in that degree which they most desired (there passing nothing in those letters but either spiritual comforts from the good Father, or relation of his estate and examinations, and how he would have some matters disposed of which belonged to his charge, and which he had not means before to give order for, in respect of the late great troubles which had happened); therefore, this not succeeding as yet to their full desire, though they kept this still on foot, yet they invented and put in practice another subtle craft, so much further from suspicion as it was nearer home, where the Father might to his thinking freely speak unto his friend without fear that his words should come to scanning, which letters are often subject unto. To this end they placed Father Oldcorne in a chamber near to Father Garnett. And one time this cozening keeper, making show of great love to Father Garnett, told him there was a thing wherein he knew the Father would take great comfort, and which he would be willing to grant (as desiring to do him any service), but that he durst never as yet tell him of it, lest it should be espied by others, and then he was undone. And this was that he might at some convenient times come to speak with Father Oldcorne; and that he would willingly grant them both this favour, so that Father Garnett would promise never to disclose it, and give the like charge unto Father Oldcorne. This being promised, the fellow

such imputations could only proceed from malice. We have already seen in p. 83, above, that Sir W. Waade, the Lieutenant of the Tower, at an examination of the martyr, made a gross allusion in regard to a child of Mr. Brookesby born at White Webbs House, and baptized by Father Garnett, for which Waade was rebuked by Lord Salisbury, and the Father himself then protested that such calumnies were unbecoming a place of justice. In connection with this subject we may add that Dr. Lingard, in the Appendix to vol. vii. of his *History of England* (Fifth Edit. 1849), after ably exposing, in defence of Father Garnett, a case of wilful falsification and fraud employed by Bishop Andrewes and Dr. Robert Abbot (brother to the Archbishop of Canterbury), two of his greatest calumniators, in order to aggravate his guilt and confirm his conviction in regard to the letter of the Father written on Palm Sunday, 1606, which is given above, goes on to mention an infamous attempt by Abbot to blacken the character of the Father by persuading his readers that an immoral intimacy existed between the martyr and his penitent, Mrs. Anne Vaux, giving in support of his calumny some apparently endearing expressions from one of her letters, and fraudulently making her to sign A.G., as if she had taken Father Garnett's name and looked upon herself as his wife, "whereas," continues Dr. Lingard, "her words are only expressive of her grief to be deprived of one who had been for many years her spiritual director; and her *real* signature (for these letters are still in the State Paper Office) is not A.G. but, as Mr. Jardine has remarked (p. 200), A.V., or Anne Vaux." We mention these instances (among many others) to show the animus of the Father's calumniators, and the amount of credit to be accorded to them.

showed Father Garnett the way unto the wall of Father Oldcorne's chamber, wherein there was a cleft by which they might well speak together and hear one the other, if they did speak of any loudness. This was accepted by both the Fathers as a great courtesy, and no small comfort in such a place to men of their quality, if this honey had not been stuffed with too much gall. But the keeper dogged them so closely, as they could never meet but he would be there, though unseen by them; for the place was purposely so contrived as that the sound of their words must needs be carried to another place not far off, where this keeper would stand and some other with him, to have a double witness in their double dealing. Whereupon it happened not long after that these two Fathers, thinking themselves secure in this point, took some fit time (as they thought) to have each other's help in the Sacrament of Confession. And after they had ended their spiritual business, they began to confer of each other's estate, demanding what had been asked and what answered in the times of their examinations. Amongst other things, Father Oldcorne demanding of Father Garnett whether he were not pressed with this matter of the Powder Treason, as being a likely thing they would urge that above all other matters against him. Father Garnett answered, that 'so they did; but that they could prove no such matter against him, and that no man living could touch him in that matter, but one.' This was the word that afterwards bred him so much trouble, and others of his friends so much grief, until by his public answers he had cleared their doubts, and by his death put the matter out of doubt, that he was not to be charged with any crime in the matter of that treason," having gained his knowledge of it shortly before its discovery under the seal of confession. "This was carried with all speed to the Council, with no small joy."

Father Gerard then relates the arrest of Mrs. Anne Vaux, who had been entrapped by the same perfidious keeper, under a promise of seeing, if not of speaking with Father Garnett at a window in the Tower, and her committal to the same place of confinement.

"About this time also," continues Father Gerard,[63] "was Father Thomas Garnett, in the Gatehouse, brought into further trouble for the letter he had received by the treacherous keeper, although it was signed and so licensed with the Lieutenant's hand, who had also, notwithstanding this leave given, seized

[63] *Condition of Catholics*, pp. 173, seq.

upon all such necessaries as were then sent unto Father Garnett by this good priest, and he was now also called into question about the whole matter, and strictly examined, and so removed from the Gatehouse to the Tower, where he remained in likely expectation both of torture and death for his charity shown to Father Garnett, to whom no man could show any friendship and be withal esteemed 'a friend of Cæsar.'

"Then the Council appointed a set time of coming to the Tower to examine Father Garnett upon this advantage they had by cunning won of him out of his own words. There came thither to that end the Lord of Salisbury, the Lord of Suffolk, the Lord Northampton and others. How Father Garnett had been used in the meantime for his preparation to this business we cannot learn, but we have cause to think it was not so well at this time especially, as he out of his modesty was content to affirm of his usage in general, being asked the question at his arraignment. For when he was brought before the Lords, he was in a very strange plight, so thirsty as not able to spit or speak, beer was called for, and he drank two glasses before them; withal he was so drowsy, as not able to hold up his head; he complaining that he had not slept in five nights before. It was reported by divers of good intelligence in London that he was watched of purpose and kept from sleep to make his head light, and himself less able to bear that which should be imposed upon him; also that he had some mixtures of intoxicating drink given him which should obscure his understanding and distemper his body. But in respect that Father Garnett being asked the question in public, did not take knowledge of any extraordinary hard usage in those kinds, I for my part do rather think it was done, but in such manner as himself could not perceive, by mixing his meat or drink with such confections as might work both those effects to distemper his body and hinder his sleep, and yet the Father not know when or how it was procured.

"At this time he was so heavy in his head, that being not fit to be examined, the Lords permitted him to go sleep an hour, and then being awaked, he was brought unto them again, but was little better. Then they did examine him of many things concerning the Powder Treason, and particularly seemed to take knowledge that one had confessed something of him in that kind, and asked seriously whether there were not some one that could accuse him therein; which he confidently denied as thinking himself as secure from being

accused in the knowledge of the matter as he was in conscience clear from all consent or approbation of the thing itself. When they saw him so absolute in denying this point, they carried him to the house of torture and there did torture him for some time; it is thought not very long.[64] For then they opened the whole secret, how he had been overheard speak at the hole in the wall with Father Oldcorne, and that he said there was one man that could accuse him, of which words they produced two witnesses that said they heard him speak them; and how many more were brought in we know not. But Father Garnett then seeing his trust deceived and the matter discovered, thought it best for divers reasons not to stand in it any longer; but said that he would utter the matter justly as it was, that being the time wherein he might lawfully do it, and before he could not: the knowledge that he had being a secret committed to him in confession, which the penitent did only license him to utter to save himself from torture, but not in any other case.

"Then being taken down from the torture, he was demanded how far he was of counsel or a furtherer of the Plot of Powder. He answered he was never any furtherer of it, but did ever both mislike it in his heart, and in what he could did hinder it. And being asked how it was, or by whom he might then be accused, he answered that he could not be otherwise accused of it, but that he had only a simple knowledge of it, and that also in so secret a manner as that it was never lawful for him to utter it, being in confession. They asked how it came to be more lawful now to utter it than before. He said, in respect that now he had leave granted by the penitent, who had licensed him to utter it, rather than endure torture for keeping his confession secret. And being urged by some of the Lords, why it might be lawful to utter the secret of confession to save himself from torture, and not lawful to utter it for the saving of so many great persons from death, &c., he answered it was lawful in neither case, but by the license of the penitent, who only could enlarge or restrain the seal of the secret which appertained to himself. Being then required to tell who that party was, he answered, they should see he would deal plainly with them in all things, it being now lawful

[64] Father Blount, under the signature of R. Dagger, in a letter to Father Parsons, dated August or September, 1606 (*Angl.* vol. iii. n. 64), says; "Mrs. Anne Vaux is now at liberty, and saith that Father Garnett was certainly tortured, as she learneth in the Tower, and that all those reports which were bruited about him were stark false."

to utter his knowledge therein, and said 'the man was Father Oswald Tesimond.'"

Father Gerard enters at great length into the points connected with this acknowledgment of Father Garnett, and clearly exonerates the martyr, who had himself well considered the matter, from any imputation of fear or imprudence. His principal arguments are that after it had transpired that he would be accused of the Plot, further denial would have saved neither his life nor his reputation, but would on the contrary have thrown doubt on all his future assertions. By telling the plain truth that the knowledge of certain intentions and measures had come to him only in confession, he made it evident that neither he nor Father Tesimond were principals or parties concerned in them, and that Father Tesimond had doubts and difficulties in his mind upon which he sought counsel through confession, just because he neither approved of nor would give any countenance to the Plot. He may have wished to ask whether he had sufficiently opposed it, or whether he was called upon to take other steps to arrest its progress. Father Garnett therefore did not prejudice, but rather improved his own and Father Tesimond's position. Had he refused to mention the name of the latter, having his permission to do so, the King and State would never have felt satisfied that some plotter was not still left, and hence fresh troubles would have ensued to many Catholics, and especially to those amongst Father Garnett's own particular acquaintances. While to name any other person would have been equally false and dangerous, the mention of Father Tesimond could scarcely add to the bad opinion which the judges already had of him from statements made to them.

"These and many more effectual reasons no doubt were considered by Father Garnett, which moved him not to conceal the whole truth of his knowledge, and the means how it came unto him, which cannot therefore be justly imputed to any frailty or imprudence in him, but rather esteemed as an argument of his care to take away jealousies from the King, who could not fear any further power or practice in Father Tesimond, to prevent troubles from Catholics, to free himself and the other also from opinion of any consent unto the Plot; but especially to clear all the rest of the Society from so much as the least knowledge that any such thing was intended. Which truth may evidently be proved out of Father Garnett's words, 'That one only could accuse him of his knowledge

thereof;" for if any more of the Society had known thereof, it is certain they would and must have confessed the same to him, if they took it for a fault; if otherwise, at least have sought his advice out of confession. So that no more imparting the matter to him, it was apparent no more did know of it; and it was therefore very likely to be God's especial providence that Father Garnett should be overheard to speak these words unto his confident friend in private (whereby it was most apparent he meant not to be heard by others), that thereby all others might be cleared; though for the time it occasioned his further trouble, which God doth often permit to his elected servants for their further increase of glory in another world.

"This, therefore, Father Garnett acknowledged then in his examination before the Council, that they might see, as he told them, he dealt truly and plainly with them in all things. And they asking him why he did not before acknowledge so much, but did protest against it, he answered it was not before lawful for him to do it, because he had no leave but in that case, and that it was a thing both lawful in all laws, divine and human, and ordinary also in their own practice, for men to plead not guilty, until they be convicted by witness, which he especially might do in this case, this being no sin or crime in him, and was bound to do until this time, it being before *sigillum secreti confessionis*,[65] which was now relieved by the penitent's leave.

"So they left Father Garnett for the time, but carried with them matter enough, as they thought, to convict him of this treason in show of the world. To which end it was presently given out through the whole town, that he had confessed all, and now they could prove the Jesuits to be principal plotters of this treason, and him and Greenway to be chief authors and devisers of the same; and it was in most men's mouths that all this was under Garnett's hand confessed. And this presently carried unto the Ambassadors there residing, that by them it might be divulged in other's States; and so a falsehood first grounded might be more hard to be removed by sequent information of the truth, and their proceedings against Father Garnett might seem more justifiable. This report, although it troubled the Catholics of England much until they knew the contrary, yet could they not believe it, being so well acquainted with the giving out of such things, as the

[65] The seal of the secret of confession.

chiefest do desire to have believed, although the truth be often found on the contrary side."

We now proceed to the arraignment and condemnation of Father Garnett. Father Gerard in his Narrative,[66] says:

"Whereas it was now plainly known to the Council (by the means aforesaid) how far this matter could be laid unto Father Garnett's charge, and that they had no further expectation to find him guilty of any help or furtherance at all given by him to this Powder Treason, it was resolved to proceed against him only upon his simple knowledge thereof which he had received in confession, esteeming it not fit to let go this opportunity, sith no greater advantage could be gotten, especially seeing by this time all men were full of expectation what would become of the matter after so long time of trial and so many and strict examinations. It was hoped also, that howsoever he might excuse himself from fault in the sight of God for not revealing the seal and secret of confession, yet that he could not justify it before the world, it being accounted treason by the laws of England to know of treason intended and not to reveal it. In which law (now) the knowledge which is had by confession is not excepted, because confession itself being in England rejected, the good and necessity of the secrecy thereof is not so much esteemed as their public peace and prosperous proceedings in their worldly estate. Upon this ground therefore it was hoped they had matter enough against Father Garnett both to make him odious to the people and all Jesuits for his sake; and therefore it was intended that his trial should be performed in the most public and solemn manner they could devise, thereby to disgrace the more both him and his religion, for so in express words the Earl of Salisbury did twice publicly affirm in the time of his arraignment, and that otherwise such preparation and solemnity had not been needful for the arraignment of a poor religious man, and said 'he held himself much honoured that day to be an assistant where God's cause should be so much honoured' (meaning the Protestants' religion). And how should this be performed? 'By discrediting,' said he, 'the person of Garnett, on whom the common adversary had thought to confer the usurpation of so eminent jurisdiction.' So that one may see plainly the whole day's work was bent against religion; and whatsoever was pretended against Father Garnett in this matter, all was directly intended in hatred of the Catholic

[66] *Condition of Catholics*, pp. 224, seq.

faith. And so we may see in the process of the accusation, when the Attorney brought against Father Garnett all other former matter that had been forged against the martyrs in Queen Elizabeth's time, with which (if they had been true) yet they could no more have charged Father Garnett with them in justice than the child that was then unborn.

"Therefore the day appointed being come, which was a Friday, the 28th of March, about eight of the clock, he was brought from the Tower in a coach with the Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir William Wade, and another knight, the curtains being close drawn about them. Which manner of carriage to judgment being very extraordinary and not used to any before him, the people did much wonder at it, and thought it strange he should be so carried, considering that most of those that were indeed conspirators in the treason were men of better birth and blood than he (which by them is much respected) and yet were used in much different manner. But some did more truly guess that this was not done for any grace unto him (whom they sought to disgrace in all they could), but to grace their own cause, by making him seem a man of greatest account amongst the Papists, against whom they meant to object and hoped to prove the Powder Treason, and so all Papists to be as it were proved guilty in him they chiefly esteemed and followed. But the curtains doubtless were kept close, that the people might not be moved with the sight of so reverend a man, or he moved upon any occasion to speak unto them in his own clearing."

Bishop Challoner says that his enemies to disgrace him had published many falsehoods of him, and among the rest, that, having been kept watching for six whole days and nights (a new kind of torture), he had lost his senses. But this and other calumnies were dissipated by his public appearance and comportment at the trial.

"There were set in place of judgment in the Guildhall the Lord Mayor of London (who in that Court is the King's Lieutenant), the Lord Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, the Lord Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, the Lord Somerset, Earl of Worcester, the Lord Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, the Lord Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, with Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Justice of England, the Lord Chief Baron, and Justice Yelverton,[67] Commissioners for his Majesty in that

[67] The report of the trial says Selwyn.

behalf.[68] The Lieutenant of the Tower being come with Father Garnett to the place of judgment, he returned his writ unto the Council (by virtue whereof he had kept the prisoner) together with the body of the prisoner there present."

It has been thought better, as stated in the Introduction, to insert by way of Appendix the various examinations and statements of the martyr, as well as a report of the arraignment and trial. The examinations prior to the arraignment are contained in numbers 1 to 19. The arraignment itself, No. 20, is followed by the statements, &c., of the Father after his condemnation, which include numbers 21 to 24. By this arrangement any interruption in the narrative is avoided.

The jury having returned their verdict of guilty, Serjeant Crooke prayed that judgment might be given. The crier was ordered to proclaim silence. The Lord Chief Justice, Sir John Popham, pronounced the sentence against him, which was, that he should be hanged, drawn, and quartered.

"The Earl of Northampton," says Father Gerard, "made a second speech to this effect unto the prisoner. 'Nothing is, that hath not been: nor nothing hath been, that is not. That all which hath been spoken this day might be rightly understood, you are condemned not for religion or your profession, but for treason verified by pregnant proofs. It is necessary to look into the ground of this action and safety of the King; which by the Scripture is sufficiently commanded and proved, that there is no cause sufficient to depose princes, neither tyranny, nor adultery, nor idolatry, nor apprehending of priests, nor simony, nor heresy, nor apostacy. No power upon earth can dispossess him. That Popes have attempted it sometimes, hath been abuse crept in within these five or six hundred years, but the ancient Popes would never do it, yea, St. Gregory calleth the Emperor, his Lord. No man may lay hands upon the King, as is proved by many examples in the Old Testament. You are commanded in the New Testament to obey your princes; and so all the ancient Fathers teach. For the prince's life is in no man's power, but in the hands of God Himself. All examples of Scripture prove you ought not

[68] In *Dom. James I.* vol. xx. n. 5, April 2, 1606, is a letter from John Chamberlain, Esq., to Dudley Carleton, in which he says (among other things), "I was not at Garnett's arraignment, but have heard it related by many that were there, it lasted from eight in the morning till seven at night. The King was there privately, and held out all day; besides many courtiers and ladies, as the Lady Arabella, the Lady of Suffolk, Walsingham, *cum multis aliis.*"

to touch his body, but to persuade his soul. You allege the canon of *Nos Sanctorum* to prove it in the Pope's power to depose princes for some causes; but it never can be proved lawful by any learning or law for these sixteen hundred years. Therefore whosoever doth maintain it, is in a foul and most gross and grievous error.'"

To this uncalled-for tirade the martyr did not consider it worth while to reply.

"This was about six or seven o'clock at night. Then the Court broke up; and Father Garnett being condemned to die was returned back to the Tower until the day of his execution. The King as he went from the place of trial, where he had been in private, was heard to say, they had done the prisoner wrong to interrupt him so often; and also that if he had been in the prisoner's place he could have defended himself better in some points. The Protestants were generally much appalled at the beginning of Father Garnett's speech, and some that came from the hall said that never any man did speak so at that bar. But towards the end, they did weary him exceedingly with so many interruptions and interrogations. But it did comfort the Catholics much that he was condemned only for concealing the treason which he had only heard in confession, and consequently his condemnation and death was only for concealing confession, which is a most happy cause, and the case of a martyr, as all the Catholics did then account him, and as the justice of his cause did then approve him: and God hath since his death declared by diverse signs."[69]

[69] We refer the reader to the Rev. Charles Dodd's account of Father Henry Garnett, and his excellent defence of the martyr (*Church History*, vol. ii. p. 395, seq.). We have only space for a few extracts. "The prisoner was placed in a square desk, from whence he might be conveniently seen and heard by all the court. This was done with a design to expose him to ridicule, as some thought. But he being a person of a graceful presence, of modest composed countenance, and well qualified to be heard from such a place, all that turned very much to his advantage. Sir Edward Coke opened the cause by bringing in a great deal of unseasonable and uncalled-for law: it being customary either by way of ostentation, or upon some other worse motive, to sum up a general charge which the prisoner could have no concern in, in order to make the particular one he is impeached for appear more probable to the jury. This was Father Garnett's case. Nothing had been acted against the Government in former reigns that was not mentioned as naturally introductory to the Gunpowder Plot; and at last Coke came to the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, informing the court that the prisoner had been an old offender, and for several years had corresponded with Italy and Spain to the injury of his country, &c. Father Garnett, on the other hand, as soon as he was permitted to speak, replied to every point with a firmness and modesty becoming his abilities and character. He noticed the odious insinuations in the preamble of Coke, which could not affect him, though

Before proceeding to the narrative of the execution of the sentence of death upon Father Garnett, we introduce an intercepted correspondence between him after his condemnation, and his great friend and patroness, Mrs. Anne Vaux, as also a letter from Mrs. Elizabeth Vaux to the Earl of Salisbury.

Dom. James I. vol. xx. n. 11, April 3, 1606. Endorsed, "Garnett to Mrs. Vaux, to be published after his death by her to the Jesuits. All this is in Garnett's own hand."

they plainly discovered the disposition of his persecutors. . . . He frankly owned his corresponding abroad in the late reign, both by recommending persons to his acquaintance in Italy and Spain, and by endeavouring to procure money for the sustenance of poor Catholics in England. But he humbly conceived there could be no harm in such a correspondence, unless it were in treasonable cases. . . . But admitting the truth of these allegations, he appealed to the act of grace since his Majesty's accession to the crown, whereby all such offences of the late reign were pardoned." Dodd then mentions as "a further instance of Father Garnett's sincerity," his informing the court of the efforts he had made to dissuade the discontented Catholics from any acts of violence, as we have already fully related in the Father's life. Mr. Dodd then refers to the "hole in the wall" stratagem, by which means, as we have already seen, it came out that Father Garnett had heard of the design under the solemn seal of confession, and had used every effort left open to him to prevent it. "When the spies gave evidence at the trial, the court was not anxious about the inquiry whether the knowledge of the design was in or out of confession, so the jury brought him in guilty of misprision of treason. Being asked afterwards why he would declare a thing now, and not at an earlier period, his answer was that since they had by a stratagem overheard his discourse with Mr. Oldcorne, and that he had obtained leave from Mr. Greenway to disclose what he knew from him in confession, the obligation of secrecy ceased; and it was prudence rather to discover the truth than to give the world occasion to judge rashly, and regard him and his friends as having been more concerned in that affair than they really were." The historian then goes on to observe that "several odious matters were touched upon, very foreign to the indictment; but rehearsed with great vehemency and aggravation against the principles and practices of Catholics, . . . and though Mr. Garnett was not immediately concerned to reply to such invectives, yet he discovered a great deal of learning, modesty, and Christian behaviour upon the occasion, and exposed Coke's erroneous account of the date of recusancy and of the motives and origin of the laws made against Catholics." Dodd, after giving an account of the execution of the martyr concludes: "From the whole it appears that Father Garnett was so far from being a principal in this bloody design, that he was no further acquainted with it than by hearing it in confession from Greenway, who had been informed of it by Catesby in confession. What knowledge Father Garnett had of matters out of confession, was only of some design in general." He then proceeds to rebuke the unfairness of Protestant historians in relating the case, and gives a gross specimen from Collier, *Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. bk. viii. p. 689, who says – "Garnett confessed at last that the party revealed it to him as they were walking, and not at the time of confession. He owned that two persons discoursed with him concerning the treason, and that Catesby entertained him on this horrible subject in the presence and hearing of another. He frankly owned his crime, declared himself heartily sorry for it, and asked pardon of God and the King."

My very loving and most dear Sister,—Because I know not whether a note I sent forth came to your hands or no, I will write now more particularly a direction for you, what I think best for you, when it shall please God to sett you at liberty.

First, if you can stay in England and enjoy the use of Sacra^{ts} in such sort as heretofore, I think it absolutely the best. And then do I wishe that, if it may be, you and your sister live as before in a house of comon repaire of the Society, or where the Superior of the Mission shall ordinarily remaine. Or if this cannot be, then you and your sister to make the choice of some one of the Society, as you shall like, which I am sure will be granted you.

Secondly. If you like to go over, then do I wish that you stay awhile at St. Omer's, and send for Father Baldwin, and consult with him where to live, for I think St. Omer's to be not so wholesome as Brussels. And then in respect of your weakness, I think it best for you to live abroade and not in a monastery.

Your vow of obedience, being made to the Sup^{r} of the mission here, when you are once over ceaseth. And then may you consult how to make it againe. But you must know that none of the Society can accept a vow of obedience of any, but any one may vow as he wish, and then one of the Soc^{y} may direct accordingly. So that you may vow obedience to your ghostly Father appointed or to be appointed by the Rectour of the College where you shall live, or to any particular person if it be such that he is stable in the place, and not like to be soone removed.

For poverty you may also do the like; but this I would have you know, that all that is out for annuities I always meant to be yours; hoping that after your death you will leave what you can well spare to the mission. Yet if you shall need in your life, or will at your death alien or sell the third part, I wish you do as you please; or if to settle yourself in some house, if you list to enter into religion, you need present money for a portion, then you may take as much as you will, putting over the rest to the Society, allotting also somewhat for certain yeares, or all the rents, for to bestow on such as you shall desyre. So that in this you may freely use your own pleasure.

I pray you let my friends know that I have already appointed that Mr. Blunt have care of the temporal collections and distributions and of writing.

Also, that until a Superior be made, Mr. Anthony, Mr. Duckett, and Mr. Holland take the renovations, and heare at any time the confessions of such as shall please to use them, with full authority as much as I myself have. I desire they know that I leave the Society charged with an annuity of £20 yearly to Mrs. Mary Grene, and the like to a gentleman, a bacheler, whom you call uncle.

Also, whereas St. Omer hath in deposito £400, sent by me, they know wherefore, so it is that it must be made up £40 more, so that in all it must be £440.

Also I owe (though not in rigour) to Mr. Thos. Winter £4 2s., which I wish paid to his sister.

I wish also some consideracion of Mr. Yates for his horse he gave me.

I understand by the doctours which were with me, and by Mr. Lieutenant that great scandall was taken at my arrainment, and 500 Catholics turned Protestants, which, if it should be trew, I must needs think that many other Catholics are scandalized at me also. I desyre all to judge of me in charity, for I thank God most humbly in all speeches and actions I have had a desire to do nothing against the glory of God, and so I will touch as near as I remember every point.

I found myself so touched by all that have gone before, but especially by the testimony of 2 that did hear our confess^{ns} and conference, and misunderstand us, that I thought it would make our actions much more excusable to tell the truth than to stand to the torture or trial by witnesses. I acknowledged that Mr. Greenwell only tould me in confession, yet so that I might reveale it if after I should be brought in question for it. I also said that I thought he had it in confession, so that he could reveal it to none but to me, and so neither of us was bound or could reveale it.

I thought Mr. Greenwell was beyond [seas], and then he can have no harm; if he be here in their fingers I hope his charity is such that he will be content to beare part with me. He was so touched that my acknowledging did neither excuse him, for I said (as it was trew) that we both conspired to hinder it; and so I hope he did; for Bates, his accusation is of no credit; he revealing confessed it, it were trew.

For matter of the Pope's authority of sigillum confessionis of equivōcon, I spoke as moderately as I could, and as I thought I was bound. If any were scandalized thereat it was not my fault, but their owne.

The Breves I thought necessary to acknow^{e} for many causes, especially Mr. Catesby having grounded himself thereon, and not on my advice.

I remember nothing else that could scandalize. But I was in medio illusorum, and it may be Catholicks also think strange we should be acquainted with such things; but who can hinder but he must know things sometimes which he would not. I never allowed it; I sought to hinder it more than men can imagine, as the Pope will tell. It was not my part (as I thought) to disclose it. I have written this day a detestation of that action for the King to see. And I acknowledge myself not to dye a victorious martyr, but as a penitent thief, as I hope I shall do. And so will I say at the execution, whatsoever others have said or held before.[70]

[70] The following is a copy of the document referred to by Father Garnett: *Dom. James I.* vol. xx. n. 12 [Father Garnett's own handwriting]. "I, Henry Garnett, of the Society of Jesus, priest, do here freely protest

Let everybody consider if they had bene 23 times examined before the wisest of the realme, besides particular conferences with Mr. Lieutenant, what they could have done upon so many evidences, for the conspiratours thought themselves sure, and used my name freely, though I protest none of them ever tould me of any thing. Yet have I hurt nobody.

As for the goods at your house, you know they will let you have all that is abroade. I gave order that the books should be taken away, neither was there any place fitte to hide them; but if they or anything else be found in hoales, you must challenge them as yours, as indeed they are. Otherwise lett all things lye that are hidden till fitt opportunity, and lett God work His will.

Howsoever, I shall die a thief, yet you may assure yourself your innocency is such that I doubt not but if you dye by reason of your imprisonment you shall dye a martyr. "'Tempus est ut incipiat judicium a domo Dei.' Vale mihi semper dilectissima in Xto, et ora pro me."

Dom. James I. vol. xx. n. 39. Father Garnett to Mrs. Vaux; in his own hand, 21 April.

It pleaseth God daily to multiply my crosses. I beseech him geve me patience and perseverence *usque in finem.* I was after a weeks hyding taken in a friend's house. Here our confessions and secret conferences were heard, and my letters taken by some indiscretion abroade. Then the taking of yourself after; my arrainment; then the taking of Mr. Greenwell; then the slander of us both abroade; then the ransacking anew of Erith and the

before God that I hould the late intention of the Powder action, to have bene altogither vnlawfull and most horrible; as well in respect of the injury and treason to his Majesty the Prince, and others that should have bene sinfully murdered at that time; as also in respect of infinite other innocents which should have been present. I also protest that I was ever of opinion that it was vnlawfull to attempt any violence against the King's Maty and the estate, after he was once receaved by the Realme. Also I acknowledge that I was bound to reveale all knowledge that I had of this or any other treason out of the Sacrament of Confession. And whereas partly upon hope of prevention, partly for that I would not betray my friend, I did not reveale the general knowledge of Mr. Catesbie's intention, which I had by him. [That is, that some treasonable plot was in agitation, which was the cause of Father Garnett's communications to Rome to procure the intervention of the Sovereign Pontiff for the prevention of any unlawful attempts, as we have seen above. But the knowledge of the Plot itself he only received from Father Tesimond under the seal of confession. See Lingard's Appendix, p. 544, above.] I do acknowledge myself highly guilty, and to have offended God, the King's Majesty and estate, and humbly ask of all forgiveness; exhorting all Catholics whatsoever, that they noway build on my example; but by prayer and otherwise seek the peace of the realme, hoping in his Matie's merciful disposition that they shall enjoy their wonted quietnes, and not beare the burden of mine or others defaults or crimes. In testimony hereof I have written this with my owne hand, 4° Aprilis,—HENRY GARNETT."

other house; then the execution of Mr. Hall; and now, last of all, the apprehension of Richard and Robert with a cifer, *I know not of whoes, laid to my charge; and that which was a singular oversight, a letter written in cifer, together with the cifer, which letter may bring many into question.* "Suffer etiam hos; audistis et finem Domini vidistis, quemadmodum misericors Dominus est et miserator."

"Sit nomen Domini benedictum."

Yours in eternum, as I hope,
H. G.

I thought verily my chamber in Thames Street had bene given over, and therefore I used it to save Erith; but I might have done otherwise.

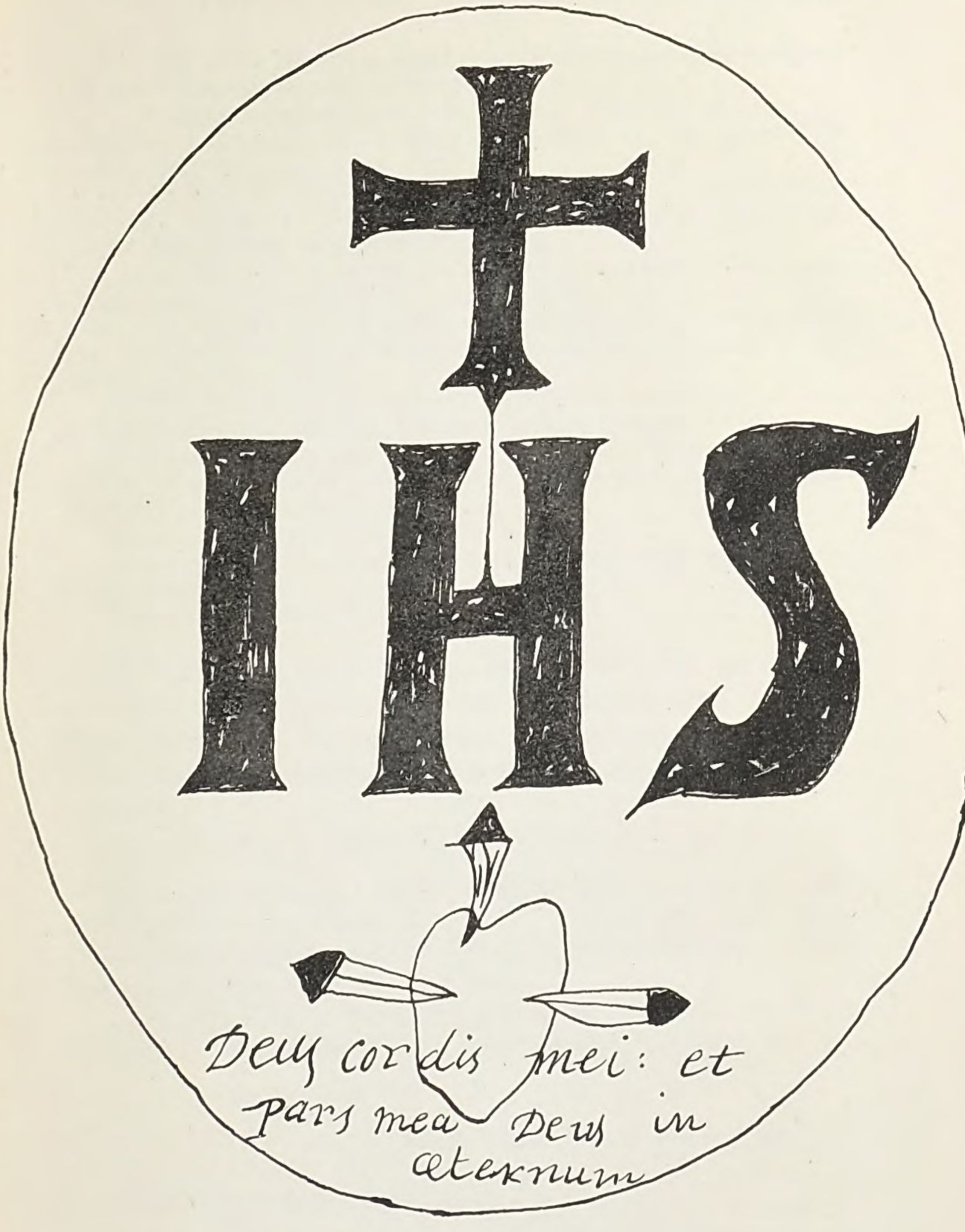
Dom. James I., Gunpowder Plot Book, Supplemental, nn. 241—246. "Original intercepted letters of Father Garnett and Mrs. Anne Vaux, written during his imprisonment in the Tower, with orange juice; with copies transcribed by Mr. R. Lemon, jun. February to April, 1606."

N. 241. I pray you lett these spectacles be set in leather and with a leather case, or lett the fould be fytter for ye nose.—Yours for ever, H. G. HENRY GARNETT.

The above short note is written on the back of a rough piece of paper in real ink. The letter itself, given below, was written upon the same scrap of paper with lemon juice, invisible at the time, but now perfectly legible. Mrs. Green, the editor of the volume of the Calendars, 1603—1611, makes this remark: "In this letter (n. 241) and five others, Nn. 242 to 246, Gunpowder Plot Book, the important portion was written with orange juice, so as to be invisible to a casual observer, and thus the letters passed through the hands of the Lieutenant of the Tower. They excited suspicion from the size of the paper employed and the insignificance of their palpable contents. They were, therefore, examined, and the secret writing being discovered, were used as evidence against Garnett. Each is accompanied with a transcript, as complete as the faded state of the writing permits, made by Mr. Lemon."

The letters "A," "B," &c., are the Attorney General Coke's.

A. This bearer knoweth that I write thus, but thinks it must be read with water.



An Original Drawing by Fr. Garnett at the foot of his Letter of April 21st.

P. 106.]

B. The paper sent with buiscuit bread I was enforced to burn, and did not read. I pray write again.

C. I have acknowledged that I went from Sir Everard to Coughton and stayed 2 or three dayes after my Lady went to London, and then rode away alone.

D. Also that Bates and Greenway mett by chaunce, and Greenway sayed all Catholickes were undone, not as they would have it that Jesuites only were discredited.

I read the letters before Bates and Greenway. My Lady Digby came. What did she? Alas, what, but cry.

E. My answer was to Bates by word of mouth. I am sorry they have without advice of friends adventured in so wicked an action. Lett them desist.

In Wales I neither can, nor will assist them, and if Wales were so disposed as they imagine, yet were all now too late.

F. I must needs acknowledge my being with the 2 sisters and that at White Webbs as is trew. For they are so jealous of White Webbs, I can no way else.

My names I all confesse, but that last.

Apoint some place nere where this bearer may meete some trusty friend.

Where is Mrs. Anne?

N. 242. This letter is more difficult to make out, as the writing in real ink passes over part of what is written in lemon juice. Most of it is copied from the original, and part from Mr. Lemon's transcript, of which in each case there are two copies.

The following is written by Father Garnett in real ink:

A. I have receaved 2 bands, 2 handkerchers, 1 paire of socks, and a Bible. God reward all frends. I would you could make shift to borrow eleven pounds. I shall be able to repay at ye least half againe, when I can send to a frend.

I and Mr. Hall have not yett payed our fees; whereof I am ashamed. This with most harty comendations. I ceas, 3 Mar.

Yrs for ever,

H. G.

W. S. WAAD, *locum tenens Turris.*

What follows is in orange juice:

Your last letter I could not reade. Your penne did not cast inck. The Latin was for Mr. Blunt, or any of the Society. Shew it them if you have it still, or I will write again. You shall know my mind more fully, if you or any frend repaire to my keeper's mother as you shall *now* [? know] *direction*. But come not hither except with good guides, and when Wade is abroade for he is often with me or in the gallery hard by. You may see me, but not talk. Our friend P. Carey is hard by me. We salute daily.

Take heed no more of our frends come in danger. It will breed new examinations.

Master Catesby did me much wrong, and hath confessed that he tould them that he said he asked me a question in Q. Eliz. time of the powder action, and that I said it was lawfull. All which is most untrew. He did it to draw in others. I see no advantage they have against me for the powder action. More hereafter by our keeper at his mother's.

I desyre to know if the money he transported for my debts and what money Richard hath of ye Society, and of ye grocer's money, and the hundreth pound that was given me of curtesy. If we have any more of the Society, I wish beds for James, Jhon, and Harry, who all have been often tortured.

These names are written on the back in ink:

Thomas Sayer, *alias* Rookwood,

HENRY GARNETT, 3 Mar.

N. 243 is written in orange juice, in the usual large and bold character of Anne Vaux's handwriting. With the exception of a word here and there it is utterly illegible, and baffled even the experts, Mr. Lemon and Mrs. Green. The portion they have made out is not worth copying, being so disconnected.

N. 244 is a letter from Mrs. Anne Vaux. The paper on which the last number is written is very soft and like cloth, which will account for the loss of the words. This letter is on hard paper, and is as plain and legible as common ink, but of a brown or *rusty* colour.

The following, which was alone intended for sight, is in common ink, and is *not* in Anne Vaux's handwriting:

I pray you prove whether these spectacles do fytt your sight.

Then follows in orange juice by Anne Vaux:

On Saturday at supper the Aturne sead that when you yeare [were] in examining you fened [feigned] yourselfe sike, to goo to your camber, and coming thether you seme to take some marmelate which even then was sent you and burned a letter which yr kepper seeing did tel, and you being excamened sead that it yas [was] a letter that a frend had sent you, and fering that ther meight be anething of danger to the party you burned it; and that you had aknoleggeg that you know of the powther action but not a practiser in it. The paper sent you with the box was concerning myself: if this cum safe to you I will wryte and so will more frendes, who would be glad to have derection from you who should supply roume [room] for myselfe. I am forced to seeke new frendes, my olde are most carles of mee. I beseech you, for God's sake, advies me what cours to take so loung as I am here, from you not out of humour [?]. My hope is that you will contenew your

care of me and commende to sum that will for your sake helpe mee; to leve without you is not life but death, now I see my los [loss]. I am and ever will be yours, and so I humbly beseeche you to account me. O ! that I meight see you.

Yours.

N. 245. Father Garnett's own handwriting on a similar piece of paper to n. 241. The whole is in orange juice, except the signature, "Henry Garnett," which is in ink. "To Mrs. Anne Vaux," very legible.

Concerning the disposing of yourself, I geve you leave to go over to them; the vowe of obedience ceaseth, being made to the Superiors of this mission. You may upon deliberation make it to some there.

If you like to stay here, then I exempt you till a Superior be appointed whom you may acquaint, but tell him that you made your vow of yourself, and then tould me, and that I limitted certain conditions, as that you are not bound under sin except you be commanded in *virtute obedientiæ*; we may accept no vowes. But men may make them as they list, and we after give directions accordingly.

Mr. Hall dreamed that Fa. Generall would have him and me professed. He said that I was professed already. "Yea," quoth he, "but I will have him professed of 10 or 11 vowes more," and there were provided 2 faire tabernacles or seates for us, and so he awaked, and falling asleepe againe had the same dreame.

Your sister and nephew looke to themselves til the brut be passed.

Tel Mr. Blunt we ow £20 per an. to Mary Green and George Perkes.

I have confessed no person.

Lett all I write out be very secret.

That of eleven vows was mistaken.

Henry Garnett.

N. 246. From Anne Vaux. All in orange juice; though more legible than her first, yet in parts it is scarcely readable.

Good Father,—I have received your spectacles, and think it be the greatest comfort that I have in this world to here from you, yet this is the greatest greife your takeing that I ever hade, for that it seemeth you leave me to myself, and that is so great as nothing in this world can be more. How may I use my vow of poverty, and what is your will absolutely for my going or [? over, meaning to Belgium]. I will cum to be acquitted with you. I will be your sister if I can be [and if you

please] to geve me leave.[71] I preaye you make Mr. Cave pertaker of the benifites of the Society. Mr. Hall his dream had been a great comfort if at the fute [foot] of the throne ther had ben a place for me. God and you know my unworthenes. I beseiche you healpe me with your prayers.

Thus in most deutyfull maner I commende myselfe to you.

Yours, and not my one,

A. V.

I send your hose and doublet.

Wryt if you have them. X pound is demanded of you, if you will I will lend.

We subjoin an interesting letter[72] from that heroic lady, Mrs. Elizabeth Vaux of Harrowden, the great friend and patroness of Father John Gerard, and frequently noticed in *Condition of Catholics.* It is addressed to the Earl of Salisbury. Father Morris in page cxxxii. observes that she was daughter of Sir John Roper, who was raised to the peerage in 1616 as Lord Teynham. In 1590, she married George, the second son of William, Lord Vaux of Harrowden, but her husband died in 1594, during the lifetime of his father. When in the following year her father-in-law also died, her infant son Edward, fourth Baron Vaux, was left under her charge. She was arrested in 1605 upon the affair of the Powder Plot, and her spirited conduct before the Lords of the Privy Council is detailed in *Condition of Catholics*, pp. 140, seq.

Right hon[ble] and my very good Lord,—The knowledge which I have of your worthy disposition, with the security of mine own innocency, emboldeneth me to become an humble suitor unto your lordship for some enlargement, being here in Sir John Swinnerton's house, where I am not admitted any one servant of my son's to have access unto me to stead me in my needful occasions, all mine own men being committed to several prisons. If your lordship do hold me here out of an opinion to draw from me the discovery of that party which your lordship is persuaded had so deep a finger in that most horrible treason, which none living hath a greater detestation of than myself, I do here profess unto your lordship, that it is not in the compass of my power to do it; but I pray heartily unto sweet Jesus, that He in His justice will deliver him into your lordship's hands, if he be guilty, which I have very strong and forcible reasons to make doubt of, but that it becometh

[71] Some portion of the passage is illegible. The use of the term sister evidently refers to her desire of becoming a nun in Belgium. She is writing to Father Garnett, her spiritual director, for advice. This is probably the letter referred to in the note, pages 91, 92 above, regarding the infamous attempt of Dr. Abbot to blacken the character of Father Garnett.

[72] British Museum, Additional MSS. 6,178, p. 152.

me not to contradict your lordship's better judgment; and, if your lordship have cause to believe I know that party, or might discover him, so your lordship, in your wisdom, cannot but think that upon the general rumour of so a horrible a treason discovered and supposed to have been intended by any that did but bear the name of a Catholic, every man that stood but in ordinary danger, and had but a common understanding would shun those places most likely to be suspected and searched for them. And for your lordship's further satisfaction, I do assure your lordship that there are many that will receive such persons that will not put their lives and estates in the power and secrecy of a woman. And if your lordship shall, notwithstanding these my protestations, rest still doubtful of me, and desire to hold me longer in durance, I will rest with patience your lordship's best pleasure, but I must beseech your lordship's particular memory of me, that have not any to solicit for me, but my own tedious lines, which I fear may now seem so troublesome to your lordship, in your more serious affairs, that I must crave pardon of your lordship, hoping the necessity of my case shall in part plead my excuse to your lordship.

Whose I rest, humbly to be commanded,

ELIZ. VAUX.

We resume our extracts from Father Gerard's narrative of Father Garnett's execution.

"After the condemnation of Father Garnett and the execution of Father Oldcorne, they kept the former still in the Tower, to the marvel of many, from the time of his arraignment, which was the 28th of March, until the 3rd of May. In the meantime there were spread many false rumours, that forsooth he would yield, and that they should see him preach publicly heretical doctrine, and such like; all which things God knows were far from his thoughts, as he showed by his great constancy, and in express words also when he came to die. But this was done to diminish the great and worthy opinion which was conceived of him generally, and to cause some bad rumours to be spread of him in other countries before his death, that the truth itself, when it came to be opened by his constant suffering, might have the less credit, at least in some men's minds, where the contrary prejudicate opinion should be before settled.

"All this time, which God of His gracious providence gave unto the holy man for his better preparation and perfecting of his fervent and religious desires, his enemies also gave him good occasion to increase his merits, often soliciting him to declare who was intended for Protector by the Catholics

if the Plot had gone forward, whereby it was thought likely that the Earl of Northumberland would have been deeply touched. And to this end it was constantly affirmed by some that knew much how things passed, that both life and favour were often and earnestly offered him, if he would have yielded in that point. But Father Garnett was far from any such base and unworthy mind: neither could he ever be brought to repair his own liberty with the ruins of others.

"Wherefore when it was plainly seen that there was no hope to draw him to anything unlawful or unfit for a religious priest, it was then determined presently that he should suffer. And the day was assigned to be the 1st of May, which being told unto Father Garnett, he misliked the choice they had made of that day, as well in regard it hath not been usual to put any to death upon such great feasts, as for that it hath long time been a custom in England upon that day in the morning early, for the people to go into the fields and come home with green boughs in their hands in sign of joy, and to spend most of that day in triumph and pastime. To which effect Father Garnett made answer, 'What, will they make a May game of me?' which words of his (as it afterwards proved) he was by God's providence directed to speak. For when it was told to the Council what he said, they saw it was not fit, and altered the day from Thursday, which was May-day, until the Saturday following, which was the Invention of the Holy Cross, and the day no doubt assigned by Almighty God for his martyrdom; for, of all other days in that season, the martyr himself was most affected unto that, having ever had a special devotion unto the Cross and Passion of Christ; wherefore as he misliked the unfit choice of the other day, so he rejoiced exceedingly at this election, and prepared himself gladly to find this cross which God would send him upon that day, and by that cross to find the way to Heaven. He showed himself a true disciple and follower of the Apostle, who 'gloried in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, in Whom is his salvation, life, and resurrection, by Whom he is saved and delivered.'

"The manner of his preparation we cannot learn, all things being kept so close in that most close and strict prison, where none but his keeper could possibly come to him, and that keeper a most malicious fellow. But we may well judge of his preparation by the effects of his well-prepared mind and his cheerful carriage, which in so grave a man was a sign of great peace and contentment of mind.

"When the desired day was come, Father Garnett was brought down from his cell in the Tower, and was first met by one of the cooks of the house, who used to provide him his dinner, and this man took his leave of him, saying, 'Farewell, good sir,' upon whom the Father, looking with a pleasant smiling countenance, said, 'Farewell, good friend Tom; this day I will save thee a labour to provide my dinner.' And going a little further towards the hurdle, there met him also the Lieutenant's wife to take her leave, who said, 'God be with you and comfort you, good Mr. Garnett; I will pray for you.' To whom, with a joyful countenance, he gave thanks, saying, 'I thank you, good madam, and for your prayers, you may keep them at this time; and, if it pleaseth God to give me perseverance, I will not forget you in my prayers.'" [The Baron Gray, likewise, from a window, gave him his hearty good wishes, and God's speed for his journey.] "Then being brought unto the hurdle, there he was laid as the order is, having a black cloak somewhat long upon his other clothes, and a hat on his head. All the way as he was drawn (with three horses) he held his hands together, lifted up somewhat towards Heaven, and kept his eyes shut for the most part, as a man in deep contemplation.

"The place of the execution was St. Paul's Churchyard, on the west end, over against the Bishop's house; provided so by God that, as by his virtuous life and doctrine he had confuted heresy, so by his constant death he might confound both it and the teachers thereof. In that place there was a great scaffold made, and a gibbet in the midst of the scaffold; and such multitudes of people, noble and ignoble, so many standings set up by carpenters to hire out for money, that a mere place to stand on would cost twelve pence well;[73] and the party from whom I chiefly have many of these particulars (being a priest of great credit and estimation) was glad to give twelve pence only to stand upon a wall.[74] All windows and the tops of houses were full of people, so that it is not known the like hath been at any execution."[75]

[73] A large sum at the present day, according to the increase in value of money.

[74] It is very probable that this priest was Father Henry Holland, uncle to the blessed martyr, Father Thomas Holland. Father Henry Holland was then a secular priest, and entered the Society in 1609. See "Life of Brother John Wilkinson," in the present series. He was no doubt the eye-witness and author of the narrative of the execution, a copy of which, in Latin, may be seen in *Dom. James I.* vol. xxi. n. 5.

[75] The number was estimated at twenty thousand.

Bp. Challoner says that after he was taken off the sledge, and had recovered himself from the dizziness caused by the jolting of that infamous vehicle, he ascended the scaffold, and saluted the crowd with a smiling countenance. It was observed that the mob, which had uttered many reviling speeches against him, calling him by a thousand opprobrious names before he came to the place, was now struck dumb at his venerable aspect, which both spoke his innocence and commanded reverence. Some of the ministers that were there offered to persuade him to conform in matters of religion (as among other calumnies it had been given out that he would), but he declared that he would die in the Catholic faith, out of which there was no salvation.

"There met him," says Father Gerard, "on being taken up from the hurdle, his arms being still unbound, the Deans of St. Paul's and of Winchester,[76] with a company of other ministers. The Dean of St. Paul's said to him (both he and the rest having their hats in their hands, and with great show of reverence), 'Mr. Garnett, I am sent unto you from his Majesty, to will you that, now being in the last hour of your mortal life, you will perform the duty of a true subject, to which you are obliged by the laws of God and nature; and therefore to disclose such treasons as you know intended towards his Majesty's danger and the Commonwealth.' By this it may appear that they had often laboured him to confess something, and could never get anything in that kind, which moved them now again to make this last trial. To this Father Garnett answered: 'Mr. Dean, it may please you to tell his Majesty that I have been arraigned, and what could be laid to my charge I have there answered, and said as much as I could, so that in this place I have no more to say.' Then the Dean and other ministers began to persuade him to a true and lively faith (meaning their own religion), but in this he cut them off quickly, desiring them not to trouble themselves or him; and said that for his estate of soul, he needed not their instructions: he came prepared and was resolved; which two last words are of themselves sufficient to convince all the slanders his enemies would fain have imposed upon him, and to declare what he had done in his private prison, whereof we cannot as yet learn the particulars. Then he was brought upon the scaffold, where there were both

[76] Dr. John Overals, afterwards Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and Dr. George Abbot, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury (Note by Father Morris, *Condition of Catholics*, p. 290).

the Sheriffs of London, the Recorder [Sir Henry Montague], with the Deans and Doctors before mentioned, and some other petty officers, as also some Catholics of reckoning, and well-wishers staying for him, all which he saluted very kindly and cheerfully.

"And first he asked whether there was not some place to pray, but the Recorder began to say unto him that he and others were there by order from his Majesty to bring him to remembrance of his treason, and that he should acknowledge he was justly condemned, and ask the King's forgiveness. To which he answered he had not committed any treason or offence against his Majesty, nor was ever guilty of the Powder treason in the least degree, but had earnestly dissuaded and sought to hinder both that and all other attempts against his Majesty; neither could they condemn him for anything, but for not opening the secret of confession, in which only he had knowledge of that treason, and in which he had done according to his function, and therefore could not justly be condemned for it, neither had any ways willingly offended his Majesty. But so far forth as this concealing of the treason (unto which he was bound in conscience) did any ways offend his Majesty or the State, he did ask them forgiveness with all his heart. The Recorder taking hold, said to the hearers: 'Do you hear, gentlemen? he asketh the King forgiveness for the Powder treason.' To which Father Garnett answered, 'You do me wrong, for I have no cause to ask forgiveness for that whereof I was never guilty, nor was privy to it in such sort that it may justly be imputed to me for concealing it.' The Recorder then would gladly have made good his former speech with facing down the Father and said: 'What! will you deny your own hand? We have it under your hand that you knew of it by other means than confession, that Greenway told you of it by way of consultation, and that Catesby and Greenway came together to be resolved of you.' 'No,' said the Father, 'Mr. Catesby never told me of any particular; and for Mr. Greenway, I knew it only as I have said, by confession, which therefore I could not lawfully open until now that I had leave to do so. Neither would I have named him, as I have done, but lest any might think him guilty of counselling or furthering in the matter, and to the end the very truth might be known, because false reports make him thought more guilty than he is. What is under my hand I will not deny, but you shall never show my hand con-

trary to what I have spoken.' The Recorder answered, 'You do but equivocate, and if you will deny it, after your death we will publish your own hand, that the world may see your false dealing.' Father Garnett replied, 'This is no time to talk of equivocation, neither do I equivocate. But in troth, in troth, you shall not find my hand otherwise than I have said.' Which double asseveration did satisfy the hearers much, though he would not be satisfied that was resolved to contradict. Wherefore the Recorder said to one of his followers, 'Let him see his own handwriting.' 'You cannot,' said the Father, 'show me any such writing of my hand.' Then he that should have had the note, said it was not there; it was left at home, at which divers of the bystanders laughed in their sleeves. 'No,' saith the Father, 'neither here nor at home have you any such.'[77]

"Then they asked him whether he had anything to say unto the people. He answered his voice was low and himself weak, he doubted they could not hear him. But yet he turned him to the people and said, 'Upon this day is recorded the Invention of the Cross of Christ; and upon this day I thank God I have found my cross, by which I hope to end all the crosses of my life, and to rest in the next by the grace and merits of my Blessed Saviour. As for the treasons which are laid against me, I protest now at my death that I am not guilty of them, neither had knowledge of the Powder but in confession, and then I utterly disliked it and earnestly dissuaded it. Yea, I protest upon my soul I should have abhorred it ever, though it had succeeded. And I am sorry with all my heart that any Catholics had ever any such intention, knowing that such attempts are not allowable, and to my own knowledge contrary to the Pope's mind. And, therefore, I wish all Catholics to be quiet, and not to be moved by any difficulties to the raising of tumults, but to possess their souls in peace. And God will not be forgetful of them, or of His promise, but will send them help and comfort when it is most to His glory and to their good.

"Then some one that stood near unto him, seeking to interrupt him, and saying, 'But, Mr. Garnett, were not you married to Mrs. Anne Vaux?' thereupon he, turning himself from the people to those about him, said, 'That honourable gentlewoman hath great wrong by such false reports. And

[77] See note, page 90, where another wicked attempt to calumniate Father Henry Garnett after death is recorded.

for my own part, as I have been always free from such crimes, so I may protest for her upon my conscience that I think her to be a perfect pure virgin, if any other in England or otherwise alive. She is a virtuous good gentlewoman, and, therefore, to impute any such thing unto her cannot proceed but of malice.'

"Then, no more being said unto him, he prepared himself to execution, and asked if he might be permitted to pray, to which was answered, he might. Then he kneeled down at the ladder-foot, and there prayed for a good space in devout and religious manner. Then he helped to strip himself of his cloth unto his shirt, which was somewhat long, and himself had also sewed down the sides thereof almost to the bottom, that the wind might not blow it up, which was noted by many as a sign of great modesty in the Father. About that time a minister seemed again to insinuate himself as desirous to speak unto him in way of exhortation, but the Father desired him to hold himself contented, and not to trouble him any further.

"And being upon the ladder, after he had made the sign of the Cross and desired the prayers of all good Catholics, one said unto him aloud, 'Mr. Garnett, it is expected you should recant from your religion and become a Protestant;' for so it was given out that he would do, and afterwards preach at Paul's Cross. The Father answered, 'God forbid. I had never any such meaning, but ever meant to die a true and perfect Catholic.' And then, looking upon the people with a pious and undaunted countenance, he wished them to consider well the state of their souls, assuring them, upon his conscience and salvation, there was no other way for their eternal bliss but to live and die in the profession of the Catholic faith. Then said the Dean of St. Paul's, 'But, Mr. Garnett, we are all Catholics.' 'No, no,' said Father Garnett, 'you are not; for such are only Catholics as live in unity and profession of one faith, under one supreme head of God's Church, which is the Pope's Holiness, and you must be all of the Catholic Roman Church, or you cannot be saved.'

"Then he prayed for the King, Queen, Prince, the Council, and the whole State. Then he desired the hangman to give him warning before he did cast him off the ladder. Then, making the sign of the Cross with "In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti," he said, "Adoramus te, Christe, et benedicimus tibi, quia per sanctam crucem tuam redemisti mun-

dum;"[78] then, "Maria Mater gratiæ, Mater misericordiæ, tu nos ab hoste protege et horâ mortis suscipe;"[79] then, "In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum,"[80] which he repeated twice or thrice; then, "Per crucis hoc signum (blessing himself) fugiat procul omne malignum. Infige crucem tuam in corde meo, Domine;"[81] then returned again to "Maria, Mater gratiæ, Mater misericordiæ, tu nos ab hoste," &c. Then he told the hangman he was ready, and being desirous to carry the Cross with him out of the world imprinted in his heart, he crossed his arms over his heart upon his breast, and so was cast off the ladder, and his arms continued so across as he had placed them (not being bound, nor he making any struggling at all with death) until he had rendered his spirit to his Redeemer.

"Neither was he cut down before he was perfectly dead. For the people was so much moved with his modesty, and so altered from their former hard conceits of him by the sight of his constancy, and by his protestation of innocency at his death, that they prevented the hangman with a loud cry that he might not cut him down too soon. Who thereupon, having permitted him to hang awhile, would then have cut him down when he presumed him to be half-dead; but the people cried out again, 'Hold, hold,' and so again the third time, not permitting him to be cut down until he was thoroughly dead. Yea, and one of the citizens took him by the legs and pulled him to put him out of his pain, and that he might not be cut down alive. Which kind of favours are nothing usual when the people do presume men die for treason, and were not used to the gentlemen that suffered before, although men of good sort, and much beloved and esteemed before this enterprise.

"And it was much marvelled how the people durst do this so publicly, seeing the State so generally bent against Father Garnett in this cause. But most of them proceeded much further than this. For when he was cut up and his bowels cast into the fire, and his heart pulled out and showed unto the people with these words, which are ever used in such cases, 'Behold the heart of a traitor,' there was not heard any

[78] "We adore Thee, O Christ, and we bless Thee, because by Thy holy Cross Thou hast redeemed the world."

[79] "Mary, Mother of grace, Mother of mercy, protect us from the enemy, and receive us at the hour of death."

[80] "Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit."

[81] "By this sign of the Cross, may all that is wicked fly far away. Fix Thy Cross in my heart, O Lord."

applause, or those that cried, 'God save the King,' which is always usual when the heart or head is holden up in that kind.

"Yea, so strange and unexpected an alteration there was in the very heretics themselves that some of them said without doubt he was in Heaven; others said, 'He died like a saint;' others, that he looked not like a contriver of treason. Yea, and some ministers themselves were heard to say that question-less his soul was in Heaven. And, generally, the people went away much satisfied of his innocency and sanctity.

"The priest of whom I spake before, who saw and heard most of these things, going down from his standing, went under the scaffold in desire to get some drops of his blood, which he did, and found divers there hunting for the same prey. Besides, his shirt was presently gotten by a person of great account, and most of his apparel also was redeemed by several persons, and are now esteemed of more than their weight in gold.[82]

[82] Bishop Challoner says, "'Tis more than probable that this was originally a *Ministerial plot*, set on foot by Cecil, the Secretary of State." He quotes the *Political Grammar*, then (1742) lately published, p. 46, which says, "Some have been of opinion that the Gunpowder Plot was of the same alloy [a Ministerial plot], and the awkward manner in which the letter was sent to Lord Monteagle the previous night, seems to confirm it, but much more the papers of the then Minister, which have but lately appeared, by which the whole affair is brought to light. For it is evident by those papers that the Minister was acquainted with the conspirators' journal from the beginning, so that he might easily have stifled the design in its infancy; but that would not quadrate with his principal design, which was to divert King James from making any approaches towards Popery (to which he seemed inclined, in Cecil's opinion) by engaging some Papist in a desperate and horrid plot to destroy both King and Parliament. This was the original of that affair which has filled the kingdom with astonishment for above a whole century.' So far this author," adds Bishop Challoner, "who is not the only one, nor the first by a great many, who has been of this opinion, since Mr. Osborne has informed the world long ago (p. 34) that the Plot was, as he terms it, *a neat device of the Secretary;* and King James himself was so sensible of it, that he used to call the 5th of November Cecil's Holiday" (*Missionary Priests*). "In fact," says Father Tanner (*Martyrs S.J.*), "his [Father Garnett's] death had been predetermined." The Privy Council thought by his execution to strike a fatal blow against the Catholics and their holy religion. God willed that there should be another glorious witness to the inviolability of the seal of confession, for when nothing could be found in his many examinations that could by possibility be contorted into any personal complicity with the conspirators, nor was any witness produced against him to this effect, he was simply convicted for not having revealed the knowledge he had received of it from another Father in confession. Father Garnett himself could not conceal this impression, for, in a letter to another priest confined in a London prison for his faith, he says, "No innocence can acquit me—that I shall not be found guilty, for the words of Caiaphas are present to my mind: 'It is expedient that one man should die for the people.'" The modern anti-Catholic writer before alluded to, states that Father Garnett's trial was a

We proceed to recount from various sources several miraculous events which followed upon the martyr's death.

Father Gerard, in his Narrative,[83] observes that "not only the Catholics and his friends that were beholders were much confirmed, and their tears turned into triumph for the victory which this champion of God had gotten of the slanders of the world and malice of sin and heresy, but many also of his enemies did bear witness of his innocency: saying, 'Indeed this was a just man,' and wished their souls with his. Such force hath truth, that it cannot be conquered, and innocency that it cannot be confounded. Well may it be oppressed for a time, but it cannot be suppressed. Yea, rather, in the greatest needs our merciful God doth send the greatest comforts, and where His enemies do think most to triumph over Him, there doth He ofttimes manifest the truth, and set forth His own glory and the innocency of His servants with most apparent signs.

form only, for he had been already tried in secret and condemned to die. His death is also mentioned by Father William Baldwin, then residing at Brussels, in two letters dated the 20th of May and the 3rd of July, 1606 (Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vol. vi.). "They report that Father Henry Garnett was to be executed the day they [the Ambassadors] came away, in Paul's Churchyard, although another writing from St. Omer says that it was deferred to the day following, for that the day first appointed was May-day, and Father Garnett being advertised of his death, should answer: 'What, then, will you make a May-game of me?' Howsoever it is held for certain that he is dead, and that Marquis [the Spanish Ambassador] told the Nuncio that therefore he departed the sooner, unwilling to be present at such a tragedy . . . John Powell, the interpreter of the Spanish Ambassador, relateth what passed at the execution of Father Garnett. He hath given exceeding satisfaction to all sorts, and much confounded our enemies of the one sort and the other. He was drawn according to the usual manner to Paul's Churchyard upon a hurdle and straw; his arms were not bound, neither when he was executed. Such concourse of people as hath not been seen. The Spanish Ambassador would not remain in London that day. He hath got his shirt, and some of his blood is sent to Spain, which I have seen here. Also his apparel is gotten, as I hear." To show the opinion entertained by Catholics of the real origin of the Plot, and in confirmation of Bishop Challoner's remark, we give an extract from a valuable MS. of the Lady Abbess Anne Neville, preserved in St. Scholastica's Abbey, Teignmouth, and furnished to us by the kindness of Dame Mary (English). Anne Neville was grand-daughter of the first Earl of Dorset, previously Lord Buckhurst, a leading man both under Elizabeth and James I. The last date of her MS. is 1684; she died in 1689, æt. 80. "1601. Rev. Father Holt was sent to Roome, and in his place Very Rev. Father William Baldwin of ye same Society came to Brusseles, a person of great vertu and veneration, who lay a prisoner long in ye Towre of London, and was ther put to ye wrack for not discouering ye confessions he had heard of some of thos that were put to death for ye gunpowder treason plott—a reall plot by the hereticks agaynst ye Catholicks, to destroy ym, but w h out any intended deighn on theyr parts of any treason or want of duty to the King." See also upon this subject an extract from a letter of Father Grene in page 143.

[83] *Condition of Catholics*, p. 300.

"And so it happened in this case of Father Garnett: for whereas the Fathers that suffered before in Queen Elizabeth's time were known to all men to suffer only for their conscience, insomuch that although some matter or other were ever feigned to make it seem that they suffered for treason, yet the fictions were so palpable of matters never intended, nor so much as thought or heard of before the time they were objected, and those that were said to be joint-conspirators ofttimes so mere strangers that they never had seen or heard of one the other before: the apparent contradictions did make so manifest their innocent cause, that there need no Divine testimonies to a truth so evident. But in this latter cause of Father Garnett, the case was somewhat different in the opinion of many, though his innocency the same, and the equity of his cause equal with the former. In this, it was very true, there was a real ground upon which the adversaries might raise a pretence of seeming truth in their accusation. There was a great and dangerous conspiracy intended and plotted, and proceeded in by those gentlemen of whom I have before discoursed. Divers of these gentlemen were known to Father Garnett, and some of them had often used his help and the help of others of the Society in their spiritual affairs. And this matter also they had at length opened a little before it should have been executed unto two of the Society in the secret of confession, as I have before declared. Therefore in this case Almighty God did think it more needful in His Divine providence to give testimony of His servant's innocency than in former times, when the cause itself was so plain that it could not be contradicted.

"The first sign by which it pleased God to show the merit and glory of this His martyr was concerning his relics, which were eagerly sought for by many Catholics at the very time of his martyrdom. Amongst the [crowd] there was one young man,[84] who stood by the block where the martyr's body was cut up, with great desire at least to get some drop of his holy blood. And whilst he had these thoughts, not daring to take [it] where he desired, for fear he might be espied, it fortuned that the hangman, having cut off the martyr's head and showed it to the people (as the custom is), he cast it into a basket standing there of purpose, full of straw, to hold the head and quarters when they were divided. Out of this basket did leap a straw, or ear void of corn, in strange manner, into the hand

[84] This was John Wilkinson, whose biography follows below.

of this young man, which he beholding, and seeing some blood upon it, kept it with great care, and no little joy that he had obtained his desire. He carried it away safely, and delivered it unto a Catholic gentlewoman of his acquaintance, who kept it in a reliquary with great devotion,[85] and after three or four days, a devout Catholic gentleman coming thither, she showed him the bloody straw, which he was also glad to see and reverence; but beholding the same more curiously than the others had done, he saw a perfect face, as if it had been painted, upon one of the husks of the empty ear, and showed the same unto the company, which they all did plainly behold, and with no small wonder, but with much greater joy did acknowledge the mighty hand of God, Who can and doth often use the meanest creatures to set forth His glory, and is able both out of stones and straws to raise a sufficient defence for His faithful servants.

"They put up the straw again with great admiration, and kept it now with much more reverence and devotion than before. This was quickly published to many of the chiefest Catholics about London, who much desiring to see this wonder, it was carried unto divers, who all are witnesses of this truth. At length it came to the Council's ear, and some of them desiring much to see it, it was granted, being now in the keeping of a great person, but with promise to have it safely restored; so that some of them did see it, and did much admire it, affirming that it must needs be more than natural. Others after desired to see it, and to seize upon it, because now the fame did grow so great of this image of Father Garnett drawn by the hand of God, whose image and memory they sought to deface in all they could, that they feared the evidence of the miracle would plead against their proceedings, and prove him innocent whom they had punished as guilty. Therefore the Archbishop of Canterbury [Dr. Richard Bancroft] sought to have the miraculous straw into his hands, but it was denied, and none would acknowledge where it was to be found. He learned out the party to whom the keeping of it was first committed, and sent for her husband, who was a known Catholic and virtuous man. He examined him strictly how it came to pass, and where the straw was. The Catholic affirmed the truth of the thing, and described it unto him in words; but said it was not now in his keeping,

[85] This was Mrs. Hugh Griffin, formerly Mary Bellamy (Bartoli, *Inghil.* lib. vi. p. 235.

and he knew not where to find it. And when they could get no other answer of him, they committed him to prison; but afterwards, having sundry and great friends in the Court, he got out upon bonds to appear again at certain days' warning.

"In the meantime it happened that two were miraculously cured by application of the same straw. One was a gentlewoman in great peril of her life by danger of childbirth, who, when she had sustained long and painful travail and could not be delivered of her burthen, and now was out of hope of life, unless she might obtain some help from God, some of her friends made earnest means to get this holy straw to bring unto her; which being obtained, and the straw brought and applied with great reverence, presently she received help, and was delivered by the mighty hand of God and merits of the martyr, whom no midwife's skill or endeavours could help before.

"Another was the gentlewoman herself who first had this miraculous relic delivered her to keep. For she being very much subject to sickness, and sometimes in such extremity therewith that you would not think she could be able to live an hour, it happened that in one of her extremest fits, when she could find no medicine or means that could bring her any ease, she earnestly desired a special friend to make suit for the straw to be returned unto her for a small time, which was granted; and as soon as it came (she receiving it with great devotion and reverence) she presently found ease, and within half an hour was so perfectly well that she rose from her bed, and went to entertain some strangers that then were in the house.

"This sudden and strange cure of hers being spoken of by divers Catholics, it came out to be known unto the Council, who sent again for the husband of the gentlewoman, and took this new occasion to commit him the second time to prison.

"The Council afterwards understanding that this miraculous picture in the straw had been showed to divers painters in London, they sent for the painters, and willed them to make the like portrait to that which they had seen in a like empty ear of corn; but they all answered it was not possible for them to do it: neither could the draught of that face, in so little a room and so loose a groundwork as that empty ear, be otherwise drawn than by supernatural power. And this testimony they gave of it that had both skill to judge and no will to favour the Catholic cause (being in opinion heretics),

but only convinced in their understanding by the evidence of the miracle.[86]

"Another marvellous thing which it pleased Almighty God to show for a public testimony of the glory which blessed Father Garnett now possesseth, is a visible and apparent circle of red about his head in the form of a crown, which was and is to be seen about his head, where it is set up, as the

[86] "Father Richard Blount, in a letter dated November 8, 1606, says—'A Catholic person in London having kept, since the execution of Mr. Garnett, a straw that was embued in his blood, now these days past, being viewed again by the party and others, they espy in the ear of the straw a perfect face of a man dead, his eyes, nose, beard, and neck so lively representing Mr. Garnett, as not only in my eyes, but in the eyes of others which knew him, it doth lively represent him. This hath been seen by Catholics and Protestants of the best sort and divers others, who much admire it, &c. This you may boldly report, for besides ourselves, a thousand others are witnesses of it.' And in another letter, dated March, 1607, 'It cannot be a thing natural or artificial. The sprinkling of blood hath made so plain a face, so well proportioned, so lively shadowed, as no art in such a manner is able to counterfeit the like.' Father More, whose history was published in 1660, says that the straw was kept in the Jesuit College at Liege. The last mention we have met of it is by the Abbé Feller, in his *Dictionnaire Historique*, which was published at Liege in 1797, and therefore after the suppression of the Society, 'L'épi est aujourdhui entre les mains d'un de mes amis, qui le conserve soigneusement' (Art. Garnett). 'The ear of corn is at the present time in the hands of one of my friends, who carefully preserves it'" (Note by Father Morris). "An old tradition formerly existed at Stonyhurst College that, when the Academy of Liege was transferred to Stonyhurst in 1794, this and other precious relics were made up in a small parcel, or tied up in a handkerchief, and intrusted to one of the party to bring over. There was always great fear of such things passing the custom-house in those days. A passenger in the vessel noticed the great care and solicitude displayed by the bearer towards the small parcel, and when they got into the river, after some suitable preparation, said he was not going up to the Custom-house in London, but had occasion to land at Gravesend, and, seeing he was anxious about his little parcel offered to take it on shore for him. Alas! for simple good faith, he never saw his little treasure any more" (Communicated by Chas. Weld, Esq.). We add the following amusing extract from Sir Richard Wynne's account of the journey of Prince Charles' servants into Spain, 1623, on the occasion of the intended match, in which mention is made of the relic, then in a College of the Society at Andera, Spain (Hearne's *Hist.* Oxon. 1729). "Embarked at Portsmouth on Thursday, 3rd April, 1623. Landed at St. Andera . . . Upon holydays all these people do but goe from one crosse to another shrine, with their beades in their hands, praying in a language which they understand not, and adoring of dumb images. So much zeal, joined with blind devotion, I never saw afore. There be in this town of religious houses six, besides a College of Jesuites and a nunnery of six-and-twenty nuns, whom we divers times saw and conferred with. They make dainty chaines of young orranges, which they sold to divers of us. It seemes they fast not overmuch, for they be plump and fat, though not handsome; the most passable among them was one that was descended from English parents. The Jesuite's College and Church wee saw, which (as it seemes) is but newly reared amongst them, being built within this twelvemonth; a goodly building of rough marble, which cost twenty thousand pounds. They shewed us all their relics and idols, amongst which was *Garnett and his strawe.*"

custom is, with the heads of others that died for treason. This hath had so many witnesses as would go to behold it, which were not a few, and besides, they did affirm that his face did continue so comely and with so pleasing a countenance, as it seemed rather the head of a man alive than separated from the body : and all his quarters also so purely white, that it was much admired by all that did behold them.[87]

"To these I may adjoin the crown of grass which did grow in Mr. Abington's court, in the house where both blessed Father Garnett and blessed Father Oldcorne were taken, which may be taken as a sign of his glory and crown of immortality as well as Father Oldcorne's. I could hereunto add a vision which both of these blessed Fathers had in the Tower the 7th of March before their martyrdom, the very night before they were hung upon the torture. It happened in this manner. Father Oldcorne in his sleep did seem to behold a very sumptuous throne set up, with great care and cost adorned, at which sight, when Father Oldcorne much admired, not knowing to what end it should be prepared, it seemed unto him that there entered into the room the Reverend Father General, and with him some other ancient Fathers ; and that Father Oldcorne did demand of Father General what should be the meaning or intention of that throne so much adorned ; and that the Father should answer that both Father Garnett and himself should presently be professed. To which Father Oldcorne made answer that Father Garnett was already professed. Then Father General replied, he would now have him make a more excellent profession than before. This vision Father Oldcorne the next morning told unto his keeper, desiring he would tell it unto Father Garnett, which he performed ; and Father Garnett assured him the very same thing, in the same manner, had also that night appeared unto him. But Father Oldcorne did see it again the next night after. This was so generally spoken of in the Tower about that time, that if there had been no other means afterwards to know the truth, that alone had been sufficient to publish it.[88]

"Now, when the other foresaid marvels were seen about his head after his martyrdom, and that the miraculous image

[87] This alludes to the miraculous appearance of the head when exposed upon London Bridge. See MS. given below.

[88] This is briefly alluded to in the letter of Father Garnett, No. 245, to Mrs. Anne Vaux, p. 109.

of the straw was visibly seen by many Catholics, and generally known to all, you may well think that Catholics were greatly animated, receiving now, in their greatest distress such comforts from the merciful hand of God, Who is 'the Father of mercies and the God of all comfort, Who comforteth us in all our tribulation.'[89] And, indeed, the effect of these heavenly comforts was such in the hearts of poor afflicted Catholics, but especially the force of the martyr's blood and the merits of his innocent death (which now was plainly seen by all well-meaning men, and acknowledged by many also of his enemies) that whereas the Catholics did already feel a sharp shower of persecution in continual searchings and imprisonments and vexations much more than in former years they had experienced; and whereas they might easily discern a greater storm coming towards them, seeing, as it were, a thick and dark cloud coming on apace, carried furiously with the wind in such sort that it was likely to spread itself over all their hemisphere, intending to make a destroying deluge, no less universal than violent: though they might plainly see and hear daily thundered in their ears what cutting and cruel laws were intended and prepared against the Parliament which then was at hand: though they were assured beforehand that the penal statutes which then were to be enacted were so many and so merciless that their life would be more tedious and terrible to many minds than death itself: though they could find no friends that could or would now oppose themselves as 'a wall for the house of Israel;'[90] the noblemen that were Catholics or esteemed friends to Catholics, together with all principal recusants, being clapt in prison; and all others that before did seem to favour the cause now being blown away with this storm of persecution, and carried with the current of the present stream rather to oppose themselves against Catholics, both in word and action, than any ways to seek the release or relaxation of their present afflictions or prepared penalties: though all this, and more than I can in this place commodiously set down, were felt and feared by the Catholics at this time, yet such was the goodness of God towards us, such the force of His grace obtained by the merits of these holy martyrs, that presently, upon the death of blessed Father Garnett, you might see his innocent blood had warmed all their hearts; you might see in them a new fervour, expecting persecution with a

[89] 2 Cor. i. 3, 4. [90] Ezech. xiii. 5.

peaceable and cheerful mind; you might see them everywhere begin to prepare themselves neither to resist nor run away, but how to bear the blows of persecution with Christian patience."

The following are copies which the Editor has been kindly allowed to make from the valuable collection of the Old Clergy Chapter MSS. of the examination of Hugh Griffin, the husband of Mrs. Griffin, to whom John Wilkinson, the fortunate finder of the ear of corn, gave the precious relic, as will fully appear in his biography below, and of Peter Wilkinson, brother of John; both of the examinants had been arrested by the Archbishop of Canterbury, in consequence of the miraculous straw, and as supposed to be owners of it, or else to compel them to disclose where it was kept. The examination of Griffin is highly confirmatory of the miracle, although he could not see the perfect likeness to Father Garnett, admitting at the same time that he had never seen the Father until he was brought to the Tower.

The Confession of Hugh Griffin, of St. Clement's without Temple Bar, tailor, taken by the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, the 27th of November, 1606:—He saith that the same day that Garnett was executed, one John Wilks, a silkman, being come out of his prenticeship two years since, and living now amongst his friends in Yorkshire, brought to this examinate's house a straw, with an ear upon it, which he said was one of the straws whereupon Garnett was laid when he was executed: that the straw and ear were bloody: and this examinant and his wife desired to have the straw: that he promised they should have it at his going into the country: that they advised with the said Wilks to have the straw put into a crystal, for the better preserving of it: that within three or four days or a week (as he remembereth) the straw was set in crystal, according to the former resolution: that about nine weeks since, and not before, he, this examinant, looking earnestly through the crystal upon the said straw, with his wife, and one Thomas (who once served, as he thinketh, the Lady Beeston, wife to Sir Hugh Beeston), they all together at once discovered a thing like a face upon the ear of the said straw: that this examinate did first say to the other two (as he thinketh), "Do you not discern a thing upon the ear like a face?" And they answered that they did: that thereupon he then (as he thinketh) opened the crystal, and then, upon their earnest looking upon it, they imagined they saw a face: that this examinate thereupon said to the rest, "This may chance to proceed from our fancies;" and therefore desired them to make no words of it, until it were better decided: that he kept it in his house about a fortnight, and in the meanwhile looked upon it forty times (as he thinketh) and sometimes half an hour or an hour together, until he saw the visage so perfectly, as he is sure he could not be deceived: that the face is so perfectly apparent, being once found, viz., the forehead, the eyes, the cheek, the nose, the mouth, the beard, and the neck, as he supposeth no man living is able to draw the like thing upon the like subject: that the said

Wilks, when he left the straw in the crystal with this examinate, did not (as he thinketh) ever imagine that there was any face upon it: that he doth not remember that any but himself and his wife did see the said face during the said fortnight, or that himself did acquaint any with it: that peradventure his wife might tell somebody of it, but whom he knoweth not: that after the said fortnight ended, when he was assured as aforesaid, he showed it to Lord William Howard: that Dr. Taylor being present (as he remembereth), desired to have had it, to have been showed to the Ambassador of Spain: that the Lord William kept the said straw, and showed it to such as he thought fit; that about ten days after, this examinate received it again from the Lord William: that he thereupon delivered it unto Dr. Taylor, in the hope of some good reward to be given unto him: that he delivered it, as he did never expect to have it again, except it were to borrow it, with the Ambassador's liking, to show it to some of his friends that would desire to see it: that his lordship kept it some two or three days: that he this examinate received it again and showed it to some, but he doth not remember to whom: that he delivered it back again to Dr. Taylor within a day or two after he had received it from the Lord William: that Dr. Taylor told him how the Lord Ambassador made great account of it, had sent it to be seen by the Ambassador of Venice, and that he was very loath to part with it: that he delivered the said straw to Dr. Taylor as aforesaid: that the Lord William first had it for about five days before he, this examinate gave it to Dr. Taylor as aforesaid: that this examinate did show it to Mrs. Anne Vaux, when he had it from the Lord William, and before he returned it back again to Dr. Taylor after he had borrowed it; that this examinate lent it at that time to the said Mrs. Anne Vaux; that she had it with her a day and a half or two days: that he supposeth she showed it unto divers: that this examinate was much troubled before he could get it again from Mrs. Anne Vaux: that if any affirm that there is any light or beams about the said face, he affirmeth that which is not true: that for aught this examinate knoweth, the said face is no more like Garnett's face than any other man's hath a beard; that he imagineth, the face being so little, no man is able to say it is like Garnett: that this examinate never did see Mr. Garnett, but when he was brought to the Tower: that he remembereth that Mr. Garnett was a well-set man, and had a big face, according to his proportion: that though the face seemed but little at the first view, yet upon diligent looking upon it, it seemeth still to increase in perfectness and to be bigger; but that when it is perfectly discerned with the eye, it continueth in one and the same bigness: that he verily thinketh, except one be told in which husk the face is, he will very hardly find it: that all the said perfect visage to be seen as is aforesaid, is contained in the length and breadth of the husk of one corn.

He also saith upon occasion of further speech, that the crystal wherein the straw is set, was his own before; and that he gave it to the said Wilks, that the straw might be put into it: and took order with him that the crystal should be set in gold or silver and gilt; that it is about the breadth of a shilling, but made in the form of a heart; that it is about a quarter of an inch thick; that the straw is nipped off, and the whole ear lieth round in it.

The above is endorsed: "Copy of the first examination of Hugh Griffin, November 27, 1606."

Same Old Chapter Collection: "The examination of Peter Wilkinson, servant to John Morrall, linendraper; taken by the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, December 1, 1606."

He saith that he did not see his brother, John Wilkinson, since Friday was three weeks, that he told him he was to go forward towards York the next day, and meant to remain in Yorkshire till about Christmas: that his father did write to him this examinate, signifying that he heard that this examinate's said brother was gone beyond the seas, and willed him to send him word whether it were so or no: that the said letters came unto him upon Saturday last.

The second examination of the said Peter Wilkinson, taken by the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, December 2, 1606.

He saith that about a fortnight since, viz., upon Sunday was seven night, one Frances Wilkinson, servant to Mr. Robert Tirwhite, of Lincolnshire, told this examinate that there was a straw which had a face upon it—supposed to be Garnett's image, whereof there was great speech: and that there was a report that John Wilkinson, this examinate's brother, was the party that first found the said straw.

Endorsed: "Copy of the examination of Peter Wilkinson, the 1st and 2nd of December."

The following is a copy of a document in the British Museum[91] relating as well to the ear of corn, as to the miraculous events connected with the martyr's head exposed upon London Bridge, and the crown of grass at Hinlip, above referred to.

A relation of the figure which appeareth in the ear of a straw in the chaffe or husche thereof.

After that Father Henrie Garnett, Superior of the Societie of Jhesus in England, was executed by commandement of James nowe King of that realm, the third day of May, being the feast of the Invention of the Cross, in the year 1606, his head appeared in that lively colour as it seemed to retaine the same hue and shew of life w^ch^ yt had before itt was cutt off, soe as both heretiques and Catholiques were astonished thereat, and soe much the more, in that according to custom beinge cast into hoate water itt receaved no alteration at all; as neyther it did after yt was placed upon London Bridge, and sett upp there uppon a pole. Whereupon there was such resorte of people for the space of six weeks as that was admirable, the citizens flocking thither by hundreds to see soe strange and wonderfull a spectacle, as the heade of this glorious martyr did exhibit, whose face continuade w^thout^ any change, retaining a gracefull and livelye countenance, and never waxed blacke, as usuallye all heades cutt from the bodies doe. Whereuppon the magistrattes of the citye, and counsaile confounded w^th^ ye miracle, and displeased with the continuall resorte of people to

[91] Papers relating to the English Jesuits, Additional MSS. 21,203, *Plut.* clii. F.

beholde the unexpected event, gave order that the heade should be put soe as the face should be turned uppwardes, and the people thereby not able to vewe the face as they had been accustomed. There have been soe manie to see it at once sometymes, what from the bridge, what from places near thereunto, as from the water and houses, as divers there present have thought them to have been to the number of 400 or 500 persons.

When, as his face was thus turned, he then appeared miraculouslie in the eare of a corne wch was stayned wth his blood and taken upp by one who purposelie came to the place where he was executed, intendinge to dipp some handkerchefe and other lynen in his blood, and to that end hastened to the place, and placed himself as nere the scaffould as he could, and fayned at the tyme of quartering this glorious martyr to be forced by reason of the thronge of people pressinge to see, to put himself under the scaffould, where he receaved the blood wch streamed downe through the chincks of the boardes, uppon his hatt and apparell, and dipped such lynen as he had prepared in the same. The multitude withdrawing themselves (the martyr being quartered) he came forth amongst them, and standinge by the side of the scaffould, he sawe the hangman cast the quarters into a greate basket neere the same side, uppon one of the wch the eare stooke, and when he threwe the quarter in, the strawe flewe off and fell into his bosome, wch he tooke and kepte, for that he sawe it was sprinkled with blood, and afterwards presented it to a Catho. woman, a taylor's wife in London, who placed it in her reliquarie, with other reliques, turning the eare in forme of a ringe round. This woman retained yt devoutly untill uppon occasion of speech of this martyr, she began to tell him with whom she spake, that she had some of his blood uppon an eare of corne; he requested to see yt, and she deliveringe him her reliquarie wherein yt was, he viewed yt, and through the crystalls discovered the face of a man, whereat stricken wth admiration he acquainted the woman with what he sawe; all wch happened in his presence, that tooke upp the strawe first, and soe those three persons sawe distinctly a face of a man in glorious manner, havinge wth all proportion most exactly beard, mouth, eyes, forehead, and uppon his heade a crowne, a crosse in the forehead and a starre, and in the lower part of his face, as the chynne of a cherub. This admirable thing they shewed to some other friends, and so by degrees the report was spread throughout the whole cittie; and that tyme chiefly when as the Lord of Northampton had divulged the contents of a speeche of his wch he had against the Pope, Jesuits, and particularlie Father Garnett at his arraignment. The miracle being divulged and hundreds having seene it, manie in merriment said: 'A strawe for my Lord of Northampton's booke.' And to make the thing more public which God had soe admirablie wrought, the matter was so handled that even the heritiques themselves should be eye witnesses of this wonder, so that in the Spanish Ambassador's and others' handes, manie, yea and those also of the Counsaile of the King, might see yt. To the Spanish Ambassador's house for manie dayes there was such publicke resorte of nobilitie and gentlemen, not onlie Catholics, but also schismatiques and heretiques to view yt, that there wanted not those wch continuallie entred for that purpose, and havinge seene yt departed so confounded, edified, and comforted therewith, as wth one accord they acknowledged yt to be supernaturall. And for more confusion of the enemies of the Catholicke Church,

sundrie heretical painters being sent for and demanded whether they could by their arte express the like face, they denied it to be possible. The face appeareth little one waie, and turned another way, or removed further off, much greater, and alwaye in that perfection and gloire, as yt worketh that effect in the earnest beholders as the sun doth in those that fixe their eyes upon his brightness, and w^th^ all the whole eare hath the natural colour, that onlie part where the face is, beinge brighter, and the face in the eare or husks wherein the corne grew as it were [incised? a word scarcely legible,] although all proportions be made w^th^ his owne bloud: all w^ch^ cannot be exprest by anie arte, tongue, or penne as the thinge is in itself.

The heretics, especiallye bishopps and ministers, doe attribute this worke of God to witchcrafte, or to some speciall water, or such like secret invention; and for that they know the wonder thereof was divulged over all the realme, they have caused divers inventions to be made to express the face, nothinge, at all like the true representation, to the end to take away, or at least to obscure the worth of the miracle. The Byshopp also of Canterburie hath laboured with painters purposelie to practice the imitation, w^ch^ such as have seen it refused, for that they knewe it was impossible for them to represent by any arte of theirs.

All princes' Ambassadors there have seen this admirable thing as well as English persons of all professions and qualities. The Catholicks acknowledging in this work of God the justification of this holie Father, whose innocence his enemies endeavoured to staine with the blott of infamy and treason, and whom they would have to be esteemed and thought to die for treason and not religion according to their wonted slanders and reportes, and havinge made the profession and ministerie of priests to be treason in their miserable daies, they seeke to blind the conceiptes of strangers of other nations with these false persuasions and imputations, that under colour of treason and treasonable actions abroade, they may exercise all crueltie and barbarous tyrannie at home.

There have other wonders happened by which it seemeth that God would manifest the glorie of this holie sainte, and of his companion, Father Edw. Oldcorne, prieste, alsoe of the Societie of Jhesus, condemned to death about the same tyme the other was, and executed in Worcester in the marches of Wales. Before the house in which they were apprehended, there grew a crown in the grass a foot and half resembling a sea rush, and the crown formed a most perfect figure or fashion, and very green, to the great admiration of all such as came to see it, who were many, and so much the more that no beast eating the grass near could ever touch that part where the crown grew. Also when Fr. Oldcorne's bowels were cast into the fire, with those of two others executed with him, the fire continued for 14 days together to the astonishment of all, so as huge numbers came to see it; and altho' there fell sometimes in this space as great rain as usually hath been seen, yet was not the fire quenched but continued burning as it did the first day and hour it was kindled, until such time as by public order the sticks and bands were scattered and cast the one from the other, which was the 14 day after the execution.

Father Giles Schondonchus, the Rector of the English College at St. Omer, in a long letter lately published by the

Rev. Alfred Neut, of Louvain, in his valuable biographical sketch of the martyr,[92] gives an interesting account of this miraculous ear of corn, but adduces no additional particulars to those we already possess. He mentions, however, in the end of his letter the following, which we do not recollect to have seen elsewhere. "Mr. Richard [Robert] Barnes, a man of mature age, and, on account of his holiness of life, formerly much beloved by Father Garnett, relates that he saw a marvellous and agreeable light, while detained for his religion in prison. It was like a great star, but of such splendour that it cannot be fitly described. It far surpassed the light of the sun, not remaining in one spot, but like a tremulous flickering flame diffused itself abroad, as the daylight in spring-time, at the sun-rising. It shone sometimes upon his breast, then upon his arms, his head, and other parts of his person, and chiefly in the time of prayer. Once while kneeling down in prison to pray, the same light shone for some time most brilliantly upon the wall, enabling him to distinguish a cross painted on the wall, and from that time he usually recited his prayers before the same cross. The prison, however, was so dark that he could not see to read except by candle-light; thus is a light risen upon him sitting in darkness for the cause of religion. This light shone equally by day as by night. My informant adds: 'Immediately on hearing that he was discharged from prison, I went to see him. After mutual greeting, I asked him to relate to me the manner and circumstances of his vision. 'I will gladly do so, by God's help, but pray first describe to me the appearance of the face upon the ear of corn.' Whilst doing so, and he was greedily listening to everything, the vision at the same moment appeared to him. Upon which, instantly uncovering his head, and making the sign of the Cross, he pointed out the light to me, although I was myself unworthy to see it. Happening to meet him on another occasion, whilst again speaking about the ear of corn, the same light suddenly shone out again, so that from thenceforth no conversation was more delightful to him than regarding the same straw." Father Schondonchus ends his letter with, "*Qualis messis, ubi tales spicæ!*—(what must the harvest have been that produced such ears of corn)!"

We annex a striking confirmation of the miracle from an original letter of Sir Thomas Brookes, the English Ambassador

[92] *Le P. Henri Garnet, S.J., et la Conspiration des poudres.* Gand, 1876.


EVLS·SANGVINE·TINCTO·PRODIGIOSE·APPARVIT+EFFIGIES·R·P·HENRICI·GARNETI·SOCIIS·IESV·QVÆ·IN·STRAMINE·EX

at Brussels, to Cecil.[93] It is dated Brussels, February 4, 160$\frac{6}{7}$. After stating that "there is newly arrived here from Rome, one Singleton, a Jesuitt, who came out of England with the last banished priests that were sent from thence; he is by common report held to be a great firebrand, and of his lewd raylings on his Matie I have been particularly assured. It is said that he was expressly sent to Rome in some commission from the Jesuits, and it is not unlikely that he will from hence seeke to steale againe into England,"—he continues: "Two English women wch are of late come hither to be nunnes, the one as is sayd of Lancashire, the other of Yorkse, do confirme more and more the miracle of the strawe, having reported here to have seen the same fourteen tymes, and that it doth growe in shewe more angelicall, as they say by the lively brightnes thereof, together with an appearance of winges, more than was before seen. And that the other patterns wch were made in imitation of that miracle do nothing resemble the same. I send your Lsp. herewith an extract of the last advertisements out of Germanie, with a copie of the Indulgence brought hither for praying for the conversion of his Maties dominions."

Then follows a copy of indulgences granted by the Holy See at the instance of the English College, Rome, for prayers for England.

The absence from this letter of any scurrilous or derisive comments usual with the Protestant authorities both in Church or State, who strenuously laboured, though in vain, to cry down the miracle by ridicule, is very remarkable.

We read in the *True Christian Catholic*, p. 161, "The very sight of Garnett's straw had made at least five hundred in England become good Catholics."[94]

[93] Flanders Correspondence, State Papers, P.R.O., London, No. 39, 1607.

[94] We annex a photograph of an old engraving of the miraculous straw. Among the State papers in the Public Record Office, London (with a portrait of the Father engraved by Wiriex), is another representation of the holy relic in an erect position with an inscription, "Miraculosa effigies R. P. Henrici Garneti, Societatis Jesu, martyris Angliæ, 3° Maii, 1606." With the exception of the position, it much resembles our photograph, which represents the relic as described in the above examination of Hugh Griffin as lying round in the crystal reliquary. Knight's *Old England*, vol. ii. p. 145, gives two upright representations quite dissimilar. One is of a large size with the addition of the I.H.S. and the nails of the Passion —and this one, according to the opinion of an artistic friend upon whose judgment we place the fullest reliance, appears to have been taken from some fancy print, no doubt one of the "divers inventions caused by the bishops and ministers to be made nothing at all like the true representation" alluded to in the above MS.

At the end of the present Life we propose to give the biography of Brother John Wilkinson, the fortunate finder of the miraculous straw, and his account of that event, which should be read in connection with the facts stated above.

Father Tanner relates another case of miraculous cure, the subject of which was the little son of a nobleman who was seized with violent fever at Cadiz in Spain, and who, all hopes of recovery being past, was instantly cured by the application of a piece of linen steeped in the martyr's blood.

Tanner also recounts, as deserving a foremost place, the miraculous favour obtained by Father John Gerard himself, who was, as we have seen, involved in the same charge with the martyr. Escaping to the Continent from the hands of his enemies, he arrived at the port from whence the Ambassadors of Spain and Belgium were actually embarking; but, notwithstanding the promises of the captain to take him on board, they would not allow him to embark with them, being terrified by the imminent danger they incurred of provoking the royal anger should it become known that they had carried off a proclaimed traitor, and enemy to the state. It happened to be the 3rd of May, the day of Father Garnett's execution, and at the very hour of his death, the Ambassadors suddenly changed their minds, and consented to take Father Gerard, after being duly disguised as one of their suite. And thus he escaped safely to Belgium. He was accustomed during the thirty-one years he survived this event, to ascribe all to the intercession of Father Garnett, of whose virtues he was not only the chronicler, but the constant imitator.

We subjoin the following letters of Father Garnett to his sister, who became a nun at St. Monica's Convent, Louvain.[95]

[95] "Margaret Garnett was professed on June 5, 1595, and her sister, Eleanor Garnett, made her holy vows in 1597, both at the Flemish (or as it was then called the 'Dutch') Convent of St. Ursula of the Augustinian Order, at Louvain, and Sister Eleanor remained and died at St. Ursula's; but Sister Margaret was one of those who, in 1609, was transferred to the new monastery in the same city, called St. Monica's, and which was intended for *English* Augustinian nuns only. 'It was,' says an old MS., 'through her brother, Father Henry Garnett, the martyr, and Superior of the Jesuits in England, that she came to be a Catholic, as also to be sent over to be religious, for both which good turns she was to him obliged. She was a good and laborious Sister, and for a long time served the religious at St. Ursula's as Refectrice with great charity, taking much pains. Afterwards, being at St. Monica's, she was made Chantress, having a very good voice.' In her latter years she suffered much from ill-health, but patiently bore the cross, and died on February 22, 1630" (Communicated by Dame Mary, O.S.B.).

October 1, 1593.[96]

My loving and dear sister,—It was no small comfort to me when I heard of your safe arrival, and it shall be far greater when I shall understand of your happy arrival in that other most secure and quiet haven of a religious life.

Assure yourself that whosoever liveth in the world abroad is tossed continually in a most tempestuous sea, and every moment in danger of drowning ; but this is a singular misery of men's blindness that whilst they are in the most boisterous and tempestuous [sea,—erased in the original], and nothing but a very thin board between them and the death of their soul, yet do they not know their own danger, but not knowing it they love it, and loving it they are ready always to increase it. Those only know what it is who have left it, and being once received into the harbour can now look back afar off, and both rejoice at the happy lot of their delivery, and pity the estate and misery of those whom yet they see in the midst of the waves.

Almighty God hath of his great goodness opened your eyes, and made you desire to avoid the world, and to dedicate yourself unto His holy service ; but you must fully be persuaded that the light which you now see is but a sparkle in comparison of that most perfect light which you shall behold when you are entered. Then shall you perfectly discern the dangers left behind you ; then shall you plainly perceive the delights and comforts which there will be bestowed upon you ; what greater comfort can there be in this world than wholly to be severed from the love of the world, and to love Him only who is better than all the world ; than to be in body in the earth, but to live with the mind continually in Heaven ; than to be compact of flesh and blood, but to imitate the purity of the angels ; than to have nothing to desire, nothing to think of, nothing but only of that Heavenly Spouse Whom when you love (as the glorious virgin St. Agnes did say) you are chaste, when you touch you are pure, when you embrace you are a virgin ; in that state most happy and blessed : for the hatred of worldly riches you shall have Him in Whom are hidden all the treasures of God's own riches—for the abandoning of bodily delights, which are common to men and to beasts, you shall be admitted to the delights and pleasures of the angels : for an humble resignation of your own will to be governed by others you shall conform your will unto the true and perfect rule of every good will, which is the will of God, and to be able to say with the devout spouse, My beloved unto me and I unto Him ; that is, you shall be united unto Him that [is] as if there were nothing else in the world but your heavenly lover and you ; you shall fear nothing, love nothing, see nothing, know nothing but Him Whom you have lodged between your breasts. What is this but a heavenly life? And surely although in this miserable world no man can be sure of his salvation, yet is there in this kind of life so great a pledge of everlasting glory that there can be almost no notable doubt of his going to heaven who is in heaven already ; how can he fear his separation from Christ, to whom he is fast linked already, and how can one tremble at the terror of death who is dead to the world already, and liveth only to Christ the heavenly spouse? In religion you shall continually live and converse with Christ, and as it were be always brought up with Him, sometimes accompanying Him in the crib, sometimes flying with Him into Egypt,

[96] Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* A. vol. i. n. 76.

sometimes watching, praying, and fasting with Him; otherwhiles exercising yourself with bodily labours, wherein the more base affairs you undertake you shall be the nearer unto humble Jesus, for you must with all modest humility strive with Him to have everything the most vile and base, for so it becometh you not to suffer your Lord to do worse than yourself; finally you shall die with Him, be buried with Him, rise again with Him, and ascend with Him into Heaven, where your heart, conversation, and comfort must be, and thus always accompanying so faithful a friend in your life, how can it be that He forsake you at the hour of your death? O my loving sister, if the world knew what sweetness there is in a religious life we should have no more marriages but only to Christ, all manner of persons would forsake their houses, parents, children, and all things, and with most pitiful tears come running unto monasteries, and receive no repulse, nor be satisfied with never so many denials, nor ever cease until they were received into that most beautiful court of Heavenly Jerusalem. Oh, how liberally hath God dealt with His people, who not being contented to have prepared Heaven for those that will buy it, hath also left us so great commodity of buying it withal, that is a religious kind of life, where there is such abundance of those riches wherewith Heaven is bought that on a sudden you may be able to purchase it in a most perfect manner. I say on a sudden, for what is this life if it were never so long but a short moment, and whensoever it cometh, in respect of that which remaineth afterwards, always cometh on a sudden; happy is he who thinketh of the shortness of his life, and of the little space in which he is to join Heaven, and therefore determineth to lose no time. You have a fresh example in that happy soul which went in your company who in a short time hath gotten a most noble crown; would he now (think you) for all the world that he had not undertaken so happy a journey? Even so do I hope of you that God in His great goodness hath set you in the way whereby He purposeth to work your salvation; therefore see you be not unthankful, but that you willingly follow Him calling you; see that you be not fearful, but that you confidently embrace Him protecting you; let that song never go out of your mind which used to be sung at the consecration of nuns. The kingdom of this world and all the beauty and fairness I have despised for the love of my Lord Jesus, Whom I have seen, Whom I have affected, in Whom I have believed, Whom I have tenderly loved—my heart hath set forth a good word, I speak my works unto the King, Whom I have seen, Whom I have affected, in Whom I have believed, Whom I have tenderly loved. Oh, how my heart doth rejoice when I imagine the time is come when your heart must send forth a good word, when you must make a song in honour of your King, and consecrate yourself and tie yourself with a treble knot which cannot be dissolved unto Him Who hath given Himself for you; that is the new song which none can sing but such as are bought out of the earth, for recompense whereof your spouse will give you a name which none knoweth but he which receiveth, which promise when you have made remember the notable saying of St. Francis: "Brethren, we have promised great things, but greater are promised unto us. Let us observe the one and hope for the other, short pleasures, everlasting pain—small suffering, infinite glory." And that you may even touch with your hands the care which God hath over those

which love Him, and how ready He is as we read in the Psalm to do the very will of those which fear Him, you should understand that on the Assumption of our Lady last past I brought our mother into the union of our spiritual mother the Church, and I left her very hearty and resolute. See therefore the liberality of your spouse, you proposed to be liberal with Him, and He prevented your liberality in a higher degree than you could expect. Oh, this liberality with God I earnestly commend to you, to seek always the worst, to be content to be injured, reprehended, despised, and to prevent your Superior's will by doing that which you know she willeth before you be commanded, not to think, why may not another do this as well as I?—to desire to be taught and instructed of every one, to prefer everybody before yourself, to think yourself unworthy to do any service unto the least of God's servants, never to think you have done enough: this is to be liberal with God. To be affable and loving unto all persons, not to be contentious, but to yield unto others' judgment in all businesses, to excuse the doings of others, not to judge them but to pity them, to think well of all, to desire to suffer want, to use nothing as your own, to desire no singularity, to leave all kinds of devotions for obedience (which is to leave Christ for Christ) to follow in all things the directions of your Superiors, not trusting to your own wisdom, to be sincere and open with your spiritual rulers, concealing nothing, no, not your own conscience and inward thoughts, although you might justly thereby conceive that they would think the worse of you: that is to be liberal with God. You must desire that every one esteem of you as you are, and you must assure yourself that you are the most imperfect, the most vile and abject and most unthankful creature of all; then do you perfectly bestow yourself of Christ when you do most with sincerity of heart despise yourself; and yet on the other side must you arise up with great courage and confidence, and know that you have a Lord which despiseth not such imperfect creatures, and say with David, "My imperfections Thy eyes have seen, and yet I hope I am written in Thy book wherein Thou hast written Thy other elect." So that you may see how fruitful the virtue of humility is. For of the consideration of your own miseries there ariseth a knowledge of the goodness of God, Who loveth such miserable things as we are; of this knowledge there springeth up burning love of such a goodness, and an earnest admiration of so great a power as is to be able to love them which so little deserveth it. And this is to be humbled in the sight of God that He may exalt us; for what greater exaltation can there be than from the baseness of that nothing which we are, to come to the highness of that charity which uniteth us to so perfect and sovereign a thing as is the Divine nature. O unspeakable excellency of a religious life by which the soul may attain to so great a felicity! religious life verily an angelical life! This savour exceedeth the sweet smell of all odoriferous spices, whatsoever can be said of thee cannot equal thy deserts; those who know thee love thee, and those who have tasted thee set forth thy praises. O how good it is for a soul to carry the sweet yoke of our Lord even from most tender years! Thou art the lamp of God, thou art the Tower of David built with mighty fortresses; thousands of shields hang over thee, and all manner of armour for valiant soldiers; thou art the field of the Divine battle, a theatre of the spiritual combat, the spectacle of angels, the stage of all courageous

fighters! O religion, slaughterer of all vices, fosterer of virtues, school of heavenly doctrine, mistress of most holy acts, thou art a paradise of delights, where roses of charity send forth a heavenly flame, where lilies of chastity grow up more pure than the snow, where violets of humility fear not the lofty and boisterous winds; and thou, O happy cell, thou ladder of Jacob, dost carry men up to Heaven, and bringest down angels to converse with men, thou art the council house of God, and of mortal men, the most sweet parlour of heavenly spirits. Glorious things be said of thee, O city of God, city of peace, holy Jerusalem, where the soul keeps watch before the tents of Christ, where the mind is inflamed with Divine love, where the cheeks are bedewed with tears of sweetness which wash and purify, yea, and in a manner do deify the soul; in thee doth carnal life wax loathsome, the pleasures of sensual persons do appear most contemptible. O religious life! most happy and most holy! O Divine and free life! O pure and angelical life! thou art the beauty of the soul, the friend of wisdom, the ornament of the Church, the bestower of grace, the fulness of proportion, the guardian of all quiet and peace; thee did Christ institute, thee did the Apostles embrace, thee do the heavens admire, and whosoever have come to most excellent proportions have been trained up in thee. Let my tongue cleave unto my jaws if I do not remember thee; let my right hand be forgotten if I carry not thee in the first and chiefest place of my joy; I have chosen to be abject in thee rather than to dwell in gorgeous palaces of sinners: the turtle hath found herself a nest where she may lay her young, and that is her good desires and virtuous purposes; thou art my rest for ever and ever, there will I ever dwell, for I have chosen it.

I am carried further than I thought, but if I may sometimes hear from you, and that your Superiors will give you leave to write of the contentment in your vocation, I will not fail (God willing) to salute you now and then.

All our friends are in the same state, both spiritual and corporal, except our mother, who as I said hath bettered her soul, and I doubt not but upon your liking you may easily draw your other sisters, which are unmarried, unto the like desires.

I beseech Jesus to comfort and strengthen you and your company, to whom I would have you commend me.

Your loving brother, more happy than ever if he may hear that you are once his spiritual sister, H. G.

Endorsed, "October 1, 1593. A copy of Father Garnett's letter to his sister; he praiseth highly a religious life." Another letter of Father Garnett to the nuns of Louvain.

September 6, 1595.[97]

Having now gotten (most dear and loving sisters) some more leisure than ordinary, I have thought good to put in execution that which long I have desired to perform, that is to congratulate with you of your happy estate, &c. Multa de triplici statu incipientium proficientium et perfectorum, singulis varia suggerit documenta fuse et pie. This care which I have had always of you, and the special want of help at your beginning in a strange country caused me to write to our Father General to move him to depute some one to assist you, w^ch^ suite I greatly joy that I hear it is obtained, &c.

[97] *Angl.* A. vol. ii. n. 5.

Another letter to his sisters in the Monastery of Louvain.

November 17, 1595.[98]

My loving sisters, I have received your letter and token, &c. All our friends are well, and our sister Anne hath very lately been with our mother. Our eldest uncle is very desirous to settle himself now in his old age for his best course, but then he must shift his dwelling and sojourn if his hard dame will give him any maintenance. You must pray for him that he may effect his good desires. Our London uncle and all his family are as they should be; your good example joined with fervent prayers will I hope one day gain all our friends, &c. Follow the counsel of St. Antony, that every day you begin and enter anew; and with St. Paul, let your inward man (howsoever the outward decay) be renewed from day to day, &c. I will cease, committing myself unto you both, and humbly craving the prayers of your whole house, &c.

Your brother most loving in our Saviour,
H. G.

A letter of Father Henry Garnett to his sister.

June 24, 1605.

My very good sister,—That you so highly esteem of your estate that you would not for all the world have stayed behind, you cause therein a singular comfort to my heart, and shows that you have learned a principal duty of a religious mind; for this we both find by experience, and it is confirmed unto us by the sacred authority of Holy Scriptures and Fathers, that nothing is more profitable or necessary for such as at the liberal hand of Almighty God have received abundance of His graces, than continually to acknowledge the same, and out of the same knowledge to derive a perpetual gratitude and largeness of heart towards God for His great goodness, ingratitude being in very deed, as St. Benett calleth it, a parching wind drying up the fountain of piety, the dew of mercy and the rivers of grace. But now what greater grace can be received of Almighty God than the grace of a religious vocation, wherein he calleth the soul out of the miseries of the world, out of the danger of carnal conversation, from the filthiness of her people and of the house of her father to beautify and adorn her in such manner as that He, before whose sight the angels themselves of themselves are not beautiful, may account her most beautiful, and as in a most pure and precious thing continually delight Himself, wherein He leadeth the soul, once a bond slave of the world and in a far greater than Egyptian thraldom, but now elected for His house, into the wilderness, where being sequestered from the love of all transitory things she may have Him speaking to her heart, who by the tumult of secular cares was before excluded from thence, although He had most interest and everlasting claim thereunto; wherein of His singular clemency He satisfieth the longing desire of a hungry mind thirsting after justice and perfect love of His Divine Majesty, by showing His enamoured handmaid where He feedeth, where He resteth at the noon time of the day, scalding her (if we may term it, for no terms be too vehement for the love of God) with true affection of love, and mortifying in her all sensual love of worldly creatures, making

[98] *Angl.* A. vol. ii. n. 10.

her black with the disdain of temporal qualities, but fair with the emulation of angelical virtues.

So that the vocation of a religious life[99] is like a grain of mustard seed, which as it is but little in quantity and great in virtue and strength, so is the benefit of religion but one benefit, yet such an one as in itself containeth all kinds of benefits, God being ready there to give all manner of virtues. Or otherwise we may compare a religious life to a bill of exchange well known to those who have travelled into foreign countries, for they that pass the sea from hence, if they carry great sums of money with them they do both clog themselves in their journey more than were needful, and if they chance to light into the hands of thieves they are utterly spoiled of all, only a letter of exchange is neither burthensome to carry nor subject unto the injury of robbers, whereas that letter of itself is little worth, and the contents thereof will not avail but him who received it. Even so fareth it with those that seek to obtain such virtues which carry us unto Heaven.

A most troublesome thing it is to seek in the world and subject to infinite robbers, but in religion most sweet and easy and void of all hazards, religion being a letter of exchange, or rather an obligation made with God's own hand (for who else calleth to religion?) whereby if we fail not of our own duties, He maketh us an assurance of all Christian perfection.

Wherefore, my most dear sister and daughter in Christ, in whom I joy, and beseech God that I may joy everlastingly, it is a great satisfaction of its expectation which I had when I sent you from hence, to hear of the great estimation which you have of your holy estate (as in very truth you cannot have too much) yet you prefer it before all worldly comforts, which is as much as to say as before all the world, so that I worthily said at the beginning that you had learned a principal duty of a religious mind. But there is a further matter in the true acknowledging of this so great a benefit than there seemeth at the first bare consideration of it, which I gather out of the glorious Apostle St. Paul, who, writing to the Corinthians, hath this notable sentence now coming unto my mind, "We have received (saith he) not the spirit of this world, but the spirit that is of God, that we may know what things have been given us from God," where we may see by that opposition which he maketh of the spirit of the world and the spirit of God, yet a principal effect of the spirit of God is to know those things which God has bestowed upon us; and surely so it is, for if all men knew the benefits of God and thoroughly weighed what liberality He hath showed in the creation and conservation of the world, in the work of our redemption and preparation of heavenly joys for mankind, and other ordinary benefits which are common even unto secular persons, I assure myself there would be no spirit of the world in all the world, but the spirit of God effectually laying before every one's eyes the goodness of God and the plenty of His gifts would prevail in all men's hearts, and conduct them to the way of perfection. So that there can be no greater sign of the spirit of God dwelling in a religious heart, or of invincible constancy and perseverance in that most blessed estate even unto the end, than to have a deep impression of so great benefits; whereby I am put in assured hope of your perseverance and have a confident trust that the spirit of the world being utterly cast out of your heart, the spirit of adoption of the

[99] "Religion a grain of mustard and a bill of exchange," in the margin.

sons of God hath within you made His habitation. And, verily, when I consider the most lamentable case of those who forsake a religious estate, being once placed therein, I cannot think that there may be possible any other cause wherefore God hath cast them forth, but the want of knowledge of that good which they had before. Wherefore, Almighty God in the Canticles threatened His spouse, and in her every religious person especially, saying, if thou knowest not thyself, O most fair amongst women get thee forth and go thy ways after thy herds and feed thy goats near unto the tabernacles of shepherds; as though He said, if thou knowest not, O religious person, what I have done for thee in calling thee to a religious order, in beautifying thee with holy observances of thy rule, in making thee a companion of holy angels, in so many good things as thou receivest in My house; if thou dost not acknowledge this a peculiar house of My own choosing for thee to dwell wherein, if thou knowest not how filthy thou wast in the world, or (as it often happeneth) because thou camest young into religion and hadst not tasted of the sour dregs of the world, if thou dost not know that My grace there preserved thee and prevented thee in calling thee so timely unto Me, whereby thou makest the less account of My heavenly institutions, then go thy way again into the world, follow the conduct of thy vain cogitations, and feed thy filthy appetites amongst the wandering worldlings and near unto their tents, into the which thou canst not enter for to be relieved or credited, religious renegades, being contemptible before God and man, acknowledge what it was to dwell in the house of thy God. Therefore, O my dear sister, and all you my most loving sisters and daughters who may chance to read this my letter, acknowledge God's special goodness showed unto you, fulfil my joy in our Saviour, which I assure you is most singular, so often as I think of your estate most happy and glorious wherein I have been some furtherance unto you; go forward in this most secure way, which may bring you void of all dangers to the end of your pilgrimage, which cannot be long; fight stoutly in the combat which you have undertaken, which shall gain you an everlasting and particular crown, and shall, as our Saviour promiseth, make you judges of the twelve tribes of Israel, that is, of the whole number of those which must be judged—love faithfully and constantly Him, which must be your perpetual lover; and with your prayers make him a perfect religious man, who, notwithstanding his unworthiness hath sought to begin and desireth to see perfect so happy a work in you all.

Another letter of Father Garnett to Sister Elizabeth Shir.

My very good Sister in our Saviour,—All your friends are well and salute you; though besides the general affliction we find ourselves now betrayed in both our places of abode and are forced to wander up and down until we get a fit place, yet we impute to the great providence of God that our persons have escaped through your prayers and others. We kept Corpus Christi day with great solemnity and music, and the day of the Octave made a solemn procession about a great garden, the house being watched, which we knew not till the next day when we departed twenty-five in the sight of all in several parties, leaving half a dozen servants behind and all is well, *et evasimus manus eorum in nomine Domini.*

And so you see I have thus many years rubbed out, not being worthy to suffer anything for His sake in Whose affairs I am

employed. God grant that we may all one day meet together before His face for to enjoy Him for ever, and the time cannot be long. *Modica passio gloria infinita*, as St. Francis said. To your Reverend Superior and all the rest I humbly commend myself this Midsummer-day, 1605.

Yours always,
H. G.

Among the many converts to the Catholic faith made by Father Garnett was his own nephew, Father JOHN HEATHCOTE *alias* Cripps, who says in his replies to the usual questions put to students on entering the English College, Rome. "I am in my nineteenth year; was born at Kirkby in the county of Derby, and was brought up in all good learning. My father died about seventeen years ago, leaving my mother a widow, in moderate circumstances, but I was not brought up by her, but by a certain Protestant uncle now dead. I have no sisters or brothers. I have a Catholic grandfather still living, and likewise a Catholic uncle; and two uncles and one paternal aunt Protestants: of the rest I know nothing.

"I made my rudiments in divers places, but my humanities at St. Omer for seven years. I lived a Protestant until I was nine years of age, when I was restored to the bosom of the Church by means of my uncle, of happy memory, the blessed Father Henry Garnett; but I was not so fortunate as to have received this benefit from that happy man personally, for, as far as I recollect, I was never so fortunate as to have even once seen him. I was brought to a certain priest, confined in prison on account of the oath of supremacy, by whom I was admitted among the sons of our holy mother the Church."

The Diary of the English College, Rome, states that he entered as an alumnus in the name of John Cripps, at the age of eighteen, October 19, 1608, and took the usual College oath August 10, 1609. He defended the whole course of philosophy, and was ordained priest, June 22, 1614, and left Rome on his way to England, April 22, 1615, after completing his theology. He conducted himself admirably in the College. A status of the College[100] calls him a nephew of Father Garnett the martyr and a youth of marvellous innocence. He entered the Society in the year 1615; was raised to the degree of a Professed Father, March 19, 1629; and, after spending twelve years upon the English Mission, taught humanities and mathematics at St. Omer's College, of which he had been Minister, and died there October 16, 1657.

[100] Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vol. iv. n. 4.

Father Nathaniel Southwell,[101] in his notice of Father Garnett says, that "our noble poet and theologian, Walter Paul, happily expresses the prodigy of the ear of corn in the following anagram:"

Pater Henricus Garnetius.
Anagramma.
Pingere cruentus arista.

Quid petit hic vultus sicca redivivus arista?
Quid frons? Quid sacris ora locuta notis?
Nominis augurio *Pingere cruentus* arista—
Garnete; agnosco vultum, opus, artificem.
Spica tabella, Deus pictor, color unda cruoris,
Spica crucem, vultum dat Deus, astra cruor.

Father Martin Grene, who assisted Father Bartoli in his history by collecting materials, makes the following remarks in a letter from Sherborne to his brother Father Christopher Grene, in Rome, dated October 9, 1664:[102] "I had once occasion to inform myself of that history [the Gunpowder Plot] and I found none better than the two books of Eudæmon Joannes, the one *Ad actionem Edwardi Coqui. Apolog. pro P. Hen. Garnetto*, the other, *Parallelus Torti et Tortoris*. Though the things be there spread and scattered, yet they are, if collected, very pertinent to clear Father Garnett and ours; for example, among other things this one, that the traitors had among themselves made an oath that they would never speak of their design to any priests, because they knew that they would not allow of it. Also that they were specially offended with the Jesuits for their preaching patience and submission. There are divers other circumstances which manifestly excuse ours. I had a relation made me by one of ours, who had it in Seville, which clearly shows that the whole plot was of Cecil's making, but it being only told me by an old man who forgot both times and persons, I believe I shall never make use of it. Yet I have heard strange things, which if ever I can make out will be very pertinent; for instance, the late Bishop of Armagh, Usher, was divers times heard to say that if Papists knew what he knew, the blame of the Gunpowder treason would not lay on them."[103]

Notwithstanding his numerous occupations, Father Garnett found time to write several works. (1) A Treatise on Schism. (2) A Treatise on Christian Renovation. (3) A Translation of the *Summa Canisii*, with supplements on pil-

[101] *Bibl. Script. S.J.*
[102] A full copy of this letter is given in *Records*, vol. iii. pp. 497, seq.
[103] See note, p. 119.

grimages, invocation of saints, and indulgences, 8vo, pp. 687, printed first at London in 1590, and again at St. Omer in 1622. (4) Translations of some little books on the Society of Jesus. (5) A Treatise on the Rosary of our Lady. The late Dr. Oliver in his *Collectanea S.J.* mentions a letter of Father Garnett dated June 2, 1601, in which he says that he had confuted in MS. "A pestilent dialogue between a gentleman and a physician;" and although none but MS. copies were taken and circulated, it caused the suppression of the said dialogue; and its author, to his credit, had expressed his regret for having published it. Father Garnett also wrote an account in Latin of the martyrdom of his friend, Father John Jones, O.S.F., whom he calls Godfrey Maurice.

Father Garnett is mentioned by the following authors:— The Belgian MS. life, before mentioned, in fifteen chapters; Andreas Eudæmon, Apologia pro R. P. Garneto, &c. Cologn, 1610; Bellarmin in responsione ad Apol. pro juramento fidelitatis et in Apologia pro eadem responsione, c. xiii. xv.; Littæ. Annuæ Prov. Belgiæ 1606–7, Coll. Anglorum et 1611 Prov. Bœticæ. Coll. Gaditan.; Bombinus in vita Campiani c. xi.; Joannes Argentus in Epistola ad regem Poloniæ Edit. 3a. c. xxv.; Joannes Gerard, Narratio, etc. (*Condition of Catholics*, Father Morris, 1872); Ribadeneira in Append. ad cent. mart. S.J.; Tabula eorundem MM. Rom. incisa; Menologium S.J.; Jacobus Gualterus in tabula chronograph; Jacobus Gordonus in opere chronol.; Petrus Oultreman in tabulis vir: illust. S.J.; Nieremberg de vir. illust. S.J. tom. ii. Hispanicè; Sylvester Mansothycus in oceano Religionum, lib. iii. Italicè; Anth. Balingham in Calendario B.V. 3 Maii; Jac. Damianus in Synopsi S.J. lib. v. c. xxvi.; Jac. Kellerus in tyrannicidio. quæs. vi.; Suarez in definitione fidei lib. vi. c. xi.; Corn. à Lapide in Apoc. c. vii. n. 3; Henricus Fitzsimon in Brittan. Ministrorum, lib. iii. c. iii. p. 3; Petrus Ant. Spinellus in Deipara, c. xx. n. 44; Laurentius Beyerlink in opere chronol. ann. 1606, Litt. Anglia; Imago spicæ quæ cum trevianio circumfertur; Hilarion de Costæ Hist. Cath. lib. iii. in Edm. Campiano, Gallicè; Elias a St. Theresia in legatione Ecclesiæ triumphantis, lib. ii. c. xxxi. n. 72; Juvencius, S.J. Hist. S.J.; Morus, S.J. Hist. Prov. Angl.; Tanner, S.J. Martyr. S.J.; Bartoli, Inghilterra, etc.

APPENDIX.

Dom. James I. vol. xviii. n. 86. 1606. Endorsed, "Interrogatories to Garnett, *alias* Walley, *alias* Darcy, *alias* Farmer, Jesuit." At Whitehall, February 17, 160$\frac{5}{6}$, *coram concilio.*

Interrogatories to be ministered to Garnett.

1. Are you sometimes called Walley, sometimes Darcy, sometimes Farmer, and by how many other names? And are not you the Superior of the Jesuites? What letter did Sir Ev. Digby write to you from Mr. Grant's howse at Northbrookes, to you at Coughton by Thomas Bates, and what was the effect of that letter?

2. Was not the effect of that letter to crave your advice what course they were to take in their proceeding, or to what other effect?

3. Whilst you were reading that Lre did not Greneway the Jesuite come in, and did not you read the letter to him, and did not you tell him they would have blown upp the Parliament Howse with powder, and that they were desiryed, [? discovered] and wee utterly undone.

4. What speech did Greenway then use to you touching the overthrowe of the State of your Society (meaning of the Jesuites)?

5. After the act donne should not you have sent letters to Sir Edward Baynham to Rome, and to what effect? And whether did not Sir Everard Digby, you, and Hurlston meet at Mrs. Vauxes howse a fortnight before Michaelmas?

6. Item, did you exhort Catholiques to pray for the good successe of the Catholique cause in the beginning of the Parliament?

7. Item, when were you acquainted with Thomas Winter and Father Grenewaye's negociacon into Spaine in Q. Elizabeth's time, and what was that negotiation?

8. The like for Christ. Wright's negociacon in the beginning of the King's raigne from England?

9. The like for Fawke's negociacon from Flanders?

10. By whom receaved you letters or messages from Hugh Owen,[104] F. Baldwin, Sir Wm. Stanley, or Father Cresswell, and to what effect?

11. Where were you the last October and November?

12. To what was so great some of money and preparacon of horses collected and made by the Catholiques about the end of the late Queen's reign, and the beginninge of his Ma^{ties}?

13. When and where did you peruse and correct the booke of Equivocation, and is not the correctment and animadversions of y^{r} owne handwriting?

14. When and where did Blackwell the archpriest approve and allow of yt?

[104] The modern Protestant writer, frequently alluded to, calls Hugh Owen a Jesuit. He was not so. The same observation applies to a Griffiths Floyd, and one Phillips whom he also names.

15. Hath not the doctrine of the said booke been allowed by the Pope or others at Rome?

16. Doe you hould the doctrine of that booke to be orthodoxall and warrantable by the word of God and good divinity?

17. Doe you hould the King to be the lawfull and rightfull King and those put in authoritie by him to be lawful magistrates, and that they have power to examine you?

18. Doe you hould that the Pope hath power or authority for that the King is not of the Romish religion to depose him?

19. Whether is the King excommunicated, or deposed, or no?

20. Whether is there any lycense or dispensation for Catholiques in any sort to come to church, or to subiect themselves outwardly to the King or to the religion established?

21. Whether had not the Catholiques a dispensation in Queen Eliz. time to obey her after Pius Quintus Bull, and what dispensations have they lately obteyned?

22. What moved you after you knew the late traytors to have committed their treasons to give them absolution? Did not you take their action, being for the Catholique cause, to be lawfull?

23. The places wherein and the persons with whom you have conversed?

34. Did not Catesby or any of the rest ask your resolution in a like case ?

25. Do you thinke the Powder Treason and the open rebellion, being for the Catholique cause, lawfull?

26. Whether went not you of pilgrimage to St. Winefred's Well, and who went in your company?

27. Whether were not you Mr. Rob. Catesby's confessor, and how often did you confess him this last summer, and when and where was the last tyme that you did so confess him?

Same vol. n. 87. "To the 13 and 14. The examination of Henry Garnett, &c., February 13, $160\frac{5}{6}$."[105]

To the 1st he sayth that his right name is Henry Garnett, but whether he hath bene called by the name of Walley, Darcye, Farmer, or by any other name he craveth to be spared, because it may draw others into troble, and confesseth he hath been Superior of the Jhesiuysts [Jesuits] above these twenty years, duringe which tyme he hath bene in England contynually.

B. 2°. He acknowledgeth that he receyved a letter from Sir Everard Digby by Bates, this exame then being in or near Coughton, wch letter was subscribed by Sir E. Digby and Catesbye, and this he receaved on Wednesday, the vjth of November last.

The effect of the letter was to excuse their rashnes, and required my assistance in Wales, and persuade men to make a party, saying that if I had scrupulosity or desire to free myself or my Order from blame and let them now perish, I should follow after myselfe and all Catholics. My answer was that I marvelled they would enter into so wicked actions, and not be ruled by the advice of frends, and order of His Holiness generally given to all, and that I could not meddle, but wished them to give over, and if I could do anything

[105] It is signed by Father Garnett, and is all in his handwriting. The capital letters are Sir Edward Coke's, the Attorney-General.

in such a matter, as I neither could nor would, it were in vain now to attempt it. Of the actions of powder in the Parliament Howse not one word in the said letter, but only by Bates related.

Ad. 3m. *D.* Greenway mett at that time, and heard the letter, and I denye that I tould him of the blowing up of the Parliament House, for he knew it before by Bates.

Ad. 4m. *E.* No such thing was spoke by Greenway.

Ad. 5m. *F.* I deny that after the act I should have sent any letter to Sir Edw^{d} Bainham. And further, he saith that he knoweth not Mr. Hurlston. Sr. Everard Digby he knew but never mett him at Mrs. Vaux's house.

Ad. 6m. *G.* I did not exhort any Catholicks to pray for the good success of the Catholique cause in the beginning of the Parliament, nor to any such effect, and this without any equivocation.

Ad. 7m. *H.* Of the negotiation of Thos. Winter and Fr. Greenway he knoweth nothing.

Ad. 8m. Neither of Christ. Wright's negotiation into Spaine, whom I never saw.

Ad. 9m. *I.* Neither do I know anything of Faux, his negotiation into Spaine from Flanders in the beginning of this King's raigne.

Ad. 10m. *K.* From Hugh Owen and Sr. Wm. Stanley I never received letters in my life.

From William Baldwin and Joseph Cresswell, Jesuits, I received oft, but onely in matters of schollers and nunnes.

For any messages from the two former I remember none; if any, it was only for to commend frends.

Ad. 11m. *M.* I answer I was never so nere London since Bartilmastide; neither at White Webbs, nor nere Enfield Chase; neither did I ever hyre that house; neyther was in London or the sububs in November last.[106]

Ad. 12. *N.* I assure you I think there was no such thing; neither did I ever know of any collections of money or preparation of horses by the Catholiques in the ending of the Queen's raigne, or the beginning of his Ma$^{tie's}$.

Ad. 13m. *O.* The title of the book of Equivocation was altered by me wth my own hand, but onely by way of consultation, whether it were not better to have it so, and intitled a treatise against lying and fraudulent dissimulation, because no equivocation can justify or maintaine lying or fraudulent dissimulation, as appeareth by a chapter there of purpose, and the marginal note in the 47 page is of my owne wrytinge, and I corrected the booke in diverse other places.

Ad. 14m. *P.* Of Mr. Blackwell's approbation I did not procure it, but some others, who would have it divulged in print, which divulgation I hindered, and this correction was made in Q. Eliz. time, soon after Mr. Southwell's death.

Ad. 15m. *Q.* 16m. As to the doctrine of that book, it was never approved at Rome, nor ever seene. But as the common doctrine of divines, it goeth as other doctrines of divines, held as probable, not *de fide.*

I confesse I was at St. Winefrid's Well, but in what company I desyre to be forborne, in September last, and that in pilgrimage, &c.

HENRY GARNETT.

[106] See note, p. 84, regarding White Webbs.

Same vol. n. 3. Endorsed "23rd of February, Interlocution."[107] 160$\frac{5}{6}$.

A. As soon as they came to speke together, they seemed to confesse themselves one to the other. First Hall [Father Oldcorne] and then Garnett, w^{ch} was short, with a prayer in Latten before they did confess to each other, and beatinge their hands on their brests. Garnett confessed that he had a great suspicion of one (whose name I could not hear), but said he found it but a mere suspicion, and that he hath been subject much to that kind of frailty.

B. Said Garnet, I had forgott to tell you I had a note from Rookwood. You know him, and he telleth me *that Greenway is gon over. I am very glad of this.* And I had another from Garrat [Gerard] that he meaneth to go over to Father Parsons, and therefore I hope if he be not yet taken he is escaped, but it seemeth he hath been put to great plunges.

I think Mrs. Ann [Vaux] is in the towne. If she be, I have writ a note that my keeper may repaire to her near hand, and convey me aniething unto her, who will let us hear from all our friends.

C. I gave him an angel yesterday, because I will be beforehand with him, and he took it very well, with great thanks, and now and then at meales I make very much of him, and give him a cup of sack, and send his wife another, and that he takes very kindly. So I hope wee shall have all well. You should doe well now and then to give him a shilling, and sometimes send his wife somewhat. He did see me write to Mr. Rookwood. But I will give him no more monie yet.

D. I must needs confess White Webbs, that wee mett there, but I will answere it thus, that I was there, *but knew nothing of the matter.*

E. They prest me to take an oathe (as by y^{r} priesthood) for triffles, but they said my oath was nothing. I might be pardoned by the Pope.

F. Then Hall said something more softly to Garnett. And he answered, Good Lord! how did they know that? It is no matter.[108]

G. Perhaps they will press me with certaine prayers that I made against the time of the Parliament, for the good success of that businesse, *which indeed is true.* But I may answer that well. For I will say, It is true that I did doubt that at this next Parliament there would be more severe lawes made against the Catholiques, and therefore I made those prayers, and that will answer it well eno.

H. Mr. Attornie told me very friendly that he would make the best construction to the King of my examinations, to do me good, and used me very kindly.

J. But Sir Wm. Waade will sometimes scarce speak to me,

[107] The capital letters are Sir Edward Coke's, the Attorney General. These interlocutions are so confused, broken, and obscure, and the spies themselves frequently acknowledge that they could not distinctly catch what was said, and the Privy Council so little trusted them, that they asked Father Oldcorne himself to write a full account of what really did take place. His statement will be found in his Life, in our present series.

[108] "I did not well hear. Only I hard Garnett answere," in the margin.

and yet sometimes he will sit down as he passeth thro' my chamber, and use me with very good words; but when he falleth into speech of Jesuits, Lord! how he inveyeth at them, and speaketh the straingliest things that can be, and he tould me that we were the lewdest people, and then would protest against us, and saith that we are all of opinion that Catholic religion must be maintayned under one monarchy, and who is that monarch but the King of Spaine. Nay, he tould me that he knew a gentlewoman that had [too gross and absurd to copy.] And in these bitter tearmes did he tell me that he could directly charge me with divers severall treasons, confessed by sundry persons that were witnesses in the Queen's time.

K. For my *sending into Spaine before the Queen's death, I need not deny it; but I care not for these things.* He knoweth I have my pardon for that time, and therefore he will not urge them to do me hurt.

L. Yf I can satisfy the King well in this matter it will be well; but I think it not convenient to deny that wee were at White Webbs. They do so much insist upon that place. Since I came out of Essex I was there two times, and so I may say I was there; but they press me to be there in October last, *which I will by no means confess, but I will tell them I was not there since Bartholomewtide;* neither will I tell them I know of any of the servants there, for they may then examine and perhaps torture some of them, and make them yield to some confession. But if they ask me of the servants, I will tell them thes never came vp to me where I was.

M. But I was afraide when they spoke to me of Sir Edmund Baynham, that I should be asked *somewhat of the letters my Lord Montague*[109] *did write*, and send by him, but I hope they will not; yet perhaps *hereafter* they will.

N. And in truth I am well persuaded that I shall winde myself out of this matter, and for anie former busnies I care not.

Hark you, hark you, Mr. Hall: whilst I shutt the door make a hawking and a spitting.

Same vol. n. 117. A modern MS. taken from a collection of papers relating to the Gunpowder Plot, mostly in the hand-writing of Archbishop Sancroft amongst the Tanner MS. in the Bodleian Library, vol. lxxv., p. 292. "Interlocutions between Garnett and Hall [Oldcorne] the Jesuit in prison, overheard by two worthy gentlemen that were in *insidiis* [ambush]." February 25, 1605.

Sir Wm. told me I was indicted. I marvel whether it were before the proclamation or since. If before, it will be the worse for Mr. Abington; if since, it is no great hurt to him.

Garnett said he was charged with some advice he should give in Queen Eliz. time of the blowing up of the Parliament House with gunpowder. Indeed (said he to Hall) I told them at that time it was lawful, but wished them to do their best to save as

[109] This should be *Monteagle.* It is another specimen of the deficient hearing of the listeners.

many as they could that were innocents. His words we conceive tended to this purpose.[110]

They pressed me with a question what noblemen I knew that had written any letters to Rome, and by whom. Well, I see they will justify my Lord Monteagle of all this matter. I said nothing of him, neither will I ever confess him. Then Garnett mentioned my Lord of Northumberland, my Lord of Rutland, and one more (whom we heard not well), but to what effect they were named we could not hear by occasion of a cock crowing under the window of the room, and the cackling of a hen at the same instant. Saith Garnett there is one special thing of which I doubted they would have taken an exact account of me, *i.e.*, of the causes of my coming to Coughton, which indeed would have bred a great suspicion of the matter. I will write to-day or to-morrow (to whom we could not hear), to let them know that I am resolved to do my lord no hurt.

Garnett used some words to this effect : "I hope they have got no knowledge of the great," &c., but it was not well heard by either of us. I will need take knowledge that you were with me at White Webbs. Then he told Hall of a lease that was shewed him for taking of White Webbs, and other words to that effect. You did not confess that we came together to Mrs. Abington's, for you know what we resolved upon. Then they seemed to think that they had failed in their several confessions for their meeting and about their horses ; and Garnett seemed to be very sorry that Hall held not better concurrence. But now they contrived how to answer that point with more concurrence, *i.e.*, as if Garnett or Hall had misnamed one the other, instead of a third person, whom they have now resolved upon. Garnett said "they went away unsatisfied, and therefore we must expect at the next time either to go to the rack or to pass quietly with the rest. But, said he, they pressed me with so many trifles and circumstances, that I was troubled to make answer, and I told them if they would demand anything concerning myself I was ready to deal plainly, but to accuse any other that were innocent, it might be some matter of conscience to me. And I told them that none could be judge of my conscience but myself. Mr. Attorney was about to write, but when he had written three lines he gave it over, and seemed to be angry, saying I had lost my credit, for he had undertaken for me to the King. Then they conferred how to get more money, and Garnett said he had a friend to whom he would send his keeper.

Garnett said he was charged about certain prayers to be said for the success of this business at the beginning of the Parliament, to which he answered that if they would shew him any such praiers he would confess if they were done by him, which was refused to be done. They then prest me whether, if it could be proved that I made such praier, I would yield myself privy to all the rest. Indeed, upon All Hallows Day we used those praiers, and then I did repeat to them two Latin verses, which both praiers and verses Garnett did now rehearse to Hall, confessing that he made them both. Garnett said they mentioned the letters

[110] The reader will observe this cautious addition of the spies, a clear admission that they could not catch the words uttered, and therefore gave their own prejudiced interpretation of the meaning. A few sentences further on, they repeatedly acknowledge their inability to hear, and give as a reason the noise made by the cocks and hens beneath the window.

sent into Spain ; but I answered that those letters were of no other matter, but to have pensions.

Garnett said something to Hall of a gentlewoman, that if he were charged with her he would excuse her conversing with him, but how we could not well hear.

Garnett said he was asked of Robert Chambers, and said somewhat of James or Johnson, who he heard was upon the rack for three hours, at which he marvelled, for, said he, Fawkes was but half an hour, and yet they won him to confession. They spoke of Strange, who they heard should be hanged. Then Garnett said, Upon what point do they touch him? Hall, as well as we could hear, named something he had done against Sir Robert Cecil, but the rest we heard not. Garnet bid Hall take his shovel and make a noise among the coles, whilst he might shut the door.

We did observe that from the beginning to the ending of all the conference neither of them named God, nor recommended their cause or themselves to God, but applied themselves wholly to the matter.

EDWARD FORCET.
J. LOCKERTON.

Same vol. n. 122. Garnett Interlocution, February 27, 1605, in the morning.

Garnett. How now, how do you, is all well? said Garnett. And so they proceeded to the rehearsall of the examination yesterday taken. And then Hall, who spoke moste at this time, seemed to relate to Garnett the points of his confession, which we could not well hear more than when we heard Garnett's liking or disliking thereof. And where he liked he said noe more butt well, well, that was well.

I think, said Garnett, they have even done with examining of me, and truly I hope they will not bring me to anie arraignment.

Then it seemed vnto us that Hall tould Garnett how he answered the White Webbs, w^ch^ Garnett said it was well, but said he for the other matter of our meeting on the way, it were better to leave it in a contradiction, as it was, lest perhaps the poore fellow shall be tortured for the clearing of that point. Said Garnett, I was asked of some noblemen, but I answered it well eno' I think.

Garnett said he was asked again about the prayer which he was charged to have made, and then did name the prayer by a special name to Hall, thereby putting Hall in remembrance thereof, but, said he, I shall avoid that well enough.

He spoke of witnesses to be produced against him face to face, but to what end we did not hear him declare.

Garnett said that Mr. Attornie did raile against the Pope, and that all the Jesuits should rew for it. Then Garnett desired that the whole should not be charged with the faults of some particular men. Nay, said Mr. Attornie, they doe all looke to be made saints for such their practises, and tould me that my name would be put into that calendar of saintes. Then Garnett said that if the Pope and their Generalls should appoint them to anie action wherein the Pope may think to deserve to be a saint in heaven therein, I may hope for such cause to be a saint in the calendar.

Indeed, I was prest again with Coughton, which I most feared, questioning me of my times of coming thither, the place at such a time, and the companie, whereat we did not hear any report of Garnett's answere.[111]

Garnett mentioned a place where they had said Mass on Sonday, but his words that followed we could not heare.

Then Garnett said that Mr. Attornie asked him if he were not at the christening of a child at White Webbs; and that Sir Wm. Waad gibbingly said he was surely at the christening, &c. Then said Garnett, it were not fit to use those words to him at that time in this place of justice. Then, said Mr. Attornie to him again, Why, said he, you know it well eno', it was Mrs. Brooksby's child. It had a shaven crown. Garnett made mention of one Mrs. Jenings, who only we heard named.

Then Garnett bid Hall hould up his mouth higher. Garnett said they let him see James, but, saith he, he went but along by me.[112]

Then Hall having said somewhat to Garnett, w^ch^ we could not hear, Garnett tould him that he had answered them that there was diverse that knew him, whom he knew not.

Then said Garnett, Well, I will leave you now.

Then Garnett returned to Hall again, and asked him what he had given the keeper in all. Hall's answer we could not hear. Well, well, we will remember him well enough, saith Garnett, and so I tould him. Garnett was often going from Hall.

Well, said Garnett, if they examine me anie more, I will urge them to bring proof against me, for, said he, they speak of three or fower witnesses.

Then Hall said somewhat. Well, said Garnett, leave now; we shall have occasion to come together often enough; and so he bid Hall shake the great fyer shovell amongst the coles. We again observed that at neither their first meeting nor at parting nor in anie part of their conference they used no one word of godlines or religion, or recommending themselves or their cause to God, but all hath been how to contrive safe answers, and to concur insomuch as may concern those matters they are exa^md^ of.

EDWARD FORSETT.
J. LOCHERSON.

Dom. James I. vol. xix. March 2, 160$\frac{5}{6}$. "Interlocution between Garnett and Hall overheard." The capital letters are by Coke, the Attorney-General.

A. "Hark you, is all well?" said Garnett. "Let us go to confession first, if you will."

B. Then began Hall to make his confession, whoe we could not here well; but Garnett did often interrupt him, and said, "Well, well."

[111] Regarding Father Garnett's attendance at Coughton, and the prayer used there, &c., see note 57, page 83.

[112] James Johnson was a servant at White Webbs. A few days before he had been brought with a keeper to Father Garnett's chamber in the Tower, in order to identify him as the person who went by the name of Whalley (Jardine's Plot).

C. And then Garnett confessed himself to Hall, w^ch^ was uttered very much more softier than he used to whisper in theise interlocutions, and but short, and confest that because he had drank extraordinarily, he was fane to goe twoe nights to bedd betimes.[113]

D. Upon speaches by Hall of one he saw yesterday (as we guessed) Garnett tould him that he was assured that Little John [Brother Nicholas Owen] would not confesse anie thing of importance of him.

E. Hall tould Garnett (as we gess by Garnett's repetition thereof) that he should have no favor.

F. Garnett used some speeches to Hall of the Jesuites, and said that cannot be. I am Chancellor, and said it might proceed of the malice of the priests.

G. Garnett asked Hall what was said to him of White Webbs.

H. Hall's answer we could not hear. Garnett made greate haste away, for he said he had received a letter from them.

I. Garnett tould Hall that if it be not known that Mr. Abington was acquainted with their being in his howse he would doe well enoughe.

And so Garnett broke off in haste for the reading or writing of a lre., and spake to Hall to make a noise with the shovell.

EDWARD FORSETT,
J. LOCHERSON.

[113] The Protestant Bishop Abbot, one of the bitterest persecutors of the Catholic priests of his day, has dared to assert that Father Henry Garnett was an habitual drunkard, and a modern anti-Catholic writer, following in the steps of Abbot, has ventured to renew the abominable charge. If the defamers of the Father rely upon the evidence of the two exceptional witnesses for a confirmation of the charge, the reader will remember how the spies over and over again acknowledge that they "could not well hear," and on this very occasion "that Father Garnett's confession was uttered very much more softier than he used to whisper in these interlocutions, and was but short;" in fact, so unsatisfactory were the broken statements of the spies to the Privy Council, that the lords applied to Father Oldcorne himself to reduce to writing what really did take place, as stated above. In his declaration, Father Oldcorne says: "It is a very difficult thing for me to perform. . . . Mr. Garnett then speaking to me in a very low whispering voice, at a crannie in the top of a door, I did not well understand him, . . . hence your lordships may conceive how imperfectly those who were set to hear us could relate our speeches, when I could not sometimes understand him, nor he me, because we spoke in such a low, whispering manner." To a Catholic reader, such foul charges convey simultaneously their own answer, and the well known sanctity of the martyred Father would render this note superfluous, but, as our *Records* may fall into the hands of other than Catholic readers, we think it better to add it. If the statement of the spies be correct, it would seem a strong corroboration of the truth of the report mentioned by Father Gerard in his Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot, that Father Garnett "had some mixture of intoxicating drink given him to obscure his understanding and distemper his body." The examination of the 5th of March, given below, is probably the one in which Father Garnett was found in "the very strange plight" named by Father Gerard. That examination was a short one, and the original signature of Father Garnett to it is remarkable, and rather tends to prove the condition of stupor in which he was. He complained to the lords that he had been kept from sleep for five nights previously. The Son of God Himself was charged with being a drunkard and an associate of sinners, &c "The servant is not above his lord."

Dom. James I. vol. xix. n. 15. "The examination of Henry Garnett at the Tower, March 5, 160$\frac{5}{6}$."

Being toulde and shewed the examination of Hall under his owne hande, whereby Hall chargeth him that they had divers conferences together since their cominge into the Tower, the one being on the one side of the door, and the other on the other, sayth that he never had any speech or conference with him, and that Hall may accuse himself falsely. But sayth that he will not accuse himself.

HENRY GARNETT.

NOTTINGHAM, SUFFOLKE, E. WORCESTER, NORTHAMPTON, SALISBURY, J. POPHAM, EDW. COKE.[114]

Dom. James I. vol. xix. n. 16. "The examination of Henry Garnett, Superior of the Jesuits, taken this 6th day of March, 160$\frac{5}{6}$."

A. He confesseth that he came to Mr. Abbingdon's house at Henlip by St. Bartholomew's day, or a day before or after, that place being prepared for him by Hall the Jesuit, and that he was conducted thither by Hall's servant, George Chambers, who attended on him thither and there remained until he was apprehended. And Nicholas Owen, *alias* Little John, came with him also, and confesseth that he found Hall the Jesuite there, where he also remained, saving about twoo or three dayes that he went abroade and returned againe. And confesseth that when there was no straunger there, he and Hall dined and supped with Mr. Abbington and his wife, but when any straunger was there, they were then on some private place in the house. And denieth that Hart, [*B*] *als* Hammond a Jesuite (that late cam from Roome, about 2 yeares since), was at Mr. Abbington's house since his cominge thither.

C. He confesseth the taking of White Webbs for that it was a spacious house fitt to receave so great a company that should resort to him thither; there being two bedds placed in a chamber, but thinketh there have not been above the number of 14 Jesuits at one tyme there; and sayth that the house was taken in the name of [MS. torn] Mease, which he confesseth was but a feigned name, to the intent to prevent the inditinge of Mrs. Anne Vauxe, who was called by the name of Mrs. Perkins and Mrs. Brokesby, who lived privately there. And the charge of conference being greate were borne by this examt. and them in common.

D. He confesseth that Fawkes was with him about Easter last in a chamber that this examt. had in Temmes Streate, and nowe this examt. remembereth that he wrote by Fawkes himself to Father Baldwyn at that tyme in his commendacon and a Frenchman (that was learned and had proceeded Mr. of Arts for whom this

[114] As we have observed above, this examination was probably the one in which Father Garnett was labouring under the effects of stupor already described. He was not then aware of the fact of the "hole in the wall" scheme, and so denied the conferences with Father Oldcorne; and it was most probably upon this occasion that "when they saw him so resolute in denying this point, that they carried him to the house of torture, and there did torture him for some time."

examt. had done much). This examinant desyred Fawkes that he might goe over with him.

E. And confesseth that Rob. Catesby was with this examt. at Sir Everard Digby's house in B [MS. torn] shire about a fortnight after Allhallowtide, where there were at that tyme Gerrard, Fisher, and one Brown a priest that was to goe presently over to be a Jesuite. And lefte that tyme about Whitson Even. This examt. and Catesby mett together in Moorfelds by appointment by Mr. Catesby, who sent him word to meete him there, where they without any person mett together, and conferred together about halfe an houre.

F. He sayth that the last letter he wrote to Father Baldwyn in the behalfe of Sir Edw. Baynham, by his ordinary meanes, and the effect of that letter was to commend him (as often he had done before) to be a souldier, and to other effect he sayth he never did write.

HENRY GARNETT.

EDW. COKE, W. WAADE, POPHAM.

Same vol. xix. n. 40, March 12, 160$\frac{5}{6}$. "The examination of Henry Garnett, Jesuit, March 12, 1605."

A. Whether were not you asked or acquainted by Catesby and in generall for some greate attempt eyther by gunpowder or otherwise for the Catholicke cause before Easter last, yf so when and where were you asked or acquainted with the same?

B. He denieth that he was asked of or acquainted any such matter before Easter last, neyther was he of opinion that any such attempt was lawfull.

C. But sayth that the matter that was moved to him by Catesby was moved on the Saturday after the of Corpus Christi at this examts. chamber in Temmes Streate at the house of one Bennet a costermonger hard by Queenhithe, and after this, this examt. and Catesby had two conferences at Fremlande in Essex.

D. He sayth that the mencion of the greate etc. in the interlocution between Hall and him was concerning the greate house of Mr. Mainge in Essex where the conference was between him, Catesby, and others.

E. The effect and conclusion of the letter of Sir E. Digby and Catesby which he received by Bates at Coughton, was onlie that they were to goe into Wales where they did expect this examts. assistance. And sayth that there was no more in that letter as he taketh it the Lady Digby, who was present at the reading of it, can tell if she doe remember it.

F. He sayth that a little before St. James' tide last *at Fremland in Essex nere Sr. Ken. Sulyardes*,[115] Tesimond revealed to him, the priest of Catesby, and others, of that conspiracy of blowing up of the Parliament House with powder. After which, about Bartholo. last, he spake with Catesby at Moorfields, and not of that matter.

G. He confesseth that at his 2 conference with Catesby at *Fremland*, Catesby did faithfully promise him that he would not proceede in the matter before he had acquainted the Pope generally with the state of England, and taken his advice and directions therein; and this examt. named Sir Edward Baynham to be used by him to the Pope in that behalf, which accordingly Mr. Catesby

[115] These words are underlined by Coke.

did. And Catesby tould this examt. that the matter was such as he thought the Pope would not hynder it.

H. He verily thinks that Tesimond *alias* Greenwell the Jesuite was acquainted with the Powder Treason by Catesby and Thos. Winter, or one of them, for that he was most conversant with them and lived about London. And sayth that if Bates had tould it Greenewell in confession, Greenewell ought not to have discovered it to this examt. or any other, no, not to the Pope, neyther did Greenewell tell this examt. that ever Bates had acquainted him with any such matter, or that Bates knew of it.

I. And sayth that this examt. is assured that Catesby tould Greenewell of the Powder Treason, but who besides him he knoweth not. And Greenewell tould this examt. that Catesby alone, without the consent of twoe others, could not have acquainted him of it.

K. And sayth that Thomas Percy was employed by the Catholiques presently after the Queen's death, and before the King came out of Scotland, for the Catholique cause who, as he came out, brought very comfortable newes from the King concerning the Catholique cause, and for toleration of Catholique religion, which Percy related to the Catholiques. And sayth that the words that Percy used to Catesby concerning the killing of the King, must needs be before any resolution of putting the plot of the Powder Treason in execution, viz., about Michas. anno primo Reg. Iac.

L. He saith that this examt. came over from beyond the seas on St. Thomas Day, July, 1586, into England, where he hath remained ever since, as Supr. of the Jesuites.

M. He confesseth that he was twice or thrice with Tapis the Spanish Ambassador, viz., once when he lay at Walsingham House, and once or twice at Somerset House, and that he was once with the Consul of Castile at Somerset House about , and was brought to his beddside (he then being sicke) by Calaffa his confessor, and was twice with Mon. Beaumond. The first tyme about the middle of summer, and the last time on Barthoms. Eve. All wch was for the cause of the Catholiques and for complements.

N. He confesseth that about halfe a yeare since this examt. did write to Father Baldwyn in comendacon of Mr. Catesby, and that he would be a means to helpe Mr. Catesby to a charge of horse under the archduke.

O. He confesseth that the tyme of the resistance of the Bp. of Hereford, officers by Catholiques,[116] this examt. wrote to the Pope for the stayeing of all commotions, and received answer from the Pope about Midsomer wherewith he acquainted Catesby. And about the beginning of July this examt. wrote agayne to the Pope, and certified that this examt. hoped to stay all generall stirres. But for that he feared some particular stratagem, this examt. desired him to grant a prohibitus under censures. Whereunto this examt. received answer about Michas. last that he was pleased that the generall [stir] should be prevented, and for any particular he thought his generall prohibition would serve; and that there needed no particular prohibition under censures, but yf there should be any necessitie, when advertized thereof, he would send it.

[116] This was a small local riot near Hereford, caused by the Protestant minister refusing burial to a poor Catholic woman. A short account of it is given in the "College of St. Francis Xavier, Hereford," in the present volume.

P. He sayth that Mrs. Vaux came to him, eyther to Harrowden or to Sir Everard Digby's at Gothurst, and tould this examt. that she feared that some trouble or disorder was towards [them], that some of the gentlewomen had demanded of her where they should bestow themselves until the burst was past in the beginning of the Parliament. And this examt. asking her who tould her so, she sayd that she durst not tell who tould her so : she was [choked] with sorrow.

Q. And confesseth that Father Parsons wrote to him certain letters this last summer, which he received about Michas. last, wherein he requested this examt. to advertize him what plotts the Catholiques of England had then in hand ; whereunto for that this examt. was on his journey he made no answere.

All which letters that he received from Rome, this examt. sayth he burnt, and never kept copies of any that he sent to Rome. And such as he received from Rome, he used to take brief notes out of them, and presently to burn the letters themselves.

12° Martii. HENRY GARNETT.

Exam. per C. J. J. POPHAM, EDW. COKE, W. WAADE, JOHN CORBETT.

Same vol. n. 41, March 13. In the martyr's handwriting (voluntary statement).

A. I have remembred some things, wch, because they were long before my knowledge of the powder acts, I had forgotten.

B. About Michas after the King came in, Mr. Catesby tould me that there would be some stirring, seeing the King kept not promise.

C. And I greatly misliked it, saying it was against the Pope's express commandment ; for I had a letter from our Generall thereof dated in July before,[117] wherein was earnestly by Clement commended the very same which this Pope commanded the last summer. Therefore I earnestly desyred him that he and Mr. Tho. Winter would not joine with any in such tumults. For in respect of their often conversations with us, we should be thought accessory. He assured me he would not. But neither he tould, nor I asked any particulars.

D. Long after this, about Midr. was twelve months, either Mr. Catesby alone, or he and Thos. Winter together, insinuated that they had somewhat in hand, and that they would sure quaile.

E. I still reproved them, but they entered into no particulars.

F. Soone after came Mr. Greenwell to me and tould me as much.

G. I greately misliked any stirring, and said, Good Lord, how is it possible that God [will] worke any good effect by these men? These are not God's knights, but the deuil's knights. And related how Jack Wright (whom I endeavored to join with them by reason of their continuall being together) had sent a challenge by Thomas Winter to a gentleman, I know not who, and that Tho. Winter took measure of the gentleman's sword, and how they met but fought not. Mr. Greenwell told this to Tho. Winter, who about a month after Michas. came to me and expostulated that I had so

[117] July, 1603.

hard a conceit of him and would never tell him of it ; for he thought he had done a charitable act in that matter, for that he made them frends. As for their intermeddling in matters of tumults, since I misliked it, he judged they would give over, and I never heard more of it, until the question propounded by Mr. Catesby.

As for his asking me of the lawfulnes of killing the King, I am sure it was never asked me in my life, and I was always resolute that it was not lawfull. But he was so resolved in conscience that it was lawfull in itself to take armes for religion, that no man could dissuade it, but by the Pope's prohibition, which afterwards I inculcated, as I have said before. The ground of this resolute opinion I will think of.

HENRY GARNETT.

Same vol. n. 42, March 13, $160\frac{5}{6}$. "The voluntary confession of Henry Garnett, Superior of the Jesuits, taken this 13th of March."

A. Upon occasion of thinking of the (great) as your L.L. knoweth, and withall calling to mynde that wch hath bene commended unto me, if perchance I had intelligence of any greater matter concerning the good of the State, I remembered 2 substantial points. The one used by Mr. Catesby as an invincible argument in his opinion for his purposes, the other also in your L.L.'s opinion not unfitt to be opened to his Majestie.

B. The first was of 2 Breves sent to my hands in Q. Eliz. time, a year (as I thinke) before her death, together with the copy of a letter to the Nuncio in Flanders. One of the Breves was to all lay Caths., the other to the clergy. The effect of both was that none shod consent to any succession, being never so neer in blood, except he were not only such as would geve toleracon to Cathos. But also wd with all his mighte sett forward the Cath. religion, and according to the custom of other Cath. Princes submitt himself to the See Apostol. The effect of the letter to the Nuncio was that he shod be very vigilant, and when he heard the Queen to be dead, he shod in the Pope's name intimate his commandt to all the Catholics in England.

C. I had no commission to divulge any such thing, and so I kept them very close, and when I sawe the Queen dead, I burned them. Yet had Mr. Catesby, and I think Tho. Wynter, seene them, and so they made use of them. For Mr. Catesby sayd why were wee commanded before to keepe out one that was not a Cathc, and now may not exclude him ? Neither had I any other reason to use against him but that which I mentioned in another declaration, that the Pope himself had geven other orders, and now all princes were very joyful as well as the Pope.

D. The second point was of a league made betweene the Pope and the 2 great Kings of Spaine and France for the establishing of a Cathc. Successor in England, which was fully concluded of amongst them, and that the army should be under the Pope's name but yet at the said 2 Kings' charge.

E. One only thing wanted to be resolved, whether it more concerned to have a Prince Cathc. in England, and hereupon the Queen died, before any conclusion of practise and execution. Theise things I have thought good to set downe in such secresy as

may be thought good. For I would be loath by this occasion, any dissention should arise amongst princes, and as for the Pope, I know he meaneth all love and quiettnes.

HENRY GARNETT.

NOTTINGHAM, SUFFOLK, E. WORCESTER, NORTHAMPTON, SALISBURY, EDW. COKE.[118]

Same vol. n. 44, March 14, 160$\frac{5}{6}$. "The examination of Henry Garnett at the Tower, March 14, 1605."

A. He confesseth that in the Queen's lifetyme he received two Breefs concerning the succession, and immediately upon the receipt thereof, he shewed them to Mr. Catesby and Thos. Wynter, then being at White Webbs; whereof they seemed to be very glad, and shewed it also unto Thos. Grey at White Webbs before one of his journies into Scotland in the late Queen's tyme. And sayth that Catesby came to White Webbs the same day the Queen died, and brought him the first newes of the Q.'s death and of the proclamation and applause of the people, and thereuppon this examt. finding the State settled, burnt both the said letters which were *sub annulo Piscatoris*, which is a picture of St. Peter in a ship casting his nett into the sea.

B. And sayth that after Thomas Wynter returned from his negotiation in Spaine he came, and as he thinketh, Catesby with him, to White Webbs, and tould this examinant that the King of Spaine desyred to be advertized when the Queen died.

C. He confesseth that about Midsr. was twelvemonth, Catesby and Wynter, or Mr. Catesby alone, came to him to White Webbs and tould this examt. that there was a plott in hand for the Cathc. cause against the King and the State, which would work good effect, from the which when this examt. (as he sayth) dissuaded him, Catesby said that he was sure it was lawfull, and used this argument that it being lawfull by force of the said Briefs of the Pope to have kept the King out, it was as lawfull now to putt him out. [*Whereupon he urged the Pope's prohibition, and he promised to surceasse.*][119]

And confesseth that when Greenwell acquainted this examt. with the powder action of blowing up of the Parliament House, as before he hath confessed, this examt. being desirous to knowe the secret, Greenwell sayde that he was bounde to secrecy, and further saith as before he hath confessed.

HENRY GARNETT.

C. J. POPHAM, EDW. COKE, W. WAADE, JOHN CORBETT.

Same vol. n. 87, March 26, 1606. Endorsed, "A declaration of some special points of the Pope's Bulles, all of Garnett's own hand."

26 *Martii*, 1606.

The effect of the 2 Breves of succession and of the letter to the Nuncio so farre as I remember.

I.—*A.* The date of these two Breves concerning succession, I find now to be more auncient then before I thought. For I re-

[118] The above is a copy. [119] This addition is in Father Garnett's hand.

member it was before the last Breve of Attonement, and also before Mr. Blackwell's censure of the appellants ; for these 2 Breves supposed Mr. Blackwell's authority over laymen, which was abridged in the last Breve of Attonement.

And I verily think that the Pope, seeing these differences here which were, did not at all account of those 2 former Breves of succession, and that they were even worn out of date before the Queen's death. So that if there be any book of the appellant's extant, wherein is their appeale, a man may easily guess at the date of these Breves.

II.—*B.* The effect of the letter to the Nuncio was to commend vnto him the vigilant care accustomed over other countries adjoining to England, also ut quandocunq. contingeret miseram illam fæminam ex hac vita excedere, he would not spare all labours to certify the Pope, and to divulge the Breves in England by his authority, and in the Pope's name, whose assistance should not want.

III.—*C.* To Catholicks of the laity he commended the remembrance avitæ pietatis et religionis, and praised the longanimity of all sorts, hoping that God of His goodness would once geve them tranquillity after their long distresses, and especially he commended to all priests after so many glorious labours for the holy Catholic Church, all fraternall unity and concord, that the whole Church might with joy see the fruite of so many yeares' endeavours.

IV.—*D.* The maine point of the 2 Breves was for to exclude all successors from the Crown—*quandocunq. propinquitate sanguinis niterentur, nisi ejusmodi essent, qui non modo fidem Cath^m. tolerarent, sed eam etiam omni ope ac studio promoverent ac, more majorum id se jurejurando præstituros susciperent.*

V.—*E.* All this was not done any way directly against his Majesty, who without all exception was the most desired on all sides, if it had pleased God to have inclined him that way ; but rather and principally against divers Scottish competitours within this realm, whose parts might perhaps have been somewhat troublesome to his Ma^tie, if any foreign prince had made resistance, and sought to divide the realm at that time, as thanks be to God, it was not sought nor pretended. There were at that time at least 4 houses in England which might have been prejudiced by these breves as much as his Ma^tie hath bene, for thankes be to God they did him no harme ; and if these breves were written before my Lord of Essex his fall, as perhaps by supputation may be found, he might have made the fifth, and perhaps the most mighty of all, except his Ma^ty, whom [may] Almighty God establish here, with his posterity for ever, and incline him to extend his favor towards poor Catholics, that they may enjoy long their life, liberty, and worldly goods, to his ma^tie's perpetual service.

HENRY GARNETT.

Dom. James I. vol. xx. n. 1, 1606. "Sir H. Wootton." Questions proposed to Father Darcy, Provincial S.J. in England :

1. Has the Supreme Pontiff power to excommunicate James, King of England?

Answer.—That all Catholics past and present are of opinion

that it is lawful for the Sovereign Pontiff, as the chief Vicar of Christ, to excommunicate all heretical kings and princes.

Question repeated.—This is not a direct answer to the question put. Let the answer be precise to the point. Can the present reigning Pontiff, Pius V^th^, rightly excommunicate James the 1^st^, the present King of England?

Answered again.—I answer in general to the proposed question, according to the sentiment of all Catholics, in which opinion therefore I acquiesce; for juridically to answer, or rather to define what the Sovereign Pontiff may wish or be able to do against James, this is not for me; but it must come from higher authority, more mature advice, and the will of the Superior. I therefore beg to be excused from thrusting a sickle into another's harvest.

2. Whether all Englishmen who profess the Protestant religion are heretics.

Answer.—Whoever knowingly and willingly separate themselves from the Roman Catholic Church and persist therein are heretics.

He was urged to apply this answer personally to the English and their religion; but he stood to his general answer, lest he might make himself liable in the first to a charge of high treason; in the second, of a public disturber of the peace.

3. Whether the late treason was by his authority, advice, or knowledge.

Answer.—Denies it, and adds *ex animo*, a detestation of so horrible an attempt against their lawful Sovereign; and considers that the authors of it were not only deserving of the punishment which some of them had undergone, but even of a more severe one, if possible.

4. Whether he was the author of a certain pamphlet, *Contra Statum Regis et Regni.*

Answer.—Denies the authorship, but admits having seen and in many regards corrected it; it appertaining to the office of the Superior to inspect books written in any province.

Stonyhurst MSS. *Anglia*, vol. vii. n. 4. Endorsed, "Answers of [Henry Garnett] to questions sent from his Majesty. The words "Henry Garnett" are written by the Father himself. The document is an original one, and signed by Father Garnett, it was probably a duplicate made to keep.

Qu.—Whether our Church be heretical, holding the doctrine of the Scriptures, the three creeds, and the four first councils?

Ans.—The Church of England is hereticall, not for holding the things above, but for holding many things contrary to the definition of the Church of Rome now and heretofore, for whatsoever is held contrary to the definition of the Church of Rome is hereticall, which definition is either in General Councils confirmed by the Pope, or by his own decrees. A General Council confirmed by the Pope doth alwaies soe plainly define, as the sentence thereof is unrevocable in matters defined to be de fide, the like of the definitions of the Pope made *ex cathedra.*

Qu.—Whether there be anything necessary to be believed now that was not necessary in the time of the Apostles?

Ans.—There is nothing necessary to be believed now that was not believed in the time of the Apostles, but yet they might be

so believed as not necessary *de fide* at that tyme. And he putteth two examples, the first *de observatione legalium*, which question might be indifferent before the decree of the Apostles, but after the decree it was necessary, et *de fide*. The second example *de illis rebaptizandis qui erant baptizati ab hereticis.*

Qu.—Whether he doe know Vasquey and approve his book, *De Adoratione*?

Ans.—He knoweth the author and thinketh him a good Catholic writer.

Qu.—Whether he allow of worshipping God in the devils?

Ans.—He thinketh it a metaphysicall conceit, and doth not like it.

Qu.—Whether he thinketh that the 2 commandment doth not concerne us as much as the Jewes?

Ans.—"Christus quatenus homo est Redemptor noster, possumus orare et adorare Christum quatenus hominem."

Qu.—What he thinketh of the doctrine in the *Book of Equivocations?*

Ans.—He thinketh it according to the doctrine of the school divines to be lawfull according to the limitations in the booke, *filius hominis nescit diem Judicii, id est ut dicat nobis;* so I am asked whether I know where such a man is, I answer that I know not to tell you.

Qu.—Whether the miracles in the book of *Speculum Exemplorum in Caprius in Bredenbachius* be agreeable to this doctrine?

Ans.—There is nothing in those bookes *contra fidem et bonos mores*, as those that doe approve those bookes doe intend, for he meaneth not to defend every particular.

Qu.—Whether it be certaine de fide in the Host consecrated that Christ's Body be really present by Transubstantiation, the priest's ordination and intention being not certaine de fide?

Ans.—It is certaine in generall that in a Host rightly consecrated it is transubstantiated, but not in speciall in this or that, but in moral certitude is sufficient to warrant adoration.

Qu.—Whether a priest is bound to reveale a treason dangerous to King and State if discovered unto him in confession, the partie signifying his resolution to persist?

Ans.—The partie cannot be absolved, but if he come to submit himself *Clavibus Ecclesiæ, tunc obligat sigillum confessionis*, but he is bound to find all lawful means to hinder and discover it, *salvo sigillo confessionis.*

HENRICUS GARNETT.

Gunpowder Plot Book, part ii. n. 205. "The declaration of Garnett, the Jesuit, under his own hand March 23, 1605(6)."

The title of the one Breife [the endorcement of the Bulls]:

A. "Dilectis filiis Principibus, Nobilibus, ac Catholicis Viris in Anglia, Salut[m] et Apostol[m] Benedictionem."

B. As I remember the first motion of the matter of Spaine was between Christmas and Candlemas the yeare before the Queene died, and the parties named before, that is Catesby and Fran. Tresham, came some twice or thrice to me about the matter, and all was at White Webbs.

H. G.

[120] The capital letters are Sir Edward Coke's.

The title of the other Breve as far as I remember ;
C. " Dilectis filiis Archip° et reliquo clero Anglicano, salut^m et Apost^m benedictionem."

HENRY GARNETT.

D. Being requested by Mr. L.tenant of the Tower, to sett downe truly, as I will answer it before God and upon my allegiance, how often I have had conference with Fran. Tresham within these few yeares, I do here sett downe for the satisfaction of his Majesty and the lords that which I will affirme to be trew. That is that the last conference with him was, as I remember, in Essex, the last summer, in the company of Catesby, at Fremlands, about July : the effect of which conference is sett downe in a former declaration.

E. He was also with me at White Webbs once or twice in the time of the late Queen, about a year before her decease, when he, Catesby, and Winter dealt with me about a sending into Spaine, and I wrote of their business by another way as usual. I did to Fr. Cresswell. In confirma^n of the truth I have written this and subscribed,

HENRY GARNETT.

Same book, n. 206, 23rd March.

A. Being required to sett downe what acquaintance I had with Mr. Fr. Tresham, I answer that I knew him [*B.*] about 18 yeares ago and before ; but since discontinued my acquainte [*C.*] untill the time between his trouble in my Lo. of Essex' his tumult and the Queen's death, in which time he was twice or thrice with me at White Webbs, in company of Mr. Catesby, and conferred about the message into Spaine, as before hath been related : in w^ch cause I wrote a letter to Fr. Cresswell by another means which I ordinary vse.

23 March. HENRY GARNETT.

Same book, n. 212, March 24, 1605(6). " Declaration of Mrs. Anne Vaux, taken March 24, 1605(6)."

She doth say that Mr. Fran. Tresham was cosen germayne removed unto her, and came sometimes to White Webbs to visit her and Mr. Garnett, and she thinketh he hath bene there twice or thrice since the King's coming in, and sometimes in the company of Mr. Catesbye, and before the K.'s coming in he was there some few tymes, and sometymes he dyned there and sometimes stayed a night, and at those tymes Mr. Garnett always gave him good counsell and persuaded him to rest contented. She remembereth he would use these words : "Good [B] gentlemen be quiet ; God will do all for the best ; we must gett it by prayer at God's hands, in Whose hands are the harts of princes.

She further doth remember that Mr. Tresham came to a house at Eyrith, where Mr. Garnett and she remayned sometimes [C] last summer, between Easter and Whitsundtyde last, where talking with Mr. Garnett, he gave the said Tresham good counsell, insomuch as when he came from Mr. Garnett, Mr. Tresham said openly, here is all full of good hopes, and at the same tyme Catesby came thither likewise, who with Fran. Tresham dyned in the company of Garnett and this exam^t.

E. She further doth remember that the said F. Tresham came once to a house she had at Wansworth, the first yeare the King came in, and tarried not past two or three hours, and had some conference with Mr. Garnett.

F. The last sumer he was likewise at another house they had, where he had some conference with Mr. Garnett, where likewise he exhorted him to all patience.

ANNE VAUX.

In Father Garnett's hand the following note:

I do ackn. these meetings, and require of Mr. Tresham to be trew, as is above conteined.

HENRY GARNETT.

Same book, n. 216. Letter from Sir W. Waade, the Governor of the Tower to Lord Salisbury. He asks directions.

The use hath ben to bring prisoners to their arraignment on foote. The way is longe from the Tower to Geld-hall. Garnett no good footman; but that I regard most is to bring him safe, which whether it may be done better in Coche, then in a slow march on foote, I leave it to the direction I shall receave from y^r^ L.p. In another thing I am bold to troble your L.p, which is by occasion of the L. Maior's doubts. Ther is a place provided in Geld-hall for the prisonner, but noen for me, but I stand at the barre. I assure your L.p I take no pride to be a gaoler to bring a prisonner to the barre, but yet I will omitt no labour to do his Ma^ty's^ service. The City pretendes he is out of my charge when brought thither, which is quyte contrary, for he is in my custody untill the Court shall ordayn otherwise; and therefore my Lord C. J. thought fyt that ther should be a place rayled in by the prisoner wher myself and &c., &c., may sit, &c.

British Museum, Additional MSS. 21203, *Plut.* ciii. F. "Papers relating to the English Jesuits."[121]

The arraignment of Henry Garnett, Clerke Superior of the Jesuits, holden at the Guildhall, London, the eight and twentieth day of March, A.D. 1606, and in the fourth year of the reigne of our sovereigne Lord James, by the grace of God, &c., &c. Before the Lord Maire, the Earles of Nottingham, Suffolk, Worcester, Northhampton, and Salisbury; the Lord Chiefe Justice, the Lord Chiefe Baron, and Justice Selwyn,[122] Commissioners for his Majesty.

The prisoner, about nine of the clocke, was brought to barre, and some half-hour after the Lords came thither, and beinge sette in the Courte, and the Lieutenant having returned his writt (noe commission being read), the prisoner was called, helde upp his hande, and was indicted for that on the nynth of June last past in the parish of St. Michaell in ye ward of Queenhieth, London, hee had conspired with Rob. Catesby (lately slaine in open rebellion against his Majesty), the death of our sovereigne lord ye Kinge, and

[121] We have already stated in page 35 that this MS. is evidently the account adopted by Father Gerard in his Narrative, and that his copious and able comments are introduced in brackets.

[122] Father Gerard says Yelverton.

his sonne a prince of greate expectation. And for better accomplishment of his dyvellish practice, had caused closely to be conveyed a certaine quantity of powder under the Parliament-house therewith as it were with one blowe to have blowne upp the Kinge, Queen, Prince, Princess, Peers, Lords spirituall and temporal, and finally the Knights, Burgesses, and wholle assembly of that honourable Courte, thereby to have raised sedition in the realme, and to have brought in foreigne princes and peers to have invaded the realme of England, and subverted utterly the same. And this I take to be the whole substance of the indictment, though not in form as it was read by the clerke of the crowne. To which indictment the prisoner pleaded not guilty, and for his tryall referred himself to God and his country, whereuppon a jury of grave and substantiall cittizens was summoned and twelve of them sworne to try yssue betweene his Majesty and Henry Garnett accordinge to the evidence produced against him, which beinge ended he read over the indictment the second tyme, and Sir John Cooke, the King's Serjeant began to pleade in this manner as near as I remember.

Nihil est occultum quod non manifestabitur, nihil secretum quod non revelabitur--" there is nothing so hidden which shall not be manifested, nothinge soe secret which shall not be revealed," saith the truth itselfe w^ch^ neither can deceive, nor be deceaved, w^ch^ as it is generally true, so is the truth thereof clearly laid open in the discovery of this late horrible treason, w^ch^ though it were most closely and cunningly contryved yet by the providence of God it hath been most apparently revealed, and as it were by the fynger of God opened and pointed out; and trulie when I cast mine eyes uppon this prisoner present at the barr (the rotten roote of this corrupted tree of treason), I am stricken with great horror and astonishment to think that under the cover of soe grave a countenance, should lurke such a poysoned harte as to contrive, or consent unto soe ympious a treachery as never before entered into the most wicked heart of the most wicked man that ever breathed; hee is a man *multi nominis* [*multorum nominum*] *sed nullius boni nominis*, a man of many names but yet of noe honest conversation, but infamous for manie treasons, and especially for this last and most abominable treason, whereby he intended the subversion of the Kinge, Queene, Prince, State and Religion, and for testimony of his guiltyness heerin, wee have *loquentia signa*, speakinge signes; wee have *testimonia rerum*, testimonie of the things themselves; wee have *confitentem reum*, the partie guiltie accusing himself; nay, wee have *reos confitentes*, wee have the persons guiltie accusinge one another. Wee have Garnett and Hall accusing Greenway, as in the ensuinge discourse to be made by him to whome it appertaineth and that better can perform it, shal be laid open to yr. Lordships.

Which speech being ended, Sir Edward Cooke, his Majestie's Attorney Gen. began his speech with a low voice, soe that I could hardlie vnderstand him, yet as I considered by the sequell, it tended to this purpose. First, hee craved pardon of their lordships, that with their honourable favor hee must reiterate some thinges of which hee had heretofore discoursed at large, yet now was constrained to revive them againe because, *nunquam nimis dicitur quod nunquam satis discitur*—it can never be spoken of too much that can never be learned sufficiently, especially seeing they could never think of the peculiarities of that hideous treason, but with

greate comforte, they must remember the mercie and providence of our good God that had soe marvellously delyvered them from that devyellish enterprise.

Secondly, he craved pardon and license that w^th^ their honors favor and without offence to anie, hee might speake of and nominate some greate p'sons who were sometymes interested in some of those causes whereof hee was to intreate, but hee would doe it sparingly, and only for the discoverie of the truth without anie blemish or disgrace to the persons whom he should nominate; naie, not onlie without anie true disgrace vnto them, but without colour or shadowe of anie disgrace at all, for there is a greate diversitie to be made between tymes of hostility, and tymes of amity, for in the tymes of hostility hostile practices are noe way discommendable, but without all impeachment of honor maie be entertained, and put in execution, w^ch^ in tymes of amity cannot without disgrace be hearde of. But the matters wherein I shall nominate those greate persons doe concerne the tymes of hostilitie, and thereby without disgrace, yea, without all shadow or colour of disgrace vnto the authors maie be mentioned and spoken of.

Thirdly, hee desired to satisfy two sortes of people that might marvel this execution of justice should be soe long deferred; the first out of sincerity, thinking such delays inconvenient, least the impunitie of the malefactor might seeme to patronize the offence; the second out of malice inferringe that the delay of his tryall argued his clearnes in the cause; to these both he answered that the Lords of the Council (whose great wisdomes hee would not much commend there, because *coram laudare est clam vituperare* —public praise is private blame) had spent xxii dayes in examinacon of this busines, [and the prisoner had been twenty-three times examined] and the last was the xxvj^th^ daye of March, and said hee, mark in what day wee now are, and you will not think wee could have brought him to a more speedy tryall. [But this seemed to many to be rather an excuse than accusation of the prisoner, in whom there could not with so much labour and in so long time be found any crime to be justly imposed, for it is a mistake to use many means when a few will suffice.]

To drawe nearer to the cause of this prisoner, Henry Garnett, *alias* Whalley, *alias* Darcy, *alias* Philipps, *alias* Farmer, *alias* Fulgeham, for by so manie names hee hath gone, w^ch^ are manie more than ever I knewe an honest man have. Hee is a man grave, discreet, wise, learned and of excellent ornamante both of nature and arte, and one that if hee will, maie doe his Majestie as much good service as anie subject I knowe in England. [By this and the like speeches which it seems they used often, to work him to yield from profession of his faith, it is apparent they would have given him both life and much preferment if he had not rather chosen to die for God than live to the world.]

Besides, this man was a scholar in Winchester, from thence went to Oxford,[123] and there was well esteemed, but he hath abused his learninge to the ruyne of his country, where he was borne, of the schoole where hee was brought upp, of the University where he was nursed, and of the nation of which hee hath been fostered, as wee shall see after declared in the discourse followinge, wherein I will speake of nothing but of this late horrible treason, w^ch^ treason for distinction sake, I will call the Jesuits treason. For if it

[123] A mistake of the Attorney-General. Father Garnett was never a student at Oxford.

be just that everything should be called by the name of the author, seeing ye Jesuites have beene authors of this treason I will not doe them the injurie to take from them anie thinge that is theirs, or to miscall anie thinge w^ch^ appertaineth to them especiallie seeinge in every cryme *plus peccat author quam actor*—the author is much more culpable and blame-worthie than the actors thereof, as is apparent by the example of Adam, Eve, and the Serpent, where the Serpent, because it was the first author of that temptation comitted three synnes, Eve that tempted Adam two synnes, and Adam that was the chiefest actor but one. [But here he presupposeth that Father Garnett had counselled the plot, as laid in the indictment. But that never was nor can be proved.] But in this discourse I will speake of no other circumstances but of treason, and of noe other treasons but the Jesuits treasons, and noe other Jesuite treasons but such as shall particularlie concerne this prisoner, seeinge all hath been practised since hee was their Superior. And these circumstances I will divide into precedent, concurrent, and subsequent.

And for the precedent circumstances you must understand that this man hath byn in England theise xxij [20] and from the verie first hower hee sett foote uppon English grounde hath beene a notorious traytor because he came into England contrarie to statute made

yeares (as I take it), before his cominge in being 24, 25 an. of our late Sovereign of happy memory,[124] whereby it was made high treason for anie priest that had received orders from anie authoritie derived *from the See of Rome, beyonde the seas w^ch^ I beseech yr. l'pps to observe, for of Queen Mary's priests nothinge was spoken in the law.* [And the reason hereof is given in a former chapter (the 9th), but here it is apparent that this treason so earnestly urged, was merely matter of religion as in all former martyrs.] Contrary to w^ch^ statute this prisoner came in, and by consequence at that verie instant was a traitor; Oh! but sayeth hee, you will say this is a newe lawe, theise laws were never heard of before Luther's dayes, this lawe is a cruel lawe, a bloodye lawe, prohibiting men to exercise their function to gain souls unto God; and their religion is the old religion, where ours is newe, confined to England, where on the contrary their religion is universall, and embraced in most parts of the Christian world; and thus for the maintenance of their rotten religion doe they seeke to disgrace and blemish our Gospell, and doe calumniate just lawes w^th^ titles of cruelties, but to this I answeare that if our Gospell be as antient as Luther, it is more ancient than the Jesuites are, albeit it neither be contained in that narrow limitt of place, nor bounds of tyme which they feignedly imagine, having byn ever since the tyme of Christ and His Apostles, for wee doe not denie but Rome was the Mother Church and had 32 virginall martyrs for her Popes crowne, and soe continued till in succeeding ages it brought in the mass of errors and idle ceremonies. But you will ask, perhaps, where our Church lurked before Luther's cominge for some hundred years, but I say it makes no great matter where it was, so that I am certain it was, for as a wedge of gold if it be dissolved and mixed with a mass of brasse, tynn, and other metals does not lose its nature, but remaineth gold still, although we cannot determine in what part of the mass it is contained, but the touchstone will fynd that one; soe though our Church hath ever byn since Christ's

[124] The reporter, or Mr. Attorney, make a mistake. It was the statute 27th of Elizabeth, passed the year before Father Garnett arrived.

tyme in the world, yet being mixed and covered with innovations and errors wee cannot tell in what parte it was.

[By your leave, Mr. Attorney, if I know not where the true Church is, I cannot be of it: and if I be not of it, I cannot be saved: and if this be no matter to you, yet to God's children it is a great matter. And your similie of the wedge is lame of all the feet: for the Church if it be invisible to all men is gone, *quia ore fit confessio ad salutem* ("With the mouth confession is made unto salvation") — and so Christ had no true servants on earth; but this is like your dream before that the true Church could degenerate into errors, and yet those coming in, no man being able to name the time, the place, nor the person, that did alter any substantial point of faith. But can Mr. Attorney think that Christ our Lord would put His candle under a bushel, which He had lighted with so great labour? And that which He saith no man will do, as being an idle and foolish thing, yet will Mr. Attorney have the Wisdom of God to do? But good Mr. Attorney, give me leave to believe Jesus Christ our Lord before you; and therefore that the city could not be hid which Christ had built upon a hill. And so your imagined gold is turned into alchymy, and passeth away in smoke; but if the material wedge of gold be hid, men say you know where to find it, if you search your coffers with half the pains you took to find out this invisible wedge of gold. Pardon me for this digression, I could not well let such false follies pass without a word or two; but I will not trouble the reader any more, but leave it to others: neither should I or any other have had need to admonish Mr. Attorney, if Father Garnett had been suffered to speak at large, as he was often of set purpose interrupted. But let us proceed in Mr. Attorney's speech.]

And I daresay it is now more extended than theirs is, for wee have all England, all Scotland, all Germany, all Denmark, a greate parte of France, all Poland, and some part of Italy. And truly this is a new calumnicon of theirs to say that this lawe of ours is a cruel lawe, or a bloody lawe; for I will prove it to be the mildest lawe, the sweetest lawe, the lawe most full of mercie and pitty that ever was enacted by anie prince so injuriouslie provoked as shee was; and if I prove not this, then lett the world say that Garnett is an honest man; and to prove this wee must remember that Pius, or rather Impius quintus the Pope in the eleventh year of our late Sovereign deceased, sent over a Bull of excommunication against her M^tie^ discharging all her subjects from their allegiance and fealty and cursing all such as should take anie part with her, whereuppon arose the insurrection in the north, and other rebellions, wherefor divers were apprehended and executed. And here wee may observe the misery of Popish Catholiques, who if they doe obey the Bulls of the Pope are apprehended and hanged, and if they doe not obey them are by the Pope excommunicated and cursed. But to goe forward from this excommunication alsoe proceeded that the Popish Catholiques refused their obedience of her Majestie's lawe of goinge to Church, for I dare avouch uppon my fidity [faith] and thereuppon dare challenge any recusant whatsoever, that noe Catholique whatsoever refused to repaire to our service until the eleventh yeare of the Queen [1569], for till that tyme Sir Henry Bedingfield uppon my knowledge went to church; till that tyme Mr. Plowden quem honoris causa nomino (for excepting his recusancy he was otherwise a learned and good man) refused

not to goe to church. Nay, till that tyme there were none of youre greate recusants in England, but went to church [false].

Now, because after the suppression of the rebels in the north, the Popish Catholiques were thought too weake to offend her M^tie^ or defend themselves, there was a dispensation procured of Pope Greg. XIII., that they might perform their temporal duties to the Queene, but however, *rebus sic stantibus, et donec comoda executio Bullæ fieri posset*—that is, thinges remaininge in that state, and till the Bull could be conveniently put in execution, and that saie they cannot be until they are able to make a party w^ch^ I am now persuaded will never be; for I hope the King and the Courte of Parliament will nowe take such order with them as they shall increase noe more to come to parties. Well, then, to make a party of Popish Catholics against the Queene, was sent in Campian another Superior of the Jesuits and a crew of priests with him that labored to pervert her M^ties^ subjects, and drawe them to bloody practises, w^ch^ her M^tie^ sought to prevent, and withall out of her singular clemency, and most mild disposition made a lawe and that the fullest of pitty that could be devised; and what was that, that they should keepe themselves there [abroad] and under payne of high treason not to come into her dominions to interrupt and disquiet her peace.

Now, tell me, I pray you, was this lawe made to spill their blood? [Yes, either to spill the blood of Christ by the loss of souls, if the priest come not in, or if they did, then theirs.] Noe, it was made to save their blood by keeping them there, w^ch^ by cominge hither, would be spilt in bloody practices [which were fathered upon them, that it might not seem to be cause of religion], neither doe I think that anie Christian Prince, beinge soe highly offended could have enacted a lawe so full of lenity. But in recompense of her mildness, Parry was sent in, who brought authoritie to kill the Queene. Then comes in Garnett in the year 26 [27th] of the Queene: his purpose was to prepare the waie against the great compounded navy, w^ch^ maie be well called a compounded navy, because it consisted of the shipps of all nations in Christendome that either they could begg, hire, or borrow. He came in, I say, to be the purveyor or forerunner of this navy. The Pope was the incitor, and the Spaniards the actors. With them was a consultation holden, whereof was the Cardinall of Austria, the Duke of Medina, and others, amongst whome was one Wyslade an Englishman, but with a Spanish and traitorous heart, whoe finally concluded that without a party in England nothinge could be done. An Englishman answered that the policie of England would prevente the strategem by hanginge all the Catholics in England ere they could draw a head; but an old soldier replyed that is not much to be stood upon; for if they hang for religion their bodies shall goe to the grounde, their soules shall fly to heaven, and their goods and lands shall come to our possessions. And this I would wish all true Englishmen to observe, that they meant to have made common spoile and havock of them all, with intent to have made themselves lords of all their possessions; but the goodness of God Almighty was soe vigilant in defence of his servantes, that this greate navy was overthrown and ruined not soe much by our power and forces (albeit there wanted not worthy men of whome some are here present that employed most honorable and laudable endeavours for their defeat and ruin), as by themselves; for their own ships fought against them, their own

shipps overthrew them, their own shipps dissevered and scattered them; soe that wee maie well applye those wordes to our late Sovereign w^ch^ Claudian sung to his Emperor Theodosius:

O nimium dilecte Deo cui militat æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti.[125]

Soe, indeed, appeared in that late defeate, for there were fewe shipps that were not burnt, sunke, or taken by us, which were not scattered, beaten or wrecked uppon the Irish shore. Soe that I am credibly informed that of 180 greate shipps, there was not 40 arryved safely in the Spanish bay. But was this a sufficient warninge to the Romish Catholiques to desist from their treasonable practices. Noe, for when they sawe that open invasion served not their turne, they betooke themselves to private treacheries, in so much that I dare justlie saie there passed no four yeares without some or other treason: for shortlie after this come Patrick Collyn sent from Father Holt and Father Sherwood, twoe Jesuits, and came to the kill the Queene whereof at the first hee made some scruple, but they persuaded him that it was a most meritorious and worthie act, and this appeareth by the confession of the parties, and those not taken on the rack, but verified here at the barre. [To this effect he produced a confession of Patrick Collyn, but what was contained in it I could not hear, being interrupted by interlocution of some standers by.] Shortly after cometh Lopus [Lopez] to poison the Queene incited likewyse by the instigation of the Jesuites; and his confession was after reade. [Lopez was a Jew, the Queen's physician, living in London, a rich man and knew no Jesuit in the world, nor was acquainted with any Catholics in England that I know of.] After him comes York and Williams from Father Holte, whoe likewise had plotted to kill the Queene. Not long after this comes Squire, sent by Father Walpole from Spaine to poyson her Majestie, and his confession was likewise produced, and read, as all others were who are before mentioned.[126]

Marry, here Mr. Attor. desyreth license to advertize the hon. Lls. of another particular which hee had observed in the conveyance of this knot of treasons, which was that every plott generally was accompanied with some devyllish booke: as for example the plott of Patrick Collyn was accompanied with the booke of Philopater, written by Cresswell the Jesuite, the Leidger[127] in Spayne, a booke teaching that hereticall princes maie justlie be deprived of Sovereignity and lyfe. Then came Squire with his plott of treason, but his not alone neither, but was accompanied with another most pernicious booke written by Doleman *als.* Parsons, their greate prefect in Rome, that maie well be called Doleman, or a man of Dole and deceipt, for hee hath nothinge in him but deceipt and lyes, as appeareth by that booke, wherein I dare be bold to saie there are as manie lyes as lines, as well in

[125] "O worthily beloved of God, for whom the very heavens make war, the winds themselves are obedient to the trumpet call."

[126] See "Life of Father Richard Walpole," *Records*, series iii. "College of St. Chad," p. 235, for a full reply to this wicked libel. The modern anti-Catholic writer before referred to, has ventured to renew the libel by enumerating the "Powder poisoning" among other plots owing their rise to the Jesuits, and this in the face of the existing State Papers upon the subject.

[127] Ambassador, or Resident.

falsifynge of another and depraving their sentences, as avowing of notorious untruthes, expresslie contradictinge all histories of antiquitye. And now, saith hee, we are come to the Spanish treason wch was in the 44th yeare of oure Sovereigne deceased; and that you may knowe that there was a Spanish treason, you shall understand that Thomas Wynter and Father Greenway *als.* Tesmond the Jesuite went over the 48th yeare commended by Garnett, and they forsoothe goe over to offer their obedience and service to the Kinge of Spayne and to promise him their assistance when tyme should serve for advancement of his title to the crowne of England, and withall to entreate him to send them an army of souldiers to be conveyed hither by the gallies of Spinola, wch army if it were greate should land in Kent (for you know my lord, who was then Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports) if itt were small itt might land at Milford Haven, and that they should bring with them a rounde sume of money that might furnish them fitlie for soe greate an enterprize, and in the meane tyme to bestowe some annual pension uppon some discontented persons here, thereby to open the waye for their entry when tyme should serve, of their partes promising his Maty that whereas in such attempts their former wants and obstacles were to be destitute of horses fitt for the field, they should not neede to be over solicitous for that, for they would furnish him with 2,000 horses armed at all poyntes for the service of the warre. This motion beinge made to the Kinge, they were brought unto him; from him they were directed to the Duke of Lerma, whoe received them gratefully, and fynally for their answer they were referred to the Conde De Miranda, whoe assured them the Kinge his Mr. aliked and approved very well of their motion, and would be readie to further them in their just request, and would henceforward account of the English as of his own Castilians. With this resolution Thomas Wynter and Greenway returned, expecting the next summer the arrival of their navy, and in the meantime made all the preparation to second them at their arrivall. But here, my L.L., you may alsoe observe that wch before I told you concerning the bookes, companions and forerunners of these treasonable attempts, wch I dare warrant you were not wantinge at this tyme. But what bookes had they now; they had noe bookes indeede, but that want was supplied wth two Briefs or Bulls as wee call them, and they were most pernicious and treacherous, the wch by God's providence came verry little too late. The first was directed *Principibus*, for soe they call our noblemen—*et nobilibus Catholicis totius regni Anglicani*, for soe they call our gentlemen of England. The tenor of the first was an admonition that *postquam contigerit miseram fœminam e vitâ excedere* (after that it shall happen that miserable woman to depart this life), and here saith hee you maie marke this foule mouthed monster that calleth our dreade sovereigne of happy memory *miseram fœminam*, a wretched woman, one of the most renowned princes that ever bare the scepter in England—*miseram fœminam*—a wretched wench. [Here the reader indeed hath cause to mark a foul-mouth that durst call the Vicegerent of God Himself a foul-mouthed monster; nor will he mark that the Bull, speaking only of the time after the Queen's death, was not to accompany the army, which, if any such were intended, was to come at a certain prefixed time. Yea, it rather sheweth that the Pope would have nothing attempted in her lifetime.] "But wherein I pray you was shee miserable and wretched? Did shee not ever rule her kingdome in peace and

tranquillity? Did shee not aid and succor—yea, advance her neighbour kinges in their distresses? Was shee not the onlie fortresse of faith and true religion? Did shee not end her dayes in happines and leave her subjects mournfull for her loss, as if the onlie starr of their comfort had been covered and overcast by some malicious cloudes, untill such tyme as King James as another sonne [sun] arose, revived them and cherished their droopinge hartes; yet doe they call her *miseram illam fœminam;* but well, what then? What followeth? Marry, when it shall happen that miserable woman shall depart this life, they should not admitt of anie other to succeed in her place *quacunq. propinquitate sanguinis niterentur* except that first they promise not onlie to tolerate the Catholique religion, but also to bynd themselves by oath to maintain it and none other. And to what ende think you came this Bull hither,—to none other but to exclude King James my sovereigne from his rightfull inheritance." [Nay, rather to move him to be Catholic, and so to get him a much greater kingdom in Heaven.] But you will saie perhaps, howe prove this? Marry, because King James *propinquitatem sanguinis*, naye, hee hath more, for hee hath not onely *propinquitatem*, but hee hath alsoe *antiquitatem sanguinis*, for he deryveth his pedigree not onlie from H—y, by whom hee hath *propinquitatem sanguinis*, but hee hath it also lineally descended from the Kinges of England before the Conquest, within two of Edward the Confessor from Margaret daughter and heire to Edmund (*sic*), mother to Malcom Kinge of the Scotts by whom hee hath *antiquitatem sanguinis;* of this Margaret is read in the comendation that she was

Sola potens humilis, sola pudica docens.

Soe that from two Margarites his Majestie descended. But for depryvinge of him cometh this roaring Bull that warneth them likewise to give notice of her sicknes or death, as soone as maie be to his legate in Flanders to whome hee had comended and comanded a special care of these neighbour kingdomes; and immediately uppon her indisposition, Christopher Wright was dispatched to give notice thereof, with letters of comendacon from Garnett the Jesuite as appeared by a confession produced and publicly read. And heer my L.L. lett me observe another circumstance very remarkable that these peculiar traitors went severally comended by Garnett the Jesuite, as you shall see anon proved and confessed by the parties themselves. As for example Tho. Wynter went over. Wherefore? for treason, and yet was hee comended by Garnett the Jesuite. Christopher Wright went over. Wherefore? for treason; and yet was hee likewise comended by Garnett the Jesuite. Guy Faukes was sent over. Wherefore? for treason; that is, to solicite and deal with Owen, that Sir W$^{m.}$ Stanley and Spinola might drawe their forces neere to the sea side, that when occasion served they might pass over wth more expedition, and yet hee alsoe is comended by Garnett the Jesuite. Edm. Baynham was sent over. Wherefore? marry, to acquaint the Pope with this horrible treason, and to crave his assistance after the stroke is given [by this known untruth the rest may be judged of the better], and yet was he also comended by Garnett the Jesuite; and for proof of this, severall confessions were produced: one of Guy Faukes, wherein were alleged that Sir Edm. Baynham was sent over to acquaint the Pope with this business when the blow should be given, which hee should understand by a letter

which Garnett should then send him. And here Mr. Attor. discoursed a little of Sir Edm. Baynham, whom he affirmed to be a vile dissolute companion, and such a one as was the captaine of the damned crew, as those merchants of London there present could sufficiently testifie, and therefore a fitt messenger between the Pope and the dyvell, by which saith hee is apparent and evident that Garnett was not onlie privy but consenting to their severall practices. But, saith hee, when newes came over that her May was deceased, and that King James was received by all, then the purpose of this Bull was crossed, and the Bull itself, with its fellow, was presentlie burned, for the Bull was comunicated by Garnett to Catesby and Percy before his goinge into Scotland, but when news was brought by Catesby that the King was received, and the State settled, then Garnett presentlie burnt his Bull, butt out of this Bull did Catesby infer that it was lawful for him to entertaine anie practices against our sovereign that now is, for saith hee it was lawfull for us to reject him and resist him before hee was settled, therefore to expel and cast him out after being received and settled. [True it is Mr. Catesby did argue thus ; but was answered by Father Garnett that the case was not like before and after admission, and that we must not by ourselves attempt anything, the Pope now commanding to be quiet.] The other Bull was to the archpriest and his associates, comendinge their patience and longanimity, and willing them to counsell all sortes of laypeople to be forwarde in executing of the Pope's command. And thus much I thought good to advertize your L.L. concerninge the bookes and the Bulls, whence wee may observe a greate difference between the markes of the Primitive Church and Popish Catholiques, for they did warr *non feriendo sed ferendo*, not by striking, but by suffering : their weapons were *preces ac lacrymæ*, prayers and tears, not powder and pistoll. Well, then, my lords, out of these circumstances wee may infer that Garnett was not onlie privie to these treasons, but alsoe an author and an actor in them. And to make itt more evident let us consider other circumstances which are *omni exceptione majores*, because they are found in the confession of the party himselfe. For your L.L. must understand that Garnett would not be known to anie of the actors in these bloody practices, but onlie to Catesbie, and Catesbie being a man *vafro et versuto ingenio et profundâ perfidiâ*, a man of crafty and subtle witt, but one of the most faithles and perfidious worthies that ever breathed ; hee forsooth kept Garnett's counsell, and would not utter to anie of his consort that Garnett had anie notice of them at all, for that all wee have against him we must chiefly drawe from himselfe. [Indeed, Mr. Catesby was dead, and never affirmed any such thing, and the rest of the conspirators in their examinations and public speeches affirmed the contrary ; so that Mr. Attorney did want proof very much, when he brought in a dead man to be witness, like to them that brought the sleeping soldiers at Christ's sepulchre to be witnesses that His body was stolen whilst they were asleep.] Well, then, this Garnett confesseth that Catesby had in general imparted to him that something was in hand for the Catholic cause, but could not reveale in particular what it was without the consent of two other of his consorts, w^{ch} as hee says he dissuaded him from ; but how knowe wee that hee did soe ? onlie by his own confession, who professeth to deal sincerely in nothinge that concerneth himself, but I will prove that hee did not dissuade them, but did encourage them

even to the Powder Treason itselfe. [Here, by the way, I would gladly ask Mr. Attorney how he doth save the accusation recited in the indictment from a false slander, where it is said that Garnett and Greenway did in the beginning meet with Catesby at Queenhithe, and there conclude upon destroying the King and Queen and the Parliament House by powder? How could this be true, seeing that here now long after, and after the gentlemen had concluded as it seems of the matter, and bound one another to secrecy, so that as you see Mr. Catesby could not reveal it to Father Garnett without leave of two others, Father Garnett was all this while ignorant of it: yea, and now also had but a general knowledge of something to be done, from which also he dissuaded them? We may see in this contradiction Father Garnett his innocency; and that Mr. Attorney should be mindful of what he hath said, if he will not say the truth. But let us see how he seeketh to prove by likelihoods, that here Father Garnett, getting some knowledge of the thing in general, did persuade it in particular.] Mr. Garnett confesseth moreover that Catesby in generall tearms propounded a case, whether it were not lawfull to kill manie of our enemies assembled together to our ruin (if wee might doe itt by slaughtering some innocent). To this he answered that if the advantage that redounded to us in generall by the death of our enemies were greater than the damage or loss we should sustaine by the destruction of innocents, that itt was lawfull.

I beseech your L.L. mark here that Garnett approveth this fact in particular, for this resolution was Catesby's whole ground, and this I prove by Rookwood's confession. Then hee brought out a confession of Ambrose Rookwood, wherein was discovered that when Mr. Catesbye made the first overture of this matter he conceived greate horror at the fact, wherein so manie innocents should be slaughtered and made awaie; whereunto Catesby replied, Tut, man, I have good advice of the learnedest that it is lawfull, not by proposinge this case in particular, but in a like, and have resolution that the matter is lawfull.

[Here Mr. Attorney, by his plain proof which he promised, hath proved himself to be guilty of a malicious and false inference, and Father Garnett to be clear from all furtherance to the Plot. For, first, this case was put to Father Garnett before the time this general notice of something in hand was given him by Mr. Catesby; though here Mr. Attorney did maliciously put it after, to make it seem that Father Garnett might gather some light what should be meant by them, hearing now this particular case out of the former general knowledge, which the Attorney saith he had before received. But the general knowledge came after, which I prove by these alleged words of Mr. Attorney. For here he saith he had resolution in this case before he acquainted Rookwood; and that general knowledge was given after the matter was commenced; for, so he said, there was something in hand, but he could not tell him without leave of two; at which time Father Garnett refused to know the matter, but dissuaded it in general. Now that he proveth also Father Garnett clear from persuasion or consent, I prove by his own words, where he saith that Mr. Catesby persuaded Mr. Rookwood to yield, upon the resolution he had received of the like case, not of the same case; whereby it appears they first concluded of it amongst themselves, and the rest consented to it, without Father Garnett his knowledge or privity, much less his counsel. Now whereas Mr. Attorney will needs conclude, that because Mr.

Catesby did infer the lawfulness of the particular out of the resolution in general, therefore Father Garnett should be guilty of the powder; by the same reason he may prove many Doctors in the Schools, and the most learned writers that are or have been, to be guilty of the same treason; for they deliver the same doctrine in the same case, as it was put to Father Garnett. And as they, being wholly ignorant of the matter, cannot be touched with it, for delivering their true opinion, so Father Garnett, when that case was put, thought of nothing less than that they had any such intent. And afterward when he perceived something in general, that he also laboured to hinder by persuasion; and so no way to be blamed, but much to be commended, if he had his right].[128]

I beseech yr LL. observe this Rookwood is warranted by Catesby, relieth whollie uppon this resolution of Garnett, and that for the whole matter in particular. Well, to go forward, after all this Mr. Garnett forsooth, hee under pretext of going to St. Winefrid's well, and I knowe not what marriage, goeth into Warwickshire (the common rendezvous for this traitorous assembly) and there forsooth must meet Essex men, Kentish men, western men, and almost of all the severall shires of England must meete about the same time in Warwickshire, and hither at this tyme cometh Garnett, yea, and (as one of the women confesseth) knoweth not where else to bestowe himself till hee seeth the event of this great businesse in the beginninge of the Parliament.

[It is well known to many Catholics that all the safe lodgings which Father Garnett had about London were lately before discovered, and that was a chief cause of his journey; and it was unfit to take a new house about London, before they might see

[128] Upon this subject the reader is referred to Dr. Lingard's *History of England*, vol. vii. pp. 47, 48. Edit. 1849. "Mr. Catesby had discovered a disposition in his fellow-labourers to question the lawfulness of the enterprize; that they had a right to destroy those who sought to destroy *them* was admitted, but what, it was asked, could be said in justification of the murder of those friends and Catholics who must be enveloped in the same fate with their enemies? . . . He saw that a higher authority was required. . . . The King had granted permission to Sir Charles Percy to raise a regiment of horse for the service of the Archduke, and Catesby had received a captain's commission. . . . It supplied him with the means of seeking a solution of the difficulty suggested, without the danger of betraying the secret. He observed to Father Garnett, in the presence of a large company, that he was about to engage in the service of the Archduke; of the justice of the war he had no doubt; but he might be commanded to partake in actions in which the innocent would necessarily perish with the guilty: unarmed women and children with armed soldiers and rebels. Could he in conscience obey? Would not the fate of the innocent render his conduct unlawful in the sight of God? Father Garnett replied that, according to divines of every communion, obedience in such cases was lawful; otherwise it would at all times be in the power of an unjust aggressor to prevent the party aggrieved from pursuing his just right. This was sufficient. Catesby applied the answer to the intended plot, and boasted to his associates that their objection was now proved to be a weak and unfounded scruple." Dr. Lingard adds in a note, that according to Coke, whose object it was to connect Father Garnett with the conspiracy, the question was proposed in these terms, "Whether for the good and promotion of the Catholic cause against heretics, it be lawful or not among many nocents, to destroy some innocents also?" But of this assertion he never attempted to adduce any proof; and not only Garnett, but also Greenway, who were present, declare that the case proposed was that mentioned above.

what laws would be made at the Parliament, which were expected would be such as there would be no abiding there.]

And what business was this, trow you? Marry, even the blowinge upp of the Parliament house with powder. And to this effect alsoe hee made a prayer for the good success of the greate busines in the beginning of the Parliament, and most maliciously misapplied two excellent verses in his speech he made on All-hallow's Day last, w^ch^ are these—

Gentem repelle perfidam
Fidelium de finibus,
Ut Christo laudes debitas
Persolvamus alacriter.[129]

And how did hee apply this? Marry, to the blowing upp of us all, I warrant you. For the praiers there were, then confessions read, and witnesses produced, of whom I will speak hereafter; for by applying of these verses I saw nothing but Mr. Attor's word.

And besides these circumstances, my lord, wee have here his own confession that Greenway had related the whole matter to him, and because the discourse was large he uttered it first walkinge and then afterwards kneeling, but would not declare it but only in confession, because, saith he, I cannot be master of another bodies secrets. Unto this purpose was Garnet's confession produced, and so much of it read as declared this matter, and the limitation or license that gave him leave to reveale it. These were the circumstances precedent and concurrent.

Now for the subsequent circumstances. Hee produced certain interlocutions between him and Hall [Father Oldcorne], but none of them to much purpose, where hee declared that at the first, by reason the Tower was full of prisoners, Mr. Lieutenant was constrained to lodge them in two chambers joyning one to the other, which they perceiving did oftentimes discourse together, and by the Lieutenant's servants (passing to other prisoners) were overheard, and soe some were placed in a place more adjoining, to discover the sum of their interlocutions.[130] To goe forward amongst those interlocutions, there were produced some that cleared him of his speech w^th^ Mr. Hall, and there was alsoe declared by the parties that were there placed to discover their interlocutions, that they hearde them confess one to the other, and the circumstances of knocking their breasts and such like, &c. And amongst the things that touched him, I remember noe one but only that they said hee affirmed that he marvelled how soe manie things wherewith he was charged could come to their notice; also that he should say that hee was charged with the Spanish treason before the death of the Queene, but that hee could answer well eno'. And alsoe with certain prayers w^ch^ he should make for the good success of the greate businesse in the beginning of the Parliament; but saith hee that I will colour well enough, for I will say that I made

[129] "Take away the faithless people from the boundaries of the faithful, that we may joyfully give due praises to Christ." In the original MS. of Father Gerard is the following, but erased: "This was the hymn of that time, being the feast of All Saints, and so applied by Father Garnett to the hindrance of heretics in making laws intended against Catholics." Upon this subject, see p. 83, note.

[130] It is worthy of remark that Sir Edward Coke gives a different version of the "hole in the wall" affair, and was probably ashamed to acknowledge it.

those prayers onlie to desyre God to mollify the heart of the Kinge and lords of the Parliament, that those severe laws passe not against us, w^ch^ we greatlie feared would be enacted. And here Mr. Attor: willed them to note the worde colour, which saith hee plainlie sheweth that to be but an evasion, and that his true meaninge was to pray for the powder treason.

Lastlie, for a subsequent circumstance hee produced a letter wherein, said hee, is contained one of the most horrible blasphemies that ever I hearde proceed from anie atheist, and it makes my haire to stand anend to think of it, for, saith hee, you must understand that this Garnett writt a letter to some of his friendes abroade, under pretence onlie to crave relief for certain prisoners that were in wants. The Lieutenant, out of his charity, readinge the letter, sett to it his hand, but Garnett very craftily under that had written a letter in sack, and the juice of a lemon, wherein hee signified that hee had received notice from Rookwood, another priest in the Tower, that Greenway was gone over, of which hee was glad, and that Father Garrett [Gerard] was shortlie to goe over to the Pope; that they should write to him by means of that man his keeper; that they should use him kindly, and sometimes give him a shillinge or two; that hee already had given him an angell, and had called him and his wife to drinke some sacke with him; that hee had been often examined but nothing produced against him, but yet *necesse est vt unus homo moriatur pro populo.* See how hee assumeth to himself moste blasphemouslie the wordes that were spoken of Christe our Saviour, but I hope ere hee die that hee will repent of his blasphemy. And this, my lords, shall suffice for the subsequent circumstances.

Now, my Lords, against whom was his treason committed? Against our sovereign lorde the King, one of the most noble princes that ever ruled in the world, renowned for religion, piety, learninge, wisdome, and virtue above all other princes Christian; and I dare boldly avouch that they altogether are not able to match him—a prince in whom this land receaved a greater blessing than ever before it receaved of any. Wee accounted it a great blessing in Hen. the 7^th^ to have united Two Roses, and so it was indeed. But what was it to unite Two Roses that have no repugnance in the uniting, to the union of Lions that are furious and can hardlie be dealt with all, but they will rage and rend to pieces those which come to conjoin them; and yet our sovereigne hath united the Lion of Scotland with the three Lyons of England, and that without all repugnance, without all resistance. The uniting of the Two Roses cost the effusion of much royal blood, fourscore princes of noble blood being slaine ere they would be conjoined, besides manie thousands of their subjects. But our sovereigne united his Lions without anie drop of bloodshed, yea with great joy and triumph of all sides; a prince excelling in all virtues, and most eminent in chastity; and this King soe gracious, soe merciful, soe bounteous, should have [been] devillishlie blown upp with powder! Against the person of our Queene, whose memorie shall remain for ever in her blessings; the blessings of marriage are children, and her memory in her children shall be blessed for ever. Shee is a Queene of whome I maie say shee is *ortu magna*, because shee is descended from the race and loins of noble kings. Shee is *major viro*, greater by her husband being linked in marriage to one of the greatest and most loyal kings in Christendome; and shee is *maxima prole*, greatest in the hope of her most worthie offspringe,

princes of the greatest expectation of this Christian world, soe forward in religion, virtue, and all good parts, as makes us happy in expectation of their mature perfection ; and against these princes also was this bowe of treason, and with them against all the lords, spiritual and temporal, knights, gentry, and commonalty of this realme ; neither had this famous City of London escaped the fury of their fire (for which cause his Majesty hath appointed this for the trial of this prisoner), for well experienced soldiers doe affirme that such a quantity of powder, with soe many crowes of iron, must necessarily have shaken a greate part of this city ; this citie, so antient, so renowned, which hath ever given such testimonie of loyalty to the King as it is not unworthilie called the King's chamber, for as a man accounteth himself safest in his chamber, soe doth his Majesty deem himself most sure in this city, w^ch^ though hee hath ever highly esteemed, yet this last accident that happened hath much increased his love, and given great testimonie of their loyaltie.

Now, my lords, against these were these treasons plotted by Garnett and the Jesuits that are doctors of four D's, that is, of dissimulation ; first, for that they teach the doctrine of dissimulation or equivocation, as you shall see by a book of equivocation, so intitled by the author, but that title is rased out and another written with Garnett's owne hand, that is a booke against lying and untruths ; this book, my lords, is one of the vilest bookes that ever I hearde of, for with their sleight and subtleties it teacheth men to swear and forswear anie thing, soe that wee know not where to find them, and trulie therefore by my consent there should be none of their testimonies taken, none of their oaths allowed, for subtil and deceitfull they are. And here hee told them that doctrine of equivocation would move all the holie martyrs from God's Church ; for, saith hee, where had holie Ridley, Cranmer, and Latimer been, in Queen Mary's days, if they had liked this doctrine of equivocation? Where had 32 Popes, virginall martyrs been, that were martyred in a row, if this doctrine of equivocation had byn allowed of? Noe, said he, Arius, that wicked heretic, was the first that invented that doctrine ; for hee, when hee came to the Council of Nice to make profession of his faith, he takes the profession drawne by the Council in his left hand, and laid his right hand uppon his heart, protesting he would maintain this, meaninge not that he had in his hand, but that he conceaved in his heart, till death ; and such kind of slight as this the Popish Catholics use with us, telling us of four kinds of propositions spoken by words, written in paper, conceived in mind, and the last mixed, partly uttered, partly concealed, w^ch^ is uttered against the nature of a proposition, which is to propound things, and they forsooth in their propositions will conceal them ; w^ch^ once admitted, all society and commerce is overthrowne, which I beseech you, my Mrs. [masters] of London, that bee tradesmen to observe ; and to prove this he produced propositions approved in the booke, wherein hee said that it was lawfull to use a secret reservacon if in case the answer did satisfy the finall intent of the question, altho' hee did not satisfie the immediate intent, for example, saith hee, in tyme of sickness anie that comes from anie towne infected are not admitted to come into London ; the finall ende of this lawe is to avoide the danger of infection, and forbiddeth entertainment to all that come from anie place infected. Nowe, saith this book, if I thinke in my conscience that I am free from danger of infection for that I have lived in some part of that

place that was free from contagion, I maie lawfullye swear that I came not from that place, reservinge in my mind that I came not from that place, soe that I thinke myselfe in danger of infection. The second example was of a man first contracted to a woman, and afterwards likewise secretlie contracted to another ; yet because this latter contract was no contract, I maie lawfullye sweare that I did not contract with this second at all, reserving in my mind soe that this contract was of anie force or validitie at all ; and he enlarged himself a little, inveighing against this kind of doctrine.

The second Ex. [D.] is of deposing of princes. And to prove this he produceth out of Philopater, affirminge that heretics cannot bear rule over Catholickes, and to the like effect another out of Doleman, otherwise called Parsons, his booke of titles ; and a third out of a booke compiled by Mr. Tresham, *De Potestate Principis*, wherein for two or three leaves he hath things, saith Mr. Attorney, verie excellent and notable, but he spoileth all with this doctrine, that Catholicke subiects owe no obedience to heretical princes.

Lastlie, he cited two places out of Samancas [Simanha] whome hee termed the Spanish Jesuit, the first affirmed that all the heretics were excommunicate *de jure*, &c., at Easter, were excommunicate *de facto*. The second was that a prince once excommunicate *amittit jus regnandi*, and not onlie for himselfe but for his heirs, a principle that would overthrow all Christian princes. And if you object against them, that *Sancta Mater Eccl : nunquam claudit gremia pœnitenti* (or Holie Mother the Church never shutteth her bosome to those that are penitent), they have a distinction for that, I marrie, say they, that is true, *quando non vergit in damnum Eccl*æ (when it doth not tend to the damage of the Church).

Their third Ex. [D.] is the disposing of kingdomes. And for proof of this, I doe not remember hee brought anie thing more than that they would, without anie memorie of King James, have disposed this kingdom to the Infanta of Spayne.

The last Ex. [D.] was the deterringe of princes with feare of their excommunicons and I knowe not what. And here he produced divers places out of a booke compiled by himselfe, out of w^{ch} hee showed how our kinges in former ages were nothinge affrighted with those idle menacings ; how one was condemned of high treason for bringing in a Bull of Excommunicon against one of the King's subjects ; how the King was reputed subject to none, but of himselfe was absolute ; how the Pope's Legate was usuallie staide at Callis till the K. had given him lycense to come into England, hee (said hee) was gladd to see his religion in this pointe soe agreeable to the antient common lawe of England, which lawes, saith hee, if they were exactlie looked unto, would restrain our Romish Catholickes from growing anie more to parts, and I trust by them wee shall be brought no more to this perillous exigence, as I trust this will be their last treasonable practice ; nay, I may partlie assure myselfe that it will be soe, for all later treasons strive to excell the former, but it is impossible that anie treason should excell or equall this last ; therefore I am certainly persuaded that they will undertake no more. And then with some invectives against the Jesuites, hee dehorted all men from conversing with them ; for, said hee, it was verie well said of one, that *qui cum Jesu itis, non itis cum Jesuitis ;* neither are their priests (though in faction divided from them) lesse perillous than they ; for like Sampson's foxes they are tyed together by the tails, conspiringe

together with one consent in matters of treason ; and, saith hee, I am informed there are nowe in England 400 of them, which number is to me a presage that they are near their destruction, for they may be fitlie resembled to those 400 false prophets that Micheas dreamed of ; for as it was a presage that those false prophets were near their end, because they were possessed with lying spirits, soe maie wee hope that their priests and Jesuites publicly teachinge this doctrine of lyinge and equivocatinge are near their downfall. And then making a low reverence concluded his speech. Which ended,

The prisoner (havinge first made his reverence with a modest countenance) began his speech. First cravinge pardon for the weakness of his memory, if hee should fail to give them satisfaction in manie particulars that had been objected against him. But I trust, saide hee, with the help of Mr. Attor. I shall faile in nothinge that maie be of anie consequence.

Consideringe the whole discourse of Mr. Attor. I finde the things by him entreated of maie be reduced to foure principall heads : the first concerning our doctrine in general ; the second concerninge recusants in generall ; the third concerninge Jesuites in general, and the last concerning myselfe in particular.

For the first, Mr. Attor. inveigheth greatlie against that pointe of doctrine whereby we teach that equivocon in some cases maie be lawfully used, as a doctrine that breaketh the laws of all human society, and hindreth martyrs from their glorious crowns neither of wh ensueth out of that doctrine wee teach, for wee teach not that equivocon maie be used promiscuously, and at our owne pleasure in matters of contract, in matters of testimonie, or before a competent judge, or to the prejudice of anie thirde person in wch case wee judge it altogether unlawfull. But onlie wee think it lawful when they are no way prejudicial to others, for our owne, our brothers good, or when wee are pressed to questions that are harmefull to ourselves or others to answere, or urged upon examination to answere to one whome wee do not hold to be a competent judge, or would force us to open matters not liable to his court. As if they should examine mee about the secrets of my heart, because these secrets are not liable to anie externall court, I maie for the avoiding of inconvenience and redeeminge myne own vexation, lawfully use some secret reservacon ; neither doth this liberty prejudice any whitt, human conversacon, or break the bonds of mutual societie, but is conformable to reason, agreable to the doctrine of the holy Fathers, and to the consent of all learned men, without contradiction of anie one that ever I hearde or read of, who generally teach with St. Thomas of Aquin in severall places and especiallie in that place where he teacheth that if a confessor should by any man whatsoever be examined concerning points wch he knoweth onlie by confession, hee may lawfullie, nay hee is bound to disavow them, and this doctrine is also founded in the Scripture itselfe, neither is it prejudicial to the glory of martyrs, for wee do not teach that wch Mr. Attor. affirmeth, that it is lawfull to equivocate in matters of faith, but teach the contrarie, most expresslie condemning that doctrine as an heresy censured long since in the Priscillianists, yea some Catholics have suffered death for answering directlie to questions of their belief wch they might have avoided if in case they had thought it lawful to have used secret reservations in matters concerning articles of their faith.

Now, my lords, because I have discoursed to your lordps of this

point heretofore, and to other learned men sente to me in the Tower, for confirmacōn thereof I will cite onlie two places of Scripture thereof ; the first is that place where our Saviour beinge demanded concerning the Daie of Judgment by His disciples made answere that *de die illo nemo novit, neque filius hominis;* but certaine it is that Christ our Saviour did know of the Daie of Judgment, not onlie as He was God, but as He was Man also, as all holie doctors and divines doe constantly affirme. Wherefore it cannot be denied that Hee used some mental reservacōn, for lying (as St. Austin learnedlie proveth in that place where he distinguisheth eight kinds of lies) can no waie be tolerable, and much lesse practised by Him, that is the rule and measure of all truth. Soe that seeing this saying of our Saviour cannot otherwise be verified but by the secret reservation that He knew it, not soe as to reveale it, it cannot be denied but these reservacons in some cases are lawfull. The second exam. is where Hee said to His disciples, *vos ascendite ad diem festm hunc, ego enim non ascendam*, &c. Goe you to Jerusalem, but I will not goe, and yet notwithstandinge the Evangelist afterwards affirmeth, *tunc et ipse ascendit*, &c, that He did ascend to the feast, not openlie, but, as it were, in secret, which argueth that in His general denial to goe Hee meant onlie that Hee would not goe in public, which in his mind Hee reserved. Here my Lord of Salisbury interrupted the prisoner and said that because the truth was oftentimes more plainlie discovered by interposition of questions and answers than by a continual speech delivered together, he would ask of Garnett one question concerning that doctrine he had delivered, for you teach it unlawful to equivocate before a competent judge, and I trust you take us to be such. "At the least I doe." "Now," said hee, "did not you in the Tower denie unto me, as you were a priest, a religious man, and a Catholic, that you had never any conference with Hall? Did you not denie this generall question, this small matter with such asseveration, until the witness was produced against you ; and then pressed with such a cloud of witnesses, as you saide, you confessed it? Is not this to equivocate before a competent judge in a matter of little consequence?"

To this the prisoner answered that he did soe, because he did not thinke anie witness would have been brought against him, and hee denied it [as] prejudiciall to a third person, who then hee accounted an honest man. Then he went forward with his speech.

The second point, said he, of our doctrine. wch Mr. Attor. greatlie inveigheth against, is the doctrine of deposing and excommunicating of Kings, whereof albeit I would speak largelie, yet because I am unwilling to speake aniething before this honorable assembly that maie be anie waie offensive to his Mtie I will onlie say a word or two in excuse of myself and my brethren the Catholics of England. And first I beseech your L.sps to consider that our doctrine in that point is the very same wch' is taught by all Catholic subjects in all Catholic countries and universities of the Christian world, which subjects are not by their princes censured for this doctrine and condemned as traitors, nor their doctrine adjudged treasonable and seditious, and therefore I cannot see why wee concurringe with them, and all our predecessors in this kingdom, without innovation or changing anie one principle or tittle in that matter, should be soe severely branded with such notes of infamy. Secondlie, for clearing our cause the more, I will observe a greate difference to

be made betweene our Soverain that now is, and other princes, that havinge once embraced and professed the Catholic faith, doe afterwards revolt, and decline unto heresies, parting themselves from that body to which they were before united, disjoining and dividing themselves from that head to whom before they had yielded themselves, and by whom they were governed, for they incur the censures which those authors cited by Mr. Attor. doe mention and speak of, and are punishable by that power wch in precedent tymes they admitted. But his Mtie's case is different from theirs, for hee maintaineth none other doctrine than that wch from his cradle he hath been nourished and brought up in, and therefore these general sentences are not by any private man to be applied to his case in particular.

And here again the Earle of Salisbury interrupted him, and demanded if the Pope could excommunicate Kinge James his soverain.

The prisoner said, my lord, I cannot denie the authoritie of His Holiness.

And then my Lord of Salisbury demanded whether if hee should bee excommunicate, it were lawful for his subjects to rebell against him. My lord, said hee, I beseech you not to press me in that pointe wch I have already answered. Then Mr. Attor. said in that pointe he referreth himselfe to the canon *Nos Sanctorum*, wch was produced and read with great derision and laughter of the standers by.

After this the prisoner proceeded and saide the seconde thing he would answer unto should be concerninge recusants in generall, who saith hee, are accused by Mr. Attor. that onlie upon the Bull of Pius Quintus' excommunicōn against the Queen, they grounded their recusancy, wch if it were true, then seeinge our soverain that now is, stands no waie excommunicate it were lawful for them now to repaire to your churches, wch doubtless they would do if they might, thereby to avoide the penaltie of those statutes wch in that behalf were enacted ; neither is it true that Mr. Attor. so constantlie avouched, that till the xith year of her matie, all Catholics did resorte at that time to their churches. For I knowe manie Catholics at that tyme lyving, that I am certain never went to Protestant churches in their lives ; and Sir Thomas Fitzherbert of my knowledge did not onlie refuse it before that tyme himselfe, but also had written a treatise to prove it could not in anie Catholic be tolerated, and it is apparent to the world that before that tyme many Catholic priests and bishops were imprisoned for their refusall, whereby it is evident that their recusancy is not founded upon any excommunicōn, but onlie uppon mere matters of conscience, judging it unlawfull to communicate *in divinis* with such as have seperated themselves from the Church ; wch doctrine is as antient as the condemnation of the Arian heresy, for even then the Catholics refused *in divinis* to communicate with the Arian, albeit they had priests, masses, altars and their whole service, the same both in substance and ceremony ; which doctrine hath also been taught by the chiefest and most learned Protestants, I mean Calvin, Luther, Beza, and others, who teach it to be unlawfull to be present at our service, not onlie at Masse, wch they account idolatry, but at evensong also, or anie other solemn prayer ; howbeit, I confesse that this pointe was not soe clearly understood by Catholics here till the Council of Trent, where twelve greate and learned men were appointed to consult and conclude of this matter, who without

controversie determined that in no case it was lawfull, and their decision was by the whole Council approved.

And here again my Lord of Salisbury did interrupt him with another speech to noe great purpose, as I remember, but onlie recurred to that speech of Mr. Attor. where hee affirmed this Citie of London not to be unworthilie called the King's chamber, and here, saith hee, wee shall see such an anatomy of the Popish doctrine, that I trust hereafter it will not have so manie followers: with other words of like purport. Whose speech being ended, the prisoner resumed his discourse and said:

The third thing wch I determined to speak of was of the Jesuits in generall, of whom some have been, by Mr. Attor., accused for enterprising of several treasonable attempts; as for the matter of Patrick Cotton [Collyn], Yorke, Williams, and Squire, of whom I can say no more but this, that I have had the handes and protestacōns of these Fathers that are accused, as Father Holt and Father Walpole, who on their salvations affirm they never treated with the parties concerning anie such matter, and that it was verie unlikely, seeing the enterprisers of them were no Catholics, or but feigned for a tyme as Yorke and Squire were, who died Protestants, and were of so little acquaintance with those Fathers that it might seem very improbable they would employ them in matters of such weight. And whereas Mr. Attor. hath produced some confessions against them, I know not, saith he, how by torture or fear they might be brought to accuse themselves, yet at their deaths some of them disavowed the practices, and protested they died innocent of the facte for which they were condemned, as Williams and Squire did. And for Father Sherwood I do not know that there ever was anie such Father of the Societie. Indeed, there was one Sherwood entered the Societye, but he died before he came to be priest. Another Sherwood there is in the Low Countries, a secular priest. But of anie Sherwood that was a priest in the Societye I never hearde before, and I am sure there was none.

Now, saith hee, for myself in particular: In truth I protest I am cleare from approving this and all other treasonable attempts, and have ever thought and taught them to be unlawfull against his Matie, and have by all my best endeavors labored to divert and suppress them. Albeit I must confesse I did understand in generall by Mr. Catesby long since that hee would have attempted something for the good of Catholics, which I dissuaded him from so effectuallie, that I had thought he would utterlie desist from such treasonable pretences, and this I revealed not, because that as a religious priest I thought to suppress it between him and mee, which course our Saviour prescribeth, warninge us that if our brother offend in aniething wee should admonish him between ourselves, and if this prevail—*lucratus es fratrem tuum*, saith our Saviour—thou has gained thy brother, and if that reclaim him not, then you may proceed further.

Now, my lords, because I was persuaded that uppon this admonition hee would give over his former design, I deemed myself in conscience discharged from making anie further discoverie or overture of that practice, howbeit, that in your common lawe I think it insufficient, in regard it deemeth it inconvenient to leave the safetie of the Commonwealth depending on the discretion and peculiar provision of some private man; but yet, my Lords, that I did dislike such proceedings. and as much as I could endeavoured to reclaim them, your lordps. may gather by the

expresse commandment which I procured by means of our Superior, whereby was expressly forbidden all attempts against the King in general, and also by the endeavors I used, as seriously as I could, to procure the like prohibition, and that under pain of some heavier censure which I would have never endeavoured if I had anie waie approved it, as also for that I know His Holiness disliked of such proceedings, and as I was informed commended my care and vigilancy in seeking to repress the former stirres. And lastlie, in that I knew them contrarie to our obedience w^ch^ wee make most account of, w^ch^ expresslie forbid us to meddle in such causes.

Here Mr. Attor. interrupted him and said that he did not forbid them, for he could prove no such matter, but onlie by his words who used to speak the best in favor of himselfe, and saith hee, for that prohibition you procured, I doe not thinke that you did it for love unto us, but onlie for your owne ende, least that by some matter of small importance your maine plot should be prevented and hindered; and soe wee see the fowler, altho' hee will have his own setting dog with him, yet hee will keep all other dogs from the fielde, but why is this, I praie you, for love of the partridges? Noe, I warrant you, but lest his owne sport should be spoiled. And soe you would procure a prohibition; but wherefore, I pray you? For love you bear us? Noe, but for fear your other petty treason may cross your vile plot.

To this hee answered that all were prohibited in generall, and therefore it could not be in favor of anie one in particular, and howsoever hee misconstrued it, his meaninge was soe. And to proceed further, saith hee, I am blamed also for giving letters of commendacōn to Thomas Winter, Fawkes, and others that went over for accomplishment of treasons.

Unto this I answer that I gave them letters of commend^ns^, but I protest I knew not that they went over about matters of treason, for that I never enquired of their business, but if I knew them to be men of good conversation, without further inquirie, I gave them letters to testifie so much to my friendes beyond seas, and to request their favor and furtherance in anie usual matter of curtesie and kindness, and that hee hath given letters to other Catholics that were no waie to be touched with anie treacherous attempt, and that these were altogether unknown to him.

And here my Lord of Salisburie did interrupt him. Mr. Garnett, saith hee, did you give them the letters without knowing the ende whie they were sent over? I [did] my lord, saith hee. Why, replied my Lord of Salisbury, did not you yourselfe tell me that you did nominate Sir Edmond Baynham as a fit man to goe over to the Pope. My Lord, saith hee, I told your honour this much, that it was thought convenient that some one should inform His Holiness of the state of our country, and that it was a great charge to send over one of purpose for that business, knowing that Sir Edmond Baynham was going over and had been so resolved for above two years. I thought it better that now he might discharge that care, and save that charge, than that one should be sent over to the Pope of set purpose to inform him of the state of England. Nay, saith my Lord of Salisburie, you told mee that Sir Edmond Baynham went over to acquaint the Pope with this plot and of treason, and that, therefore, you would not have him said to be sent by you, because the Pope would be offended that you employed a layman in that business. My Lord, saith hee, at the going over

of Sir Edmond Baynham, I did not know of that treason myselfe, therefore could not think Sir Edmond went to acquaint him with it. Nay, I am persuaded that Mr. Catesbye would not have revealed the matter in particular to the Pope himselfe, howbeit afterwards I imagined with myselfe that peradventure Mr. Catesbye by his means might acquaint His Holiness with some pretence in general for the Catholic cause, w^ch^ they would undertake if His Holiness should approve and think it expedient ; and this I gather onlie because Mr. Catesby promised mee that hee would not goe forward with anie attempt till the Pope had been acquainted and made privy to it. And I said to your lordsp. that therefore I would not that Sir Edmond should bee sent from us, for that it would displease the Pope wee should employ anie person whomsoever in the affairs of England, but refer all to others whom it most concerned.

Now Mr. Attor. replied that Fawkes had confessed that Sir Edmond Baynham went to give notice to the Pope of this treason. To this effect was p'duced a confession of Fawkes w^ch^ said that Sir Edmond Baynham went to Rome to acquaint the Pope when the blow should be given, and to crave his assistance and furtherance in all. To this hee answered, what they determined I know not, and it maie be they thought at that tyme to have conveyed him some letters by my means to have given him notice thereof; but it is more than I know, and verie unlikely that the first newes thereof should come by me, for the common fame and rumour thereof would have prevented my letters by a great while.

Then said Mr. Attor. : You see, my lords, what great care this man took for the preventing of this soe great danger to us all, that relied our safeties uppon the message of Sir Edmond Baynham, whoe if hee had miscarried by the way, or by any casualtie been detayned in the Low Countries, or in Germany, as in effect hee was, then where had wee been? I warrant you, blown upp with the powder ; and yet hee saith hee did not approve nor consent unto it ; but I will prove that hee did both, for he gave Catesby the resolution that it was lawfull to be done, not in that case, but in another like it ; which, notwithstandinge, was the whole ground of Catesby, as appeareth by Rookwood's confession (then again produced and read).[131] Besides hee made a prayer for the good success of the powder treason, w^ch^ before that time hee knew by the confession of Greenway.

To this the prisoner answered that he had resolved such a case in general, w^ch^ was a case common in all just warres, where if a towne could not be taken or wal beaten down without the death of some innocents, all casuists do hold that fact to be lawfull, but that Mr. Catesby misapplied this generall question was neither fault nor approbation of mine, w^ch^ when I heard of, I conceived great horror at the thing itselfe, and thought it would be a scandal and disgrace unto Catholics, and therefore, besides the former means I used to suppress it, in my prayers I desired some milder course might be taken, if it were God's will.

Nay, said my Lord of Salisburie, you prayed not with that condition, for you said to mee in the gallery, that altho' wee did not approve of your Masses, yet you did think assuredlie that they had done us good, for you prayed heartily that it might not have come to pass, except it were for the good of the Church.

Mr. Garnett answered that he said not soe, but that he desired

[131] See p. 175, note.

God to take a milder course, if it were His holy will, and for the prayers for the great business in the beginning of the Parliament, hee acknowledged them ; but in troth, said hee, I meant not the powder treason, but to desire God to put in the mind of his Majtie and other lords assembled together, in your Parliament, not to permit those rigorous lawes to pass against vs wch were feared at that tyme would have been concluded.

Indeed, said Mr. Attor., you said you would soe colour it.

No, in troth, said Mr. Garnett, that was my true intention.

Hereupon witness was called into the court. He answered there was but one witness there.

Nay, said Mr. Attor., you shall have two witnesses ; and in the meantyme that one witness was examined, and the confession of the other read. The second witness was presently brought into the court, and Mr. Attorney spake in his commendation, affirminge him to be a great linguist, a justice of the peace, and a learned man, and one that would do wrong to noe man.

Mr. Garnett said hee thought so too, but hee must be mistaken, for that wch he said was no more, but that hee could answer very well, for hee would say, as in truth it was, that hee meant that the lawes intended might not pass against us ; and how say you, Mr. Fawcett, bethink yourselfe, were you not mistaken? No, saith hee, we both understood it soe, and writt it soe, and have had so great care to doe you noe wrong, that wee omitted divers things wherein wee agreed not, and nothing was set down but with both our consents.

No, saith my Lord of Salisburie, if wee would touch you with the testimonie of one witness, wee could charge you with fouller matters than these, but wee will not doe so, that the world maie see what mildness and mercie wee use in execution of justice, and to this end my sovereign determined that your tryal should be in this hon. assemblie. For whoe is Garnett that hee should be called hither, or wee should trouble ourselves in this court with him? Which I protest were sufficient for the greatest Cardinall in Rome, if in this case hee should be tryed. No, Mr. Garnett, it is not for your cause that you are called hither, but to testifie to the world the foulness of your fact, the errors of your religion, and his Matie's clemencie. Your life is in the King's hands, and for manie causes hee may take it from you by other courts, but to make his justice known to the world, and to stop the mouthes of lyars and slanderers, his Matie ordained your trial should be in this court, before this hon. assemblie, wherein wee maie glory as much as if the greatest Cardinall in Rome were pleadinge at the barre ; and therefore the witness is a man of reputation, and such a one as for the world would doe you no wrong.

Mr. Garnett said hee thought soe too, but hee might be mistaken.

No, said my Lord of Salisburie, he was neer thee eno' to understand your words, for Hall and you, out of policie, were lodged so neer one to the other, and in such a place where your interlocutions might bee easilie heard, for Christian policie is not to be condemned in anie well governed Commonwealth, and if wee should not use such course I know not how wee should deale with such people as you ; for you have in your pamphlets so proscribed us for crueltie and persecutions that in a manner wee stand in awe of you, and are forced to deale with you as nurses doe with their sucklings, lest if you should sicken or dye, it should afterwards be bruited

abroad that wee poisoned you, as of one of you, who desperatelie slew himselfe in the Tower, hath been often reported, that he was killed forsooth with the rack and the torture;[182] but let him testifie, saith my lord, that is here at the barr, whether that hee hath not been used with extraordinarie favour. How saie you, Mr. Garnett, is it not soe? My lord, saith Mr. Garnett, I must acknowledge my entreaty to have been verie honorable, for w^ch^ I esteem myselfe much bound to his Ma^tie^.

Then my Lord of Salisburie demanded a question concerning prayer, and said that hee had told him that if a man comended anie intention to their prayers, that they would comend it to God without demanding in particular what it was.

My Lords, said Mr. Garnett, I told your lordp. that if our General should will us pray for his intention, wee were bound to do it without entering into particulars.

Why then, said my Lord of Salisburie, if your General Claudius Aquaviva should have intended to pray for the successe of this powder treason, you all in blind devotion would likewise have prayed for the same.

My lord, said Mr. Garnett, if he had done soe, we should have noe interest in his fault.

Here Mr. Attor. began to charge the prisoner with his own confession, for, said hee, you confessed yourselfe that you knew it in particular by the confession of Greenway.

Mr. Garnett answered, indeed if I did soe, but in confession onlie, and with license to reveale it, in no other case but to redeem myselfe from torture.

Then, said my Lord of Northampton, Mr. Garnett, you were consenting to it, for you did not forbid it, and it is a case in every good priest approved that *qui non prohibet cum potest, jubet.*

My lord, said Mr. Garnett, I did prohibit it as much as in me lay.

Then, replied my Lord of Northampton, why did you not make it knowne to those that could and would have hindered it. Mr. Garnett answered that hee could not doe it because he knew it onlie in confession.

But my lord urged him; why, said hee, could you reveale to save yourselfe from torture and not to redeeme the Comonwealth from ruin? Is Garnett's torture of more consequence than the ruin of England, with many other amplificōns all tendinge to this effect.

Noe, my lord, said Mr. Garnett, I must respect the license and case wherein onlie it is lawful to utter it, and not in anie other matter, of what importance soever.

Then Mr. Attor. pressed him in this manner. Although you could not discover Mr. Greenway, by whose confession you knew it, yet might you well have discovered what you understood concerning Catesby and his associates, whose confessions you heard not, besides, saith hee, this confession of Greenway was noe sacrament, as you say some of your confessions are, because Mr. Greenway did not confess it with contrition.

And my Lord of Salisburie here demanded of him if they taught that the sacrament required not satisfaction, contrition, and confession.

Yes, my lord, said the prisoner, wee teach it requireth first contrition, then confession, and afterwards satisfaction.

[182] Alluding to the case of Brother Nicholas Owen, who was killed upon the rack, "*his bowels gushing out with his life*" (See his Life below).

Whie, then, said Mr. Attor., how was the confession of Greenway a sacrament?

My lord, saith Mr. Garnett, to answer to both the objections of Mr. Attor. First you shall understand that whatever is heard in confession, altho' it concern not the penitent, but some other, cannot lawfully be revealed. Secondlie, he said that the confession was sacramental, and therefore bound under the seale of that sacrament, which was the greatest bond that could be, albeit there had been something wanting requisite for receiving the fruit and benefit of the sacrament. But Mr. Greenway had contrition and all things requisite for receiving benefit thereby.

Nay, replied Mr. Attor. I am sure that hee had not, for to Bates he approved the fact, and said he had no obligation to reveale it to any other ghostly Father; to which effect Bates his confession was produced, which verified as much as Mr. Attor. said, and then Mr. Attorney added that hee had heard by men more learned than hee, that if for defect of contrition it was not a sacrament, then it might lawfully be revealed.

Mr. Garnett rejoined that Bates was a dead man, and therefore altho' he would not discredit him, yet he was bound to keep that secret which was spoken in confession as well as Greenway.

Then Mr. Attor. began to charge him with his being in Warwickshire at that tyme when these troubles should have happened, amplifying it again, as in his former speech he had done.

To which Mr. Garnett answered that by reason of a journey which last summer he took to St. Winifrid's well, he passed through that country, and was by entreaty of some of his friends and other business detained there for a tyme, not suspecting anie trouble would have happened there soe speedily; w^ch^ if by anie forecast he could have foreseen, hee would have been in his discretion, far enough from that country.

But, Mr. Garnett, saith the Lord of Salisbury, what did you the xxvj^th^ of November, when, after this plot was discovered, Bates came to you with a letter from Catesby.

My Lord, said Mr. Garnett, I said I would not meddle with him that had wrought himselfe into such treasonable attempts, and thereby endangered himselfe and his friends.

Yea, but, replied the Lo. of Salisbury, did you not send Greenway to Catesby, who, as appeareth by the confession of Hall, went to raise the countrys abroad, under pretence, forsooth, that the Catholics should have their throats cut.

My lord, rejoined Garnett, I knew not of his going, and in troth, he went without my consent or knowledge; neither could I gather by anie speech of his that he had any such intention, as Bates would testifie if he were alive.

After this my Lord of Nottingham craved license to ask a question of the prisoner. Garnett, saith he, if I should come and confesse unto thee that within this hour I would stab the King with my dagger, wouldest thou reveale it or noe?

My lord, saith Mr. Garnett, if I could know it by anie other means I would, and if I could, I woulde take such course as I could to prevent it. But, said my lord, wouldest you reveale it or noe? Mr. Garnett answered that if he could know it by noe other means but by confession he would not.

Whereat the people laughed heartily, and my Lord of Nottingham said: Garnett, thou art now in a pulpit, as thou hast been in

thy life often heretofore, but I protest thou never diddest soe much good in anie, as this day thou hast done in this.

And for conclusion, Mr. Attor. desired license to read a letter written by Mr. Tresham lying upon his death-bed in the Tower, where upon his salvation, as you shall see, hee avoucheth a notorious untruth. The letter was read, and the contents were to clear Mr. Garnett from any notice of the Spanish treason, protesting that he had wronged him in it, and upon his salvation he moreover protested that hee had not seen him in fourteen years before. Yet Garnett and Mrs. Ann Vaux (though otherwise a very obstinate woman) confesssed that Tresham within these three years had been severall tymes at their houses at White Webbs, and Mrs. Vaux confessed that he had been twice there this very last year, and had received very good counsel from him. Now, saith hee, what shall wee think of this man? I would be lothe to judge of a dead man because *inter pontem et fontem misericordia Domini*, but yet I would not be in his case for the world.

Now my Lord of Salisbury craved license to speak, because the letter was sent to him, for, saith hee, when Tresham lay dangerously sick in the Tower, his wife desired license to resort vnto him, which the Lords of the Council out of their charitie were willing to condescend to. But see the drift of her coming, for shee persuading herself she should do a meritorious deed in clearing the Jesuits of this infamous treason, procureth her husband to write this letter, as Everard Digby in his last speech at the bar protested that noe priest nor Jesuite was acquainted with it, and there is now current in the Tower a letter written under Bates' owne hand disavowing his confession, and clearing Greenway in this practice, and in their pasquils and libels they say that Bates confessed it for hopes of his life, but how truly the world may now judge.

This letter Mrs. Tresham would have delivered to me herselfe after the death of her husband, but I being otherwise employed she writeth her letter, and in it encloseth this you have heard, whereby you see by the doctrine of equivocation they make no conscience to sweare and foreswear any thing.

For how say you, Mr. Garnett, did Mr. Tresham equivocate or noe?

My lord, said Mr. Garnett, I know not.

But what think you? quoth my Lord of Salisbury.

Why, then, saith Mr. Garnett, my lord, I think he did equivocate.

Whereat the company laughed merrilye.

Nay, my lord, saith Mr. Garnett, this is but my opinion. I know not how it is.

Well, saith my L. of Salisbury, you see how graciously you have been dealt withall here, where you have had licence to speak for yourself what you could, and manie things have been read that made in your favor, although it were uttered by your dearest friend, as, for example, Mrs. Anne Vaux, that loveth you so dearly as shee would be contented to sacrifice herselfe for you, as herselfe protested, yet because she said you gave Mr. Tresham good counsel sometimes it was here read for your benefit. And the whole course of proceedings have been mixed with such clemency, as I think there are none soe malicious that can calumniate.

This ended, the jury were willed to go together, and Mr. Garnett as they departed desired them that they would take such things as

hee had denied to be justly and truly disavowed, except they had sufficient evidence to the contrarie. And after this the jury departed awhile, and presently returned and pronounced him guilty.

Which sentence pronounced, Mr. Garnett said, "God save the King." And presently the Crier was willed to proclaim silence. And the lords demanded if he had anie thing to saie.

Who answered hee said nothing but God save the King, and that his life and death were in his M^ties^ hand, and desired their lordships to signifie unto him that if it should please his Ma^tie^ to bestow his life upon him, reserving his conscience, hee would do the best hee could to deserve it.[133]

The following documents are dated subsequently to the condemnation of Father Garnett.

Gunpowder Plot Book, part ii. nn. 217, 217 I. [The next day after the trial, the 29th of March, Sir W. Waade got Father Garnett to write the following paper, which Waade inclosed to Lord Salisbury with a short note. Father Garnett on equivocation.]

1. Concerning equivocation which I seemed to condemn in moral things, my meaning was in moral and common conversation in which the virtue of verity is required among friends; for otherwise it were injurious to all humanity. Neither is equivocation at all to be justified, but in case of necessary defence from injustice or wrong, or of the obtaining some good of great importance when there is no danger of harme to others; as in the case of Cowtry [Coventry], wherein I suppose it is a great advantage to me for to be admitted, and no harm can ensue to the city; for the city seeketh nothing but to be free from the sickness, and if it were possible that the city knew me to be free of certainty, they would admit me presently, which is confirmed by the custom of places beyond, where, though they know a man to come from a place infected, yet after they have kept him in some separate place, with convenient diet, for 40 days, they admit him.

2. As for Mr. Tresham's equivocation, I am loth to judge; yet I think ignorance might excuse him, because he might thinke it lawfull in that case to equivocate, for the excuse of his frends. Yet would I be loathe to allow of it, or practise it, he being not then urged, but voluntarily offering it himselfe contrary to that which he had before sett down and especially being in case of manifest treason, as I will after explaine.

But in case a man be urged at the hour of his death, it is lawfull for to equivocate, *with such due circumstances as are required in his life.* An example we may bring in another matter. For the

[133] Father More, who quotes largely from this MS., says that Father Garnett, when asked, upon the verdict being pronounced, what more he had to say, replied: "Only this," said he, "I am unwilling to dispute your verdict. The day will come when this same cause will be tried before the tribunal of Christ, in the presence of all these bystanders, not upon fallacious conjectures and ill-founded arguments, but in the light of conscience. In the meanwhile, may God preserve the King. My life and death are in his hands. I fear not death, which will be an end of all my miseries. If my life is spared, I shall, saving my faith and religion, strive to merit it by every duty in my power."

divines hould that in some case a man may be bound to conceale *something in his confession*, because of some great harme which may ensue of it. And as he may do so in his life, so may he at his death, if the danger of the harme continue still.

3. The case being propounded, supposing that I know Gerard acquainted with this treason, and having been often demaunded thereof, I still denying it by way of equivocōn, whether at the hour of my death, eyther naturall or by course of justice, I may by equivocōn seeke to cleare him againe.

4. I answer that in case I be not urged, I may not, but I must leave the matter in case in which it stands; but if I be urged, then I may cleer him by equivocon, whereas otherwise my silence would be accounted an accuson. But all this I understand when the case is such that I am bound to conceale Gerard's treason, as if I had heard it in confession. For this is a generall rule,—that in cases of trew and manifest treason, a man is bound voluntarily to utter the very truth, and no way to equivocate, if he know it not by way of confession, in which case also he is bound to seek all lawfull wayes to discover *Salvo Sigillo*.

29 Martii. HENRY GARNETT.

Same Book, n. 218. Endorsed, "Assertions of Henry Garnett, April 28, 1606."

Being asked if it were well done of him upon his priesthood to denye before the lords, and to sett his hand to it, that he never sent message nor wrote letter to Tesmond *als* Greenwell the Jesuite, sithence he saw him at Caughton, knowing it was false; he answereth that he did nothing but that he might lawfully do, and it was well done of the lords to aske that question of him, and to urge him upon his priesthood, when they had his letters which he had written, for he never would have denied them if he had seene them; but supposing the lords had not his letters, he did denye in such sort as he did the writing of any letter which he might lawfully do.

HENRY GARNETT.

He answered at the barre when he was charged with deniall of the conference he had with Hall upon his salvation and his priesthood, that he might lawfully deny it in such sort as he did until they were able to prove it, but when it was proved unto him he did no further deny it, for no man was bound to charge himself until he is convicted.

This I acknow. to be according to my opinion, and the opinion of all the schoolmen. Another reason is for that in cases of lawfull equivocon, the speech by equivocon being saved from a lye, the same speech may be without perjury confirmed by oath, or by any other usual way, though it were by receaving the sacrament, if just necessity so require.

HENRY GARNETT.

Same vol. xx. n. 2. Endorsed, "April 1, 1606. Henry Garnett of lawes. Of his own hand."

One necessary condition required in every law is that it be iust, for if this condition be wanting, that the lawe be unjust, then is it *ipso facto* voide and of no force, neither hath it any power to

oblige any. And this is a maxime not only of divines, but of Aristotle and all philosophers.

Hereupon ensueth that no power on earth can forbidd or punish any action which we are bound unto by the law of God, which is the true patterne of all iustice. So that the lawes against recusants, against receaving of priests, against confession, against Masse, and other rites of Cathc. rel., are to be esteemed as no lawes by such as steadfastly believe these to be necessary observances of the trew religion.

Likewise, Almighty God hath absolute right for to send His preachers of His Gospel to any place in the world. *Euntes docete omnes gentes.* So that the law against priests coming into the realme sincerely to preach is no law, and those that are putt to death by vertue of that decree are verely martyrs, because they dye for the preaching of trew religion.

Being asked what I meant by true treasons, I answer that that is a true treason which is made treason by any iust lawe, and that is no treason at all which is made treason by an unjust law. [In the margin]. But if he receave something secret of another Jesuit, so that he merely [know] the Jesuits' secret, he is not bound to utter it, but he may by vertue of a general leave wch any one geveth [two or three words illegible], that anything whatsoever not heard in confession may be revealed to the Superior.

Whether any inferior is bound to give account to his Supr of anything which cometh to his knowledge concerning the good of the Church. I answer that the inferior is not bound to reveale anything to his Superior that is comitted to him in secret. For the Supr cannot usurp right over another man's secret who is not his subject. Neither is he bound to give an account to his Supr of any such matter, although not comitted to him in secret, if the Supr's assistance be not necessary for the bringing of the [two words destroyed]. For all have freedom to do what good they can independly of the Supr.

All the doctors that hould equivocation to be lawfull do maintaine that it is not lawfull when the examt is bound to tell the simple truth, that is, according to the civil law, when there is a competent judge and the cause, subject to his jurisdiction and sufficient proofes. But in case of treason a man is bound to confesse of another without any witnesse at all, yea, voluntarily to disclose it; not so of himselfe.

And how farre the comon law bindeth in cases that are not treason a man to confesse of himselfe I know not. In the civil law it is sufficient to have *semiplenam probationem*, that is, *unum testem omni exceptione majorem*, or, *manifesta indicia.*

Our law I take to be more mild, and that a man may putt all to witnesses without confessing, except in cases of treason. For according to our lawe, *non pervertitur judicium tacendo vel negando*, as in the civil law, where, if required, *reus confitens.*

But generally when a man is bound to confesse, there is no place of equivocon; and when he is not bound to confess according to law of each contry, then may he equivocate.

Same vol. xx. n. 44. The examination of Henry Garnett at the Tower, April 25, 1606.

Being now demanded upon his knowledge to affirme sincerely, notwithstanding anything heretofore sayd, whether he toke Greenwell's discoverye to be in confession or noe?

He answereth that it was not in confession, but by way of confession, which may be done in conference of private poyntes or neede of studye, or want of tyme, though it be a good whyle after.

Beinge asked how often they conferred of this?

He sayth so often as they mett he would aske, being carefull of the matter, but new questions he did ask him none.

Being asked upon his priesthood whither he did burne the Pope's Breves or noe?

He answereth that according to his remembrance they are assuredly burned with his owne handes either at Erith or at Coughton.

Being asked whether he had not conference with Greenwell about some man to be reserved to be Protector?

He answereth that in generall he did ask such a question, who answered that that was to be referred untill the blow was past, and then the Protector to be chosen out of the noblemen that should be saved.

He sayth that Fullwood was bidden to come downe to Coughton by him for some other private busines, but not for this action.

He sayth that he did never see Greenwell since the morninge that the rising was about Warwick.

He sayth he never did wryte any letters or letter, nor sent anye message vnto Mr. Greenwell since he was at Coughton, and this he affyrmeth upon his priesthood.

HENRY GARNETT.

He sayth he did never agree with Greenwell not to discover any nobleman since the Plott was revealed.

He sayth that Fulwood wente from him two or three dayes before he went into the hole at Henlipp; and all that which is here above written he protesteth to be spoken without equivocon.

HENRY GARNETT.

NORTHAMPTON, SUFFOLKE, E. WORCESTER, NOTTINGHAM, SALISBURY.

The following autobiographical account is subjoined of one who was very probably a near relative of Father Garnett. He was converted by means of Father Parsons' *Christian Directory*, became a student of the Society at the English College, Rome, and eventually a priest:

"1605, June 3rd. RICHARD GARNETT, *alias* FISHER. I am son of William and Mary Garnett, and am twenty-four years of age, born in the village of Cansfield, Lancashire, and was chiefly brought up at home. I went to school first in a town call Tunstall, a little distance from home; then in a celebrated town called Kirklandsdale, three miles from Cansfield. I was then, by my father's desire and the persuasion of certain friends, sent to Cambridge, being seventeen years old, and entered Trinity College, having as my master and tutor Robert Cheek; there I studied for about four

years. I then left Cambridge, and returned home to see my parents nearly worn out by old age, and my other friends. My father died six months afterwards. In the meantime, being keen in matters of religion I consorted with some of my Catholic friends, and narrowly observing their life and manner of living, I at once read some Catholic books, which satisfied me, and I was received into the Church; and by the help of the said Catholic friends, and the Divine assistance (leaving my mother, brothers, sisters, and a few other friends) I am come to this haven with the design of consecrating myself to God.

"I am a B.A. My parents were in middling circumstances, agriculturists. I have two brothers and two sisters, but of little or no religion, and many relations and friends Catholics, and one is a Marian priest, yet living; I have other friends staunch heretics.

"As to my conversion, as I have said above, visiting my parents and friends, I met with certain Catholic books, one of which was entitled the *Christian Directory*, commonly called the "Resolution of Father Robert Parsons," which, having read through and through, and carefully pondered, I began to entertain deep remorse that I had wasted so much time in idleness and walked so long in the ways of depravity. I was not as yet convinced in heart. I met with another book, entitled, *Upon the Three Conversions of England*, where I saw the beginning and progress of the Churches of the Protestants and other heretics, and how greatly they differed one from another; and all my doubts having been removed by the Reverend Father John Redman, I was duly instructed in the Catholic faith, and received into the Church, and afterwards lived in the county of Lancaster with the Reverend Father Rowland Battie, by whose advice I am come to Rome." He then declares that having left all things for the sake of religion, he is ready to consecrate himself to God in the service of His vineyard, if found worthy of being made a labourer in it. The Diary of the English College states that he entered in the name of Richard Fisher (*vero nomine*) Richard Garnett, æt. 25, among the Pope's alumni, Father Robert Parsons, being then Rector, on June 13, 1605, and took the usual College oaths on September 17, 1606, and was ordained priest on December 23, 1606. After this we lose sight of him.

BROTHER JOHN WILKINSON,

The Original Finder of the Miraculous Straw of Father Henry Garnett.

FATHER BARTOLI[1] tells us that John Wilkinson was an honest tradesman, beginning the business of a silk-mercer, and had just completed his seven years' apprenticeship. He broke off his connection with the world soon after the miraculous event in 1606, which made so deep and lasting an impression upon him, and retired to the English College of St. Omer, intending at first, through distrust of his capacity for study, to apply for admission to the Society as a lay-brother, but his own statement afterwards describes him as studying in the class of rudiments, a little before his death. As he had earnestly begged admission to the Society, a Father was instantly despatched to obtain the proper faculties from the Provincial; but the distance being great, and travelling then both slow and difficult, the young man was actually dead and buried before the Father could return bearing with him the leave which had been granted. Since, however, his intention in quitting the world and repairing to St. Omer's College had been solely to join the Society, and his request had been made and probably also granted before his death, he was always regarded as a member of the Society; and we can have little doubt of his being so registered in Heaven, though he had not the opportunity of pronouncing the form of the religious vows upon earth.

The Annual Letters for the College of St. Omer for 1606 and 1607 give an account of the finding of the miraculous straw and the subsequent appearance of the face of the Father upon it. For these we refer the reader to the authentic and personal narrative of John Wilkinson given below.

The Annual Letters then quote in confirmation of the miracle a letter written from London to the Rector of St. Omer, by a person worthy of credit. The writer says that the face was perfect, "with eyes, ears, nose, beard, and neck, and upon the forehead a cross and star, so accurately depicted, that no pencil of the artist could possibly have drawn it better. It was seen by innumerable Catholics—men, women, nobles, priests, and also some Protestants, who all recognized it as Father Garnett, and declared it to be a perfect

[1] *Inghilterra*, lib. vi. p. 235.

likeness. The Ambassador of Spain also saw it, and wanted to purchase it for six hundred gold crowns. I myself, amongst the rest, saw it, and I consider that God, Who alone doth wonderful things, is to be highly praised in this work. The fame of this event has already reached the ears of the King and Council, and the Catholics are exceedingly solicitous and fearful about the custody of this treasure.

"The same young man also relates that a coronet or tuft of grass had sprung up in the court-yard of the house of the gentleman in which the martyr was taken, and although all the rest of the grass round about was eaten by the cattle which strayed in, yet they never touched this tuft, a fact attested by the most trustworthy evidence of many personages of high repute."

The Annual Letters for St. Omer for the year 1607, after speaking highly of the progress of the scholars in learning, both in Greek and Latin, and in piety, give some interesting personal details of Brother Wilkinson: "Amongst the students is one of a mature age, about twenty-six years old, who from the commencement of his conversion to the Catholic faith has been devotedly attached to our Society. Not many months had elapsed from his arrival, when he was summoned home by his parents, especially by his mother, who was in continual grief for his absence. He firmly answered that although he had the highest affection for his mother, and tenderly loved her, he would not, for ten thousand mothers, return home, nor would he be drawn away from a place so long desired, nor relinquish a course so happily begun. He is the same person who found that marvellous ear of corn impressed with the face of the martyr Father Henry Garnett, or who rather received it from Heaven: he is full of faith, fervour, and virtue, and one of whom the world was not worthy. Before the year had passed over he departed this life, to the great grief of the whole Community and College. He had pursued the calling of a merchant in London for some years before he came here, whereby he made considerable gains, the world then smiling upon and alluring him, as he was accustomed to say. He became a zealous professor of the Catholic faith, and little by little felt himself secretly attracted towards a more perfect state of life, from which, however, he was for some time held back by a friend, who asserted that it would be rash to withdraw himself so suddenly, and adopt so unusual a state of life in which to labour for his salvation.

"Not long after this, meeting a religiously minded friend, he learnt from him duties of a more sublime nature, and that he was bound not to resist the Holy Ghost, nor stifle these desires, but cherish them by every means, accepting them with the utmost gratitude. To this advice, he said, he lent such glad and willing ears that he ever afterwards entertained the highest affection for his friend; but as for the other who had attempted to dissuade him, he could never look with friendly eyes upon him. During his last sickness his great patience and many virtues filled with wonder and edification all who saw him. On the day of his death, after hearing the doctor's opinion that he could not live, his interior joy showed itself in his countenance and voice, and he discoursed of Divine things, especially the justice of God, with a clearness naturally quite above the reach of a young man bred up amongst merchants, and without education, of which he was beginning the mere rudiments. Amongst other things, he said, 'Oh, if one did but attentively regard with his mind's eye the justice of God, he could never wish that, even were it possible, his sins should remain unpunished.' Then turning to the Fathers who stood beside him, he asked them to hear something which he had upon his mind, but would have had a difficulty in mentioning, had not his life been already despaired of; though he had often thought of treating with his confessor upon the matter, had any opportunity offered itself."

After detailing his discovery of the wonderful straw, he made this request: "I now beg and beseech of you all, my good Fathers, that before my death you will ask and procure of the Superior, to whom the power belongs, my admission into your Society which I have so long desired."

As we have already seen, the leave for his admission into the Society did not arrive till after his death, but he was always esteemed a member of the Society by the spirit of which he had been entirely led whilst at college, as clearly appeared from the method of life and conversation which he laid down for himself. After his death a diary in his handwriting was found, and though it does not appear to have been seen by any one before his death, yet everything in it was so skillfully, exactly, and religiously arranged, that the Community was not a little astonished to see it; and the more studious of the youths, into whose hands at first it happened to fall, were very much edified and excited to more fervent practice of piety. From that time devotion seemed to increase and become more

ardent among them, they made the Spiritual Exercises more frequently and numerously, and would often beg and obtain leave for voluntary mortifications which they most readily performed.

Father More[2] gives an attestation of the miracle, made by the Spanish Ambassador, Conrad de Ursel Grobendonque, Knight, and Baron de Hobocque. He also gives the authentic and signed attestation of John Wilkinson made shortly before he expired, and briefly repeats the finding of the straw and the subsequent appearance of the miraculous face.

When the fame of the miracle was spread abroad, and crowds began to assemble for the sake of seeing the prodigy, it became impossible for Catholics to keep it secret amongst themselves, so that the owners began to incur serious danger. Therefore for their own security they carried it to the Spanish Ambassador, but this only served to spread its fame more widely, as it was shown by him to some of the chief nobility of the kingdom and members of the Privy Council, and not only the Court and city, but the whole country was filled with the news. The Archbishop of Canterbury was indignant, and rightly judged that great injury would be done thereby to the Protestant religion. He instituted an inquiry into the matter, and committed several persons to prison in whose possession he suspected the ear to be.[3] Some painters were also summoned and directed to imitate it, in order to cast doubt on the truth of the miracle, but they declared that no human skill could by any possibility copy it, and thus added their own witness to the prodigy. Father More then describes the ear of corn at some length, confirming the description given in the Annual Letters of 1606, and proceeds to say that it had also been seen by very many of the Society (amongst whom I count myself, though unworthy), and it remains at our College at Liege to be seen. We subjoin the personal narrative and deposition of Wilkinson.

"I, John Wilkinson, lying sick of a severe illness and given over by the doctors, that I may discharge a religious duty which I owe to God and the saints, do hereby explain the manner in which I found the ear of corn upon which is seen the likeness of the blessed Father Garnett.

[2] *Hist. Prov. Angl.*

[3] Amongst these was Hugh Griffin, the husband of the person to whom John Wilkinson gave the ear of corn, and who inclosed it in a crystal case. His examination before the Archbishop of Canterbury is given in pp. 127, seq., as also two of Peter Wilkinson, a brother of John.

"The day before the execution of Father Garnett I was seized with a great desire of being present at his death and of finding some relics of him. Indeed, I conceived so certain a hope of fully accomplishing my desires, that I could not doubt but that God would be pleased to afford some testimony of the innocence of His saint; and as this thought frequently occurred to me, I endeavoured to go without expecting any miracle where none was necessary, and so not to offend God by tempting Him. On the next day I went early in the morning, and following the steps of the hangman I stood next to him until Father Garnett arrived. However, so great a rush of horsemen took place on the arrival of the Father, and so vast a crowd of people, that I could not possibly retain my position, nor could I distinctly hear what he said. I observed many things, however, which afforded me no small consolation. In the first place, he so arranged his garments that the wind could not possibly discompose them, which appeared to me a great proof of his modesty and love of purity. Then, when the ladder was turned, he placed his hands in the form of a cross upon his breast, and although slightly hanging down, yet they expressed the form of a cross upon the heart of the Father until his death. And this gave me greater matter for admiration, as though it was supernaturally granted him, since when dying he had prayed that God would never suffer the Cross of his Lord Jesus Christ to be torn from his heart. I also observed that, when his head was cut off and exhibited to the people, he retained the same countenance and colour he had when alive; and at the same time I remarked that no shouts of 'Long live the King' were heard, as is usual on such occasions, which was to me a proof that the people were now convinced of the Father's innocence. The body was divided into four parts, and, together with the head, placed in a basket on a cart, the crowd by degrees dispersing. I came up and got between the platform and the cart, burning with the same desire of carrying away some relics. As I was looking about, this ear of corn, concerning which there is now so great a talk, came into my hand—how I know not. Straw, indeed, was thrown from the platform into the basket containing the head and members; but whether this ear of corn came from the stage or the basket I dare not say: however, I am certain that it did not touch the ground. I delivered this ear of corn the same day to Mrs. Griffin. She inclosed it in a crystal case, which, being too short, caused the ear to be

curved. A few days after Mrs. Griffin, in my presence, presented the crystal to a respectable and well-known Catholic man to look at. He, looking at it intently, said, 'I see nothing but the face of a man.' Astonished at this we flew to it, and both of us saw the face which before we had not observed. Others also were called in at the same time to see it. And this is the true history of the finding of the ear of corn, as God knows, to which narrative I hold myself bound for His glory.

"To Whose honour also I declare, that for three days after I had received the ear of corn I felt myself so enlightened and inflamed with pious desires, that I believe they could only have come from God, by the singular merit and favour of the martyr, who I was fully persuaded was then reigning in Heaven, and I perceived this with the greatest clearness. At this time it happened that Father Holland, priest of the Society of Jesus (with whom by chance I then lived),[4] conversing with me upon pious matters and about the death of Father Garnett, it came into my mind to seek the assistance and prayers of the Blessed Virgin (to whom Father Garnett in his extremity of death had most earnestly prayed) to obtain for me the mode of life most pleasing to God. The next day, revolving the same thing in my mind I began to reflect upon certain great points of the Divine attributes; for at one time I would see the justice of God, and it appeared to me so simple and incorrupt that no one could possibly resist it; at another time His wonderful power, charity, and goodness towards all created things appeared so great, as that whatever should befall any one from God should be borne with the utmost equanimity. And these affections were so ardent in me that I loved all as myself; but of myself, I felt so abjectly that no one seemed to me more vile than I was. If at any time I saw boys making game of me, I only beheld the image of God in them, and prostrate on the ground I would most readily kiss their feet. The truths of the Catholic Church appeared to me most clear and solid, redounding to the glory of God. I also discerned the honour paid to the saints in their relics and pictures, and the ceremonies used by Catholics to be greatly tending to piety; but heresy seemed to be the allurement and net of Satan to captivate the incautious minds of men. And

[4] Father Henry Holland, uncle to Thomas Holland, who suffered at Tyburn, December 12, 1642. He entered the Society in 1609. He was a secular priest in 1606.

many things were at that time represented to me which, on account of my weakness, I cannot possibly relate now. I had it in contemplation long before to give myself up entirely to the service of God. This thought increased at that time, and most vehemently impelled me to embrace the religious state. I thought at one time of the Carthusian, at another of some other order; at length, to my great consolation, I resolved to petition for admission to the Society of Jesus, and in the degree of lay-brother, distrusting my capacity for study. At length, being persuaded that by labour and diligence I might possibly acquire sufficient learning, I applied my mind to these. Whereupon I forthwith wound up my affairs in England and gathered together what money was left me, to assist me in my studies, which I wish now to be applied to the education of my brother in the same way; and if he is unable or unwilling to study, I wish the money may be spent upon another who is judged fitting, for in my judgment no mode of life more agreeable to God and more happy in itself can possibly be imagined. And (eternal thanks be to God) I have never thought otherwise from the beginning. It was written to me that my mother would die broken-hearted unless I returned to her. For a little while I hesitated what to do; but two days afterwards, being at Mass, and hearing that passage of the Gospel read, *Qui reliquerit patrem et matrem*, &c., *propter me, centuplum accipiet, et vitam æternam possidebit*—'Whoever shall leave father and mother, &c., for Me, he shall receive a hundred-fold in this life, and in the next, life everlasting,' my mind was fixed, and I thought no more (praise be to God) of changing my resolve."

Immediately after concluding his narrative John Wilkinson yielded up his soul to his Creator. The declaration was signed "John Wilkinson," and countersigned by Father Roger Lea, Francis Robinson [? Roberts], and John Floyd, who were present, and also by some of the more advanced of the scholars. Father Bartoli says that Wilkinson lost the use of speech and of his senses after the Father was sent to obtain leave for his admission into the Society, but kept his eyes immovably fixed upon the crucifix until he expired, uttering the sweet names of Jesus and Mary, so that at the last moment he must have recovered both speech and sense. Father Bartoli refers to a letter of Father Richard Holtby, dated London, January 6, 1607; also to one of Father Thomas Waters, *alias* Stephenson, July 6, 1607.

THE LIFE OF FATHER EDWARD OLDCORNE.

Of this member of the English Province of the Society of Jesus no complete or consecutive life exists, although many particulars respecting him are to be found in the histories of his time. Father Henry More gives a few facts in his *Historia Prov. Angliæ, S.J.* Father Matthias Tanner's *Vita et Mors Jesuitarum pro fide interfect.* goes into greater detail; the *Inghilterra* of Father Bartoli is more copious still. Father John Gerard, in various parts of his Autobiography and Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot makes frequent allusion to him; and Bishop Challoner, in his *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*, selects a few particulars from Fathers More and Tanner. In the following pages it is proposed to collect these materials, and form a connected life out of them, adding from the State Papers in the Public Record Office several documents such as the examinations of the martyr under his terrible rackings in the Tower, his declaration to the Privy Council, and other papers connected with his history.

On the death of Queen Elizabeth in the year 1603, observes Father Tanner,[1] bright hopes of better times dawned upon the English Catholic Church, especially when the voice of the heralds proclaimed James of Scotland successor to the throne. For what might they not promise themselves from a son of Mary Stuart, so faithful to the Catholic religion as at length to lay her head upon the block in its defence? They expected, therefore, if not a profession of the same faith, at least a certain show of reverence and favour towards his mother's religion, and kindness and indulgence towards Catholics, many of whom had suffered the loss both of their lives and property as her partisans. For how could they believe that the Anglican religion would find support in him when the head of that religion, Elizabeth, had taken away the life of his mother, and the followers of the same heresy had killed his own father by a foul murder. On the contrary, Catholics had always most obsequiously and diligently preserved fidelity to the King, and Clement VIII. on this account publicly declared to his Majesty that this favour was due from him, and by a special letter His Holiness incited the Catholics to pay duty

[1] Tanner, *Vita et Mors*, etc.



FATHER EDWARD OLDCORNE, S.J.

MARTYR FOR THE FAITH.

Suffered April 7, 1606.

p. 202.

and obedience to the King as their lawful sovereign. Certain great indications had particularly tended to confirm this hope of the Catholics—a promise of the King himself that in future he would place them on a level with his other English subjects; and that no test should be exacted on account of religion and conscience. He also declared that it should be lawful for any one to keep a priest in his house, provided Mass was not said in public, and that the houses of private persons were not converted into churches. Also all the captive priests, who in great numbers had been for so many years rotting away in various prisons, as though immured alive, were upon the death of the Queen by a Royal proclamation liberated on condition of departing the kingdom. But the expectations of the Catholics were so completely deceived that, upon the inauguration of the King they felt themselves suddenly cast into troubles which revived the cruel memory of Elizabeth and her iron times, and so far indeed exceeded them that in the comparison those former days might rather be called golden. The new King being by the fraud of his courtiers inoculated with the poisonous idea that, not only by human, but also by Divine authority he ought to be worshipped as supreme head in the kingdom, determined that Catholics were on the ground of their religion alone to be accounted traitors, and guilty of high treason, as persons who would strip him of half his prerogative, and subject him to the Pope. Wherefore, as in the early persecutions of the Church, it was deemed sufficient to demand an answer to the simple question, Art thou a Christian? the acknowledgment of that title, without any further examination of the charge, being enough to consign him to the flames or the wild beasts; so English Catholics were, by the mere profession of their faith, considered to have confessed themselves guilty of high treason.

Father Edward Oldcorne, who usually passed by the name of Hall, and was sometimes likewise called Hutton, Parker, and Vincent, was a native of York. We learn from the "Notes by a Prisoner in Ousebridge Kidcote," York,[2] that his father was John Oldcorne, of York, bricklayer. In a certificate from the lord mayor, recorder, and aldermen of that city, addressed to the Earl of Huntingdon, the Lord Lieutenant and Lord President of the North, the last day of January, 1593, "touching the sons or kinsmen of gentlemen and others under their charge, or whom they relieve or maintain out of the

[2] Stonyhurst MSS. printed in *Troubles*, series iii.

realm, sent or departed over the seas forth of the said city, or the county of the same city," we find the subject of our history thus recorded: "Edward Oldcorne, son to John Oldcorne, late of this city, bricklayer, deceased, went over the seas about ten years since, but where he is remaining at this present we cannot learn, saving we hear by report that he was at Rheims. How or by whom he is relieved we cannot learn." In a note in *Troubles*, series iii. page 279, Father Morris tells us that John his father was not a Catholic; and in the life of Margaret Clitheroe, *Troubles*, series iii. p. 352, we read, "In 1572 John Oldcorne is one of the four sworn men against the late rebels and other evil-disposed people suspected of Papistry, for St. Sampson's parish." Edward's mother was a Catholic and a sufferer for her recusancy. In the same "Notes of a Prisoner," is "a list of all such persons as do utterly refuse coming to the church, and also the cause of their absence from the same." Among many others we find "Elizabeth Awdecorne, wife of John Awdecorne, tiler, cometh not to the church, because she sayeth she is certified in her conscience otherwise, and that she should displease God if she should do otherwise." If John Oldcorne was not a Catholic he appears to have been a negligent attendant at church, for in another certificate, dated April 10, 1577, we read: "And now also John Oldcorne, of St. Sampson's parish, who cometh not to the church on Sundays and holidays, personally appeared before these presents, and sayeth he is content to suffer the churchwarden of the same parish to take his distresses for his offence." His mother Elizabeth again appears in a list of "Recusants and non-communicants within the city of York and county of the same city, January, 1598. Monckewarde, Saint Sampson's, Elizabeth Awdcorne, *alias* Oldcorne, old and lame, a recusant."

Thomas Oldcorne, the brother probably of John, and our martyr's uncle, was, like his wife Alice, a staunch Catholic. Alice died a martyr in prison, and Thomas, who was a prisoner for many years, most probably did so too. In tracing the family of the martyr Edward Oldcorne, the following brief extracts from the same "Notes of a Prisoner," will not be deemed irrelevant.

"6 Junii, 18 Elizabeth [1576], Edmundus Richardson, Maior, &c.

"Forasmuch as divers disobedient persons within this city, neglecting their duties to God and the Queen's Majesty, will in nowise come to their parish churches to hear the divine

service of Almighty God, according to His laws and the laws of this realm. Therefore," &c., the churchwardens are directed to levy 12d. of the goods, &c., of the delinquent for every case of non-attendance.

A copy of the list of names sent from the Dean contains—"The City of York. St. Sampson's. IX. Tho. Oldcorne. Comes not to the church." In another list, already quoted, dated 1576, we find, "Alice Awdecorne,[3] wife of Thomas Awdecorne, tiler, sayeth she cometh not to the church because she is otherwise persuaded in her conscience.

"The same Thomas is in the Castle for the like offence, and as for his substance, we think it little or nothing."

Thomas again appears in a list of "Prisoners in prison in the Kidcotes upon Ousebridge, within the said city, under the custody of the sheriffs of the said city," and in 1599 in a list of "Convicted recusants to be abjured," . . . "wilful recusants," . . . "and such not having lands and goods wherewith to satisfy," . . . "And therefore and for their obstinacy and wilful recusancy, are by the laws to be abjured this realm," &c.[4]

Lastly, in the same notes (borrowed, we believe, from Father Grene's MS. vol. F) we gather the death of Alice. "This year [1587] John Wedall and Leonard Beckwith were chosen sheriffs at Michaelmas, who at their entrance did cruelly thrust down into the low place of Kidcote all or most of the Catholic prisoners, especially women, whereupon they fell into sickness, most of them, for the place was infected with a prisoner who died there. Whereupon Mary Hutton, wife to William Hutton, a constant and virtuous young woman, died October 25, 1587. The next day died the reverend and devout matron Mrs. Dorothy Vavasour. Also the day following died Alice Aldcorne, wife of Thomas Aldcorne, now prisoner at Hull. These were buried on Toftgreen, an obscure place near Micklegate-bar. Thus through hard usage and extreme dealing these had their days shortened for professing the Catholic faith."

But to return to Father Oldcorne. After making his early course of studies in England he gave his mind for some time to the medical profession; but when he had reached the age of twenty-one, he abandoned his medical studies, and crossing

[3] "Her husband in prison," in the margin.

[4] "To abjure the realm was to swear to leave the kingdom by the port that should be assigned, and not to return without leave of the King" (Note in *Troubles*, p. 284).

over to France first studied at the English College, Rheims, for two or three years, and from thence was sent to the English College, Rome, where he remained for seven years, passing through the course of higher studies, logic, philosophy, and divinity, in all which he was successful, possessing excellent capacities. We extract the following from the Diary of the English College, Rome: "1582. Edward Oldcorne, an Englishman of the diocese of York, aged twenty-one, was admitted as an alumnus in this English College, April 4, 1582. He took the usual College oath December 19, 1582. In the month of August, 1587, he received Holy Orders, and was then sent into England where he joined the Society. He was afterwards crowned with martyrdom."

His chief care and desire was to profit in spirit, which he did, to the great satisfaction of all his Superiors, and the edification of the whole College. No one was more careful to observe the rules, no one more forward in the practice of every mortification, especially those particularly observed in the novitiate by the novices; he often begged leave of his Superiors to visit the hospitals, and to serve in the kitchen, with other practices of humility he knew to be usual in the Society, towards which he felt a strong drawing long before he could obtain his desire. He was not deferred through any dislike on the part of his Superiors, for either his spirit or other talents; but from a desire to further the ends of the College, in furnishing the clergy of England with able men both in spirit and learning, ready for the time in which God should please to have mercy upon our country. The opinion of the Superiors regarding him was expressed by their selecting him to be sent into the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily to negotiate a matter of importance for the College, and to procure alms in a time of great want, when it was deeply in debt, and charged with a far greater number of scholars than its income was able to maintain. This distress was caused in great measure by the plunder of the property of the scholars' parents during the persecution in England. And yet the charity of the Superiors of the English College was so great in their sense of the need of fit labourers for the English harvest, that they would not refuse good subjects when they came and offered themselves. Father Oldcorne acquitted himself of the business intrusted to him with such fidelity and discretion, that he brought back a good round sum to the College.[5]

[5] Father Gerard's Narrative, *Condition of Catholics*, p. 272.

Having completed his studies he was ordained priest in the year 1587, and in the following year he and Father Gerard were received together into the Society by Father General Claudius Aquaviva, upon the feast of the Assumption of our Blessed Lady, and within five or six weeks after were sent together into England, in company with two secular priests.[6] These few weeks he had spent in the novitiate; but the Father General being fully satisfied with the testimonials of his virtuous life and conversation in the College, was willing to dispense with the usual probation of two years, and instead of a regular noviceship, he appointed him to that laborious and dangerous mission. Towards the end of October they started for Eu in Normandy, a port laying opposite to the English coast, where a College for English youths had been established by Father Parsons, though it was afterwards abandoned on account of the wars, and the opening of another more extensive College by the English Fathers of the Society at St. Omer. During their journey Father Oldcorne gave the greatest edification to all the company by his religious behaviour, showing in every action great humility and readiness to assist any who stood in need. On arriving at Eu, they learnt how exceedingly difficult it was to pass over into England, and that such a persecution then raged as had not existed for years before. The Earl of Leicester (who held such extraordinary power under Queen Elizabeth,) had made a solemn vow that within a twelvemonth he would not leave one Papist in England; but God in His mercy arrested the malice of this persecutor by calling him out of this life, within half the time that he had allowed for the lives of others. In the mean time Leicester caused many to be put to death, both priests and others, and set watch and ward in every town, so that none could pass through the country that was not known and could not satisfy the officers.

Not only were the towns and ports beset with the most watchful spies and guards, but every village, and the very high-roads and bye-ways, and paths through the woods were full of

[6] On their way they visited the English College, Douay, as we learn from the following entries in the Douay Diary, lately edited and published by the Fathers of the London Oratory. "September 21, 1588. Came to us from Rome Mr. Ralph Buckland, Mr. John Gerard, son of Sir Thomas Gerard, Knight, Mr. Arthur Stratford, Mr. Edward Oldcorne, priests." And on September 26 (the same year) the same four priests departed for England. We again find Father Oldcorne's name in the same Diary: "August 12, 1581. Came to us John Pitts, Alexander Gerard, Edward Oldcorne and Robert Browne."

them. All strangers were subjected to the strictest examination as to whether they were Catholics, that is to say, traitors and enemies—for the Spanish attempt had exasperated the public mind against Catholics. In consequence of this the Fathers of the College of Eu, where the travellers stayed whilst waiting for a passage, would by no means let them go, deeming it impossible for them to land safely and get securely to London. "Whereupon, they wrote back to Rome to know their Superiors' mind, yet with earnest suit that it might please them to permit their going forward. They received answer from Father Parsons, that the times were more perilous than was expected when they left Rome, yet, since the cause was God's and their will so good as to prefer the safety of others' souls before the safety of their own bodies, they might in the name of God proceed, if their desire still continued; but that it was left to their own election. These letters were received with great joy, and the two Fathers within a few days after hired a vessel wherein they embarked, thinking to have landed in the north parts of England, which seemed to be less disturbed."[7] Two priests from Rheims joined them, as their former companions preferred to take time before they faced the dangers which awaited them on the opposite shores. "The vessel then set sail," says Father Gerard, "with four priests on board, a goodly cargo, indeed, had not my unworthiness deprived me of the crown—for all those other three suffered martyrdom for the faith. The two priests were soon taken, and "being in a short space made perfect, they fulfilled a long time." Their names were Christopher Bales and George Beesley;[8] but my companion, the blessed Father Oldcorne, after having spent eighteen years of toil and labour in the Lord's vineyard, watered it at length with his blood.

"After crossing the Channel, as we were sailing along the English coast on the third day, my companion and I, seeing a convenient spot on which the ship's boat might easily set us on shore (and no town nor house near to see where we landed), and considering that it were dangerous if we were to land all together, we recommended the matter to God, and took counsel

[7] Father Gerard's Narrative, p. 280, note. Father Tanner says that the captain landed them at a lonely port in the north of England; but Father Gerard, whose account we follow, must be the best authority. The landing was effected in Norfolk.

[8] They both suffered in Fleet Street, London; the former March 4, 1590, the latter July 2, 1591. They were condemned, under the statute of 27th Elizabeth, for being ordained priests abroad.

with our companions. We then ordered the vessel to anchor until dark, and in the first watch we were put ashore in the cock-boat, and left there, whereupon the ship immediately set sail and departed. We remained there awhile commending ourselves in prayer to God's providence; then we sought out some path which might lead us further inland before the day should dawn. But the night being dark and cloudy, we could not strike out any path that would lead us to the open country, but every way we tried always brought us to some dwelling, as we were made aware by the barking of the dogs. As this happened some two or three times, we began to fear lest we might rouse some of the inhabitants, and be seized upon as thieves or burglars. We therefore turned into a neighbouring wood, where we proposed to rest during the night. But the rain and cold (for it was about the end of October) rendered sleep out of the question, (yet we were as merry as possible, and well contented with our wet lodging); nor did we dare to speak aloud to one another as the wood was in the neighbourhood of a house, but we deliberated in whispers whether to set out together for London or to part company, so that if one were taken the other might escape. Having pondered the reasons on both sides we determined to set forth each by himself, and to take different routes.

"At day-dawn, then, we cast lots who should first leave the wood, and the lot fell on the good Father who was also the first to leave this world for Heaven. We then made an equal division of what money we had, and after embracing and receiving one from the other a blessing, the one went out on the one side of the wood, and the other went out of the other. We had never been in that country before, nor knew any one person in it, nor the way to London, where we promised to meet.[9] Father Oldcorne determined to make for the sea-shore, under the disguise of an English domestic servant coming from the interior, seeking for a vessel to take him to London. Providence favoured this pious stratagem, for as he approached a port he espied a vessel just setting sail for London, and hastening his steps and making signals of his wish to embark, he was taken on board without any suspicion under his assumed garb, which helped him out during the whole journey. Being prudent and cautious he strove by cheerfulness to accommodate himself to the humours of the sailors in indifferent

[9] Life of Father Gerard, *Condition of Catholics*, p. xviii. and Narrative, p. 280.

things. "But twice or thrice he could not withhold from reproving their coarse and filthy language, though he imperilled himself by so doing—as he afterwards told Father Gerard. Evil as they were, he did not so displease them, but that by their means and the protection they so unwittingly afforded, he was enabled to reach London without molestation; for the watchers, who were in almost every town through which they passed, taking him to be one of the party, cared not to annoy those whose appearance and carriage distinguished them so completely from those for whom they were keeping watch." [10]

Father Oldcorne and Father Gerard met according to their first appointment, and by good hap found the Superior, Father Henry Garnett then in London, though his ordinary abode was in Warwickshire. There were no more of the Society in England at that time, but Father Garnett, Superior, and Father Robert Southwell, who was martyred for the faith at Tyburn, February 21, 1595, æt. 34; and Father Weston, who was then in prison at Wisbeach, where he remained for seventeen or eighteen years, and was then banished with divers other priests. So that at liberty there were no more than Fathers Garnett and Southwell and the two new comers. Father Gerard was sent back to the county where they landed (Norfolk). Father Oldcorne was employed for some time in London by Father Garnett, diligently labouring in the quest and salvation of souls. He was ever of a most ready wit, and endeavoured as far as possible to adapt himself to the manners of those with whom he lived; there were exceptions, however, in which, consumed with an ardent zeal of asserting and defending the Divine honour, he could not refrain from correcting those whom he heard uttering obscene and injurious language either towards God or their superiors. When in London in the house of a Catholic gentleman, he struck with his fist and broke into pieces a pane of stained or painted glass representing an indecent picture of Venus and Mars, which he considered wholly unfit for the eyes of a virtuous family.

Father Garnett after a little while took Father Oldcorne with him into Warwickshire, and employed him in divers missions round about, and found him so practical and industrious that he hesitated not to send him upon the most difficult enterprises. In February or March, 1589, he placed him at Hinlip Castle, the seat of the celebrated and ancient Catholic family of Abington. This famous mansion stood three miles

[10] Life of Father Gerard, p. xix.

distant from Worcester and was unrivalled in the county. In form it was four-square, and was for the most part surrounded by a strong wall. It was so divided into separate domiciles, which opened into each other by corresponding galleries, that several times the pursuivants entering alone to search the castle for Catholic priests, and losing their way amongst its many winding corridors became desperate. But the most interesting portion connected with our history lay at the top of the mansion, and consisted of a gallery running round the whole interior, whose walls were covered with beautifully carved wainscoting. Behind this were the celebrated hiding-places, having their secret entrances so cleverly made as to appear to be a part only of the rest of the wall. This gallery the reader will presently have occasion to enter.

Father John Gerard in his Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot, speaking of Hinlip Castle, to which Father Garnett had thought it prudent to retire until the heat of the persecution arising out of the Plot had subsided, says that "it was so large and fair a house that it might be seen over great part of the country; and indeed it was so fair and commodious that it had often caused the owner of it much trouble, being an eyesore to some Puritans of great wealth that were neighbours within some miles, and nothing so well seated, who therefore procured often warrants to search that house in hope to find some priest there, for which the house and the whole estate of the gentleman might be forfeited to the King, and so begged by them that were the causers and actors of such apprehension. But this being often essayed, was never permitted by God until this time, which was 'their hour and power of darkness.'" Father Bartoli expressly charges Sir Henry Bromley, of Holt Castle, near Worcester, the High Sheriff, with this abominable crime, a most common one in the days of persecution. That historian calls him *terribilissimo Puritano*, and "most eager to make the mansion of Hinlip and the domain of the Abingtons, his own, as lying near to his own property." [11]

Here Father Oldcorne for sixteen years lived the life and

[11] We may add that a modern Protestant writer, frequently referred to in the Life of Father Garnett, states that Hinlip Hall had been then recently built by Thomas Abington on plans supplied by Little John (Brother Nicholas Owen), as a hiding-place for priests. "A Tudor house of vast extent; almost every room had a recess, a passage, a trap-door, a secret stair. The walls were hollow, the ceilings false; chimnies with double flues, a passage for the smoke, a second for the priest. . . . Except the builders and the Jesuits, no one had a key to the whole maze of secrets."

did the work of an apostle in all the country about Worcester, gaining many souls to the Catholic Church. His innocence of manners and affability towards all, gained him universal respect and love, even among the Protestants, who regarded him as an intimate friend and relative of the family. Here would collect together sometimes a few, other times many Catholics, according to the greater or lesser raging of the persecution, to hear the Father preach, to attend Mass, and receive the benefit of the Sacraments; and amongst them in the latter part of the time was Humphrey Littleton, a Catholic gentleman, who afterwards betrayed both Father Oldcorne and Father Garnett, with the hope of saving his own life, and of whom more will be said hereafter. Father John Gerard thus speaks of Father Oldcorne's labours: "In which time of his abode in those parts it is not easy to be believed how many obstinate heretics he converted, how many weak Catholics he confirmed, how many scholars he sent over to the seminaries, and religious women to monasteries, how many houses he brought to that degree of devotion that he might and did settle priests in them.[12] Indeed I may safely say of him, without amplification (with St. Jerome), that—*In illis partibus totas fere fundavit rexitque ecclesias domesticas*—'He founded and governed nearly all the domestic churches in those parts.' Yea, in my knowledge, he assisted Father Garnett also with yearly provision of money procured from his own acquaintance, towards his charges and maintenance of others, when the Society grew to be there of greater number. All the chiefest gentlemen and best Catholics of the county, where he remained, and the counties adjoining, depended upon his advice and counsel, and he was indefatigable in his journeys. I neither do know nor have known any one priest in England that did go so many journeys as he did, especially towards the latter end of his time, when he grew to be acquainted in so many places,

[12] One of Father Oldcorne's converts became an alumnus of the English College, Rome. In his replies to the usual students' interrogatories on applying for admission, he says: "My name is Robert Caldwall. I am nineteen years of age. My father was in the medical profession, and is dead, and was a Protestant. I was brought up by my paternal uncle, Robert Caldwall, a Catholic. My mother, a Protestant, was a Berington, of Winsley House, Herefordshire. I have a younger brother, a Protestant, or rather of no religion. I have six sisters. Two are married to Protestants; another is a Catholic, married to a schismatic. I studied at Worcester Cathedral College, but am deficient. I was a schismatic. A year and a half ago I was received into the Church by means of Father Edward Oldcorne. I suffered something for the faith during three or more months in Holland, England, and elsewhere.

and so much esteemed in all places, that he could never scarcely stay three days at home but he should be sent for." A MS. memoir[13] adds that "so profuse was his liberality in aiding others that he supplied the necessities of life to very many Catholics. It was very evident that his residence was well selected in the midst of the Catholics of that district of the Society of Jesus, so great and so promiscuous was the concourse of people flocking there to his sermons, for his advice, and the sacraments." "He was ordered by his Superior," says the same MS., "to try his skill upon a certain lady of rank who was an incorrigible heretic, and whom divers of our Fathers had in vain tried to convert to the true faith. After adducing, to no purpose the strongest powers of reasoning grounded upon the Holy Scriptures, and the authority of the saints, he at length betook himself to fasting and prayer, and with such success that she bowed her neck to the yoke of the orthodox faith. He was at that time living in the same house and dined with the family. Observing the Father day after day abstaining from all food, she began at first to wonder at so unusual a thing. She watched him more closely, but seeing him the third day fall down from exhaustion, and yet a fourth day's fasting followed, conquered by the force of grace she gave way, and was afterwards so attached to the service of Father Oldcorne, that she entertained him for nearly sixteen entire years in the mansion, a sharer and participant in the incredible fruit which he reaped in that county."

This lady was Miss Dorothy Abington, the sister of the proprietor of Hinlip. As appears by the following interesting MS., attributed to Father Thomas Lister, S.J., Father Oldcorne was sent for out of Warwickshire to Hinlip for the purpose of endeavouring to convert her, and this may probably have been his first introduction there. The original may be seen in the Stonyhurst MSS. *Anglia*, vol. vi. It is endorsed—"1606. Revdo. in Chro. pri. P. Henrico Silisdoni, S.J. Sacerdoti. Informations of our Fathers, martyrs in England. De P. Oldcorne." It is in the quaint spelling of that period, which we have modernised. The late Dr. Oliver published a copy of it in the *Dublin* (*Andrew's*) *Orth. Journal* for June 25, 1836.

Father Edward Oldcorne, S.J., came to Hinlip in the month of February or March, 1589, Mr. Richard Abingdon keeping house there at the time, who by the advice of other Catholics then

[13] Collectio Cardwelli, Public Record Office, Brussels, *Vitæ Mart.* p. 147.

sojourning with him, sent into Warwickshire for the said Father to talk with Mrs. Dorothy Abington, his sister, about her religion, who at the same time living in the house with her brother Richard was a very obstinate and perverse heretic, and had left the Court of Elizabeth, where she was always brought up, to come and live with her brother principally, as I have often heard her say, to keep, or rather to drive away Catholic priests from the house, supposing that they would be the overthrow and destruction of her brothers and their house, as she imagined they formerly had been the cause of her brother Edward's overthrow; and she vaunted that neither priest nor Papist should harbour there: and indeed she was at that time very troublesome to the priests and Catholics that then lived privately in the house, and she would in no sort read any good Catholic book, nor confer with any priest about religion, but continued very perverse and obstinate, till once observing an absurdity in the minister of the parish about administering to her the communion at Easter, with some other gross errors which I do not well remember, she began to be melancholy, and by little and little did discover the cause of her discontent. Upon which some Catholic gentlemen in the house took an occasion many times to talk with her of some points of religion, and did convince her in many things; although she remained still very obstinate in the principal points of religion, yet she was not so hot and reserved as before, insomuch that the Catholics in the house thought fit to get the priests that used to resort thither to talk with her, which they did without discovering themselves to her. Some little good was done thereby, but nothing to purpose; for she thought herself wiser, and to be more learned than them all, and would not yield in the principal points of her faith, but desired to talk with some more learned men than she presumed any of them to be. Father Oldcorne being sent for to that end, and after some earnest discourses with her for the space of two days, and having yielded her full satisfaction in all points of religion, and showed such gravity, zeal, learning, and prudence in his proceeding with her that she was astonished thereat, and was unable to make any reply of contradiction to what he propounded to her; but, as I have heard her say, receiving extraordinary content and satisfaction at his speeches, she fell down at his feet with all humility, and beseeched him to dispose of her as he would, and did commit herself wholly to his direction, acknowledging that she had been led away before by a foolish proud spirit of ignorance and arrogancy. In a few days after he reconciled her, and before his departure from thence, by his preaching and other notable spiritual exercises of religion which he used to the Catholics there, he made a marvellous reformation of manners amongst them, and converted many of the gentlemen and servants of the house, who, although perhaps they were not all reconciled by him, were notwithstanding instructed and converted by him. He continued some months in the house whilst I was there, and did very often preach, and make many notable exhortations with such extraordinary contentment and satisfaction to all, that every man thought himself happy to have conference with him in spiritual matters and to come to confession to him; and I think the most part of the Catholics of the house made their general confessions to him before he departed, and this fact coming to the knowledge of divers Catholics and schismatics in Worcestershire and the country thereabouts, they all flocked to him for conference, and to have his

exhortations, that I have myself seen oftentimes more people come from his sermons than from the service of the Protestant minister on Sundays from the parish church, which stood at Mr. Abington's gate ; and in a few months he converted and reconciled very many people in Worcestershire, and where there was not a Catholic before, and in the country about, that he was accepted as an apostle of that country, and did settle such a course of religion and piety in Mr. Abington's house, that ever since it be, I think, the most famous house in England for entertainment of priests.

He, Father Oldcorne, had three dangerous escapes from searching whilst I was present with him. One was when he had been in Wales upon some occasion of business, returning back again to Mr. Abington's house, he journeyed with two or three other priests, and being very late ere they come to Worcester the gates of the city were shut, and great inquiries were made for them that were sought after for house-robbery ; for which cause he and the rest of his company were stayed and examined. They had with them a suit of church stuff, and every one their breviary. The other priests that were with him would needs have him for their master, so that they only gave their names and left him to answer for all. He was brought before a Justice of the Peace, where being examined who they were, and the cause of his so late travelling, &c., he answered that he was to discharge a heavy bond at Coventry the next day by such an hour, or else he should forfeit his bond. After some other speeches past in the examination, there was present a simple old man who spoke in his behalf, and told the Justice that he looked not like a house-stealer and entreated him to dismiss him, which he presently did, who after he was dismissed, he with the rest of his company returned to Hinlip.

The second time was at Hinlip House, being walking in the garden with Mr. Thomas Abington, and because he would not wear his gown in so public a place, he wore his cloak, and the house was presently beset, and the garden door being by mischance left open, five of the High Sheriff's men came in and told Mr. Abington that the High Sheriff was at the gate, who presently taking leave of this Father, went forth at the garden gate to the Sheriff, and left the Father accompanied with these men, who coming to the parlour door found it shut, but one of the servants knowing him to be there opened it, and leaving it open some little space after his coming in, not one of the Sheriff's men ever offered to follow him, but stood still with their hats in their hands and permitted him to shut the door quietly. After they had searched some three or four hours and not finding any they sought for, they examined what had become of the gentleman that walked with Mr. Abington, and the cause why he should put himself out of the way ; the answer was that he was a recusant, and being confined to his five miles bounds, and likely having travelled further than his compass limited, it was thought that he had taken his horse and was gone. Whereupon they having at their first coming taken notice how many horses were in the stable, sent presently down to see whether there wanted any or no ; which, when they came to the stable, the door being open, they found one of the geldings missing, they were fully satisfied he was gone, and so ended their searching, and the horse was afterwards found strayed in the grounds without the knowledge of any of the servants, as they all affirmed afterwards.

The third time in the very same house he escaped the like or a greater danger, the house being beset in the night, and continually kept with watch and search for three nights and three days; they searched very vehemently, insomuch that they broke about twenty places of the wainscote of the galleries in searching. At the last, coming to the place where he was, they found a point [? shoe lace] which he had lost in going in, which they took great notice of, and searched anew all the men's apparel in the house, but could find none like it. Having examined and searched a long time and could not find whom they sought, they began in great fury to search again until at the last coming to the place where they found the point, they began to knock with an axe vehemently upon the very place where he was, and as I have heard credibly reported by them that heard him speak it, he made the sign of the Cross, with some other devotions used, when they presently left searching, and in a very short time dismissed the company and went their ways.

Father Henry Garnett in a letter dated April 9, 1598, speaks of this determined search. "There hath been terrible searching of late. This week past they have kept the house of Mr. Abington, in Worcestershire, three days, beating down all at their pleasure, and eating up all the provisions, and took away two servants, the master not being at home."

As the charity of Father Oldcorne was great towards his neighbour, equally great was his severity towards himself. His use of corporal austerities in disciplines, hair cloths, &c., was so severe as even to endanger his life. From his great missionary exertions he burst a blood vessel and lost so large a quantity of blood as to bring on, in consequence of the state of prostration to which he was reduced, a sickness of some years duration, nor did he ever completely recover his strength.[14] Father Gerard in his Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot speaking of the Father's weak state of health, says: "Yet was he for many years together of very weak health, proceeding partly of his painstaking, and partly of study, unto which he was very much addicted, and spent in it almost all the time that he had free from needful business. By which means about some eight or nine years ago [about 1598] he did spit blood in great abundance, but being very carefully tended and provided of all helps needful in such a case, he recovered; yet afterwards with his like labours and earnest manner of preaching (in which he had a very good talent, though his voice were somewhat hoarse and painful unto himself, yet audible to his hearers), he fell again to spit blood three or four times, which brought him to that weakness that no man thought he

[14] MS. memoir, Collectio Cardwelli.

could recover. And being much consumed, he grew to have a cancer in his mouth, which afterwards was miraculously cured, as himself did tell the story in this very manner: 'When the physicians did give their judgment that the cancer could not be cured, but that he must have some parts of the roof of his mouth cut out, and some bones also, he resolved first to try what help he could have from St. Winefrid, a notable virgin and martyr, who hath in those parts a well famous for many miracles, where she was beheaded. Thither did Father Oldcorne resolve to go on a pilgrimage before he tried any further medical treatment. And in his journey coming to a Catholic house where he meant to celebrate, he found upon the altar divers relics, and amongst the rest a little stone of St. Winefrid's Well with drops of blood upon it (as many of the stones have that are taken up in that well and in the currents that run from it). This stone Father Oldcorne took and went aside into a place by himself, and fell earnestly to his prayers, desiring St. Winefrid's help for his health, if so it were best for the service of God. Then he put the stone into his mouth and held it there for some time, and behold within half an hour his mouth was perfectly well. He went forward to St. Winefrid's Well, and there also recovered the strength of his whole body, and returned home so strong and in such sort that all wondered exceedingly. And after this time he was more able to endure pains than he was before; and, whereas, once a year, commonly about the same time, he did usually grow weak, and enter as it were into his consumption together, he used then no other physic but to go to St. Winefrid's Well, whence he ever returned with perfect strength and health, which lasted him till that time twelve month again.' All which particulars I set down as he himself did recount them unto me."

Thus Father Oldcorne, for eighteen entire years, both advanced himself and led many others likewise in the path of perfection, when it pleased Almighty God to call him to receive a full reward of his faithful service and fruitful endeavours, at which time he was nearly fifty years old. A sudden tempest arose and involved both him and many others, when in the year 1606, a most seaching inquiry was set on foot to discover the accomplices in the Gunpowder Plot. In the life of Father Garnett, we have already mentioned that a proclamation had been issued by the Privy Council against that Father and two others, containing besides other inducements, large promises for the discovery of any of the three.

"It happened that there was a gentleman called Humphrey Littleton, then fallen into trouble for receiving and concealing Mr. Robert Winter, one of the chief conspirators, and Mr. Stephen Littleton, his kinsman, who had joined himself unto the conspirators in rebellion. These two having escaped from Stephen Littleton's house where the rest of the conspirators were, some slain and some taken, and having escaped taking a month and more in several places where they lay hid, did finally come to Mr. Humphrey Littleton's for harbour: and he received them into his kinswoman's house, where he then lay, and kept them in his own chamber, where they were discovered and apprehended. Humphrey Littleton · therefore being in danger of his life for having harboured them, and seeing so large promises of favour and rewards to those that would discover any of the three, thought to save himself from a temporal punishment by doing that which deserved an eternal pain, and sent up word into the Council, that he had been not long before at Mr. Abington's house, Hinlip, where he heard a Jesuit preach called Oldcorne, who did there reside for the most part, and where he thought also Father Garnett was to be found." [15]

Mr. Littleton afterwards heartily repented of his treacherous conduct. The following statement which he made to the Privy Council not being deemed sufficient to respite his capital sentence, he was, as we shall see later on, hung at Worcester with Father Oldcorne, with his last breath retracting all he had said against that holy and innocent man, and protesting the Father's entire innocence, and his own guilty conduct in his regard.

In the British Museum, Additional MSS. 6,178, vol. ii. *Burleigh Papers* p. 693, is a statement said to have been made after the condemnation of Littleton. We subjoin a copy to which is added a memorandum of Sir Richard Lewkner, one of the Commissioners appointed to try the prisoners at Worcester, and also an extract from Sir Richard Lewkner's letter to the Lords of the Privy Council.

$160\frac{5}{6}$, January 26. "The relation of Humphrey Littleton, made January 26, $160\frac{5}{6}$."

He saith that he knoweth Father Hall the Jesuit, and that he is for the most part comorant with Mr. Abbinton at Henlip, within the county of Worcester, and that he doth assure himself the said Hall is in the house of the said Abbington at the present, for that

[15] Father Garard's Narrative, *Condition of Catholics*, p. 150.

one of the said Abbington's men, now prisoner in the gaol of Worcester, affirmed so to him, and further saith that at such time as he entertained any speech with Robert Winter and Stephen Littleton, having then an intention to apprehend them in regard of the odiousness of their treasons and the horribleness of the offence which this party in his heart detested, and again being moved in the love of a kinsman which he then bare to Stephen L. his cousen german, and the affection which he likewise bare unto their religion, caused this party to make staye in their apprehension until he had conferred with the said Father Hall the Jesuit, touching the apprehension, and whether he might with a safe conscience discover them or not, and relating at that time unto the said Hall the judgment of God shewed upon those which were any ways actors in this most detestable and diabolical treason, and the heinousness of the offence was a scandal to their religion. Whereunto the said Hall answered that the action was good, that he seemed to approve of it, alledging an example from one of the Kings of France, who lying in extremity of sickness, even at the point of death, made a vow upon his recovery to go to the Holy Land to fight against the enemies of God; which vow he performed upon his recovery, and went with a great army by the direction of St. Bernard, who solicited all the Christian Princes to join with him, and coming within the view of the enemy, by a mighty plague he lost the greatest part of his men, and himself went away discomforted. And in the like sort at a second tyme with the like number, he made another attempt and died of the same contagion himself with a great number of his men, no sickness or other evil fortune befalling his enemies; the said Hall alledging also that altho' the said action had not good success yet was it commendable and good, and not to be measured by the event, but by the goodness of the cause when it was first undertaken. That the servant of the said Hall is now prisoner in Worcester Gaol, and can as he thinks, go directly to the secret place where the said Hall lieth hid, and further that the said Hall was ghostly father unto Mr. Robert Winter and Mr. Catesby and that he hath seen them both communicate at the hands of Hall. And that since this last rebellion he hath heard the said Hall once preach in the house of the said Mr. Abbington, at which time he seemed in his sermon to confirm his hearers in the Catholic cause, at which sermon there were present Mr. and Mrs. Abington and their servants. And further, that on the morrow he lying somewhat long in bed, and Father Hall having ended his Mass, he went into Mr. Butler's Mass where he continued during the time thereof; and saith also that the said Butler *alias* Lister is a Jesuit, and liveth with Mrs. Dorothy Abbington for the most part, sister of Mr. Abbington, in a part of his house, and that Hall is priest to the said Abbington, and Butler to Mrs. Dorothy Abbington. Also that Rob. Winter told this party that Butler is also priest unto Mr. Ralph Sheldon Beulye; but where the said Butler is at present he knoweth not. Mr. Abbington's man told him that he was gone out of his master's house a few days last past, and that he goeth not unto many other places than Mr. Sheldon's and Mr. Abbington's. He saith also that one Jones, a priest, whom he met at the house of the said Mr. Winter, and that Fr. Hall had appointed the said Jones to provide a place where Rob. Winter and Steph. Lyttleton should be received, which he did accordingly, and set one Charnock, now prisoner in Wor. Gaol, to this party by a token to bring the said

Winter and S. Lytt. to the said Jones, who had provided a place for them, and thereupon this party resolved the same night following the day they were taken to have conveyed them by said Charnock to Jones, to remain hid until he could conveniently ship them beyond the seas. This Jones is the priest that said Mass openly in Monmouthshire or Herefordshire when the great tumult was made some year ago, and for whom he hath heard his Highness hath offered £100 for his arrest, by proclam. That the said Charnock can tell where Jones most continueth, and where he is likely to be found now. And that there is one Hammond, a priest, which commonly useth the house of Robert Wynter.

HUMFREY LITTLETON.

F. Dingley.

There is a memorandum added by Sir R. Lewkner before whom the examination or rather narrative was made by Littleton, stating that he had caused Charnock to be confronted with Littleton, who "with much adoe" acknowledged the facts above stated, and mentions the place of concealment intended for the above two parties—which was at Coombe in the parish of Welch Newton, on the borders of Monmouthshire and Herefordshire: That Father Jones sometimes came to one Mrs. Griffith's house in Coombe, sometimes to his, Charnock's lodgings there, and sometimes to one Browne a recusant in the Forest of Deane, and sometimes to other recusants in those parts.[16]

January 27, 1605. Is a letter from Sir Richard Lewkner, dated Worcester, to the Lords of the Privy Council. He was one of the Commissioners sent to try the conspirators, the others Mr. Richard Barber, George Wylde, Paggott, Trentham, and Chevington. He says, *inter alia*, that Humphrey Littleton

offered to doe good service for his Ma^tie^ if his execution might be respited, but until your lps. might be advertised of such discoveries as he could make of certain Jesuits and priests which had been persuaders and comforters of him and others to these actions, affirming the action to be good altho' the same took not effect, whereupon they all conceiving that this service might be well taken by your lordps. the respiting of execution (until your lps. pleasure therein be known) would not be by your lps. mislike I consented with them for the deferring it so long, so as I might see that he did perform his promise by laying the same down in writing, &c. He says he entreated Mr. Dyngley to go and take down his discovery, &c., which he did, &c. And the foregoing was the said discovery. He told Hump. Lyttleton that altho' what he had done did suffice to give him respite till the lords' pleasure should be known, yet he did think that it would not be sufficient to procure him pardon for his life without revealing more, &c.

[16] Coome or Come became the head residence of the Fathers of the College of St. Francis Xavier, or the Hereford and South Wales District (See Come, series x. below).

But so far was the blessed martyr from being an accomplice in the crime, that he was utterly ignorant of any conspiracy at all, until he learnt the fact from the general report that was spread throughout the length and breadth of the land. He had been greatly and artfully importuned by his friend Mr. H. Littleton (of whom he entertained no suspicion, and little imagined that he was, like another Judas, designing treason against him) to express his opinion as to what he thought of the design of the conspiracy, and if its failure was not a good proof of its wickedness? Father Oldcorne at once denied, as a broad principle, that the good or evil either of this cause or any other could be distinguished by its result, and adduced the proofs named in Mr. Littleton's statement and in the martyr's own examination. But at the same time he added (and this was purposely omitted by the informer), that of the present conspiracy he could truly say nothing, but must remit the whole affair to God and the consciences of the conspirators, as he knew nothing of the reasons or motives by which its designers had been moved to undertake it.[17] This answer his accusers and the Privy Council twisted and strained in every possible manner to expose him to the odium and charge of seeming to approve of the conspiracy, because he did not in the same breath actually condemn it; but it gained no credit, on the contrary, his examiners after their savage torturing, not finding any cause of condemnation on that head, remitted him as we shall see, to Worcester for trial. At the trial, Littleton's distorted view of the martyr's opinion was urged against him, but to no end, as he was simply condemned for his priestly character. Littleton was indicted under the same Commission with Father Oldcorne and others, at Worcester, for his having received and harboured two of the conspirators, Mr. Robert Winter and Mr. Stephen Littleton, who were proclaimed traitors. He acknowledged the fact which he could not deny, but confessed that he had much more deserved death for his treason to God in betraying His servants, the two good Fathers, than in any ill intention he had to the State, and he died with show of great repentance (says Father Gerard), and so with sorrow and humility and patient acceptance of his death made amends for his former frailty, and too unworthy a desire of life. He had publicly asked forgiveness of Father Oldcorne at

[17] See Father Oldcorne's statement upon this point, made under torture March 12, 1605–6, below.

the scaffold, as also of Mr. Abington, and all Catholics in general.[18]

Upon the information thus given by Mr. Humphrey Littleton a warrant was despatched into the country to Sir Henry Bromley, Kt., the High Sheriff of the county, who was, says Father Gerard, the next Justice of account unto Mr. Abington's house, and who was best experienced in searching of that house, which as we have seen, he had often performed before upon less likelihood of speeding than now he carried with him, by means of this discovery and the extraordinary authority he had to use his pleasure.

We refer our readers to the life of Father Garnett for the instructions for, and the search of Hinlip House, the arrest of Fathers Garnett and Oldcorne, with Brothers Owen and Ashley, the journey to London, and Sir Henry Bromley's despatches to the Privy Council; also for the removal of Fathers Garnett and Oldcorne from the Gatehouse to the Tower, and the infamous conduct of the Privy Council in regard to the "hole in the wall" trap, and the report of the spies as to the conversations between the Fathers, with copies of the "interlocutions," taken from the State Papers in the Public Record Office.

We annex copies of the various examinations of Father Oldcorne, and also of his declaration to the Lords of the Privy Council of the true version of what really took place between Father Garnett and himself at their conversations, as the Council could place little or no trust in the confused report of the spies.

Three charges were made against Father Oldcorne before the Privy Council, as also at his subsequent trial at Worcester, viz. (1) That he had invited Father Henry Garnett to Hinlip there to lie concealed, the said Henry Garnett being a denounced traitor; (2) that he had written to Father Robert Jones in Herefordshire to aid in concealing two of the conspirators, thus making himself an accomplice; (3) that he had approved of the Plot as a good action, although it failed of effect. Mr. Humphrey Littleton was really the only witness, and his treachery and subsequent repentance we have already mentioned. The following "Questions to be moved to Edward Hall the Jesuite" are inserted at the end of a string

[18] Father Bartoli mentions at some length the infamous attempts of the enemies of the Catholic faith, especially Robert Abbot, the Bishop of Chester, &c., to distort the martyr's words into a totally different meaning.

of interrogatories upon which Father Garnett was examined before the Council.[19]

I. Are you not sometimes called Parker, Vincent, and by how many other names, and how long have you been a Jesuite?

II. Whether did Robert Winter and Stephen Littleton, after they had been in open rebellion, and fledd for the same, send to you for succour or reliefe, or to be a means for their delivery, and by whome?

III. What answer did you make unto them?

IV. What moved you, after the traytors had committed so horrible treason and open rebellion, to give them absolution, and how many did you so absolve?

Ask him the five questions aforesaid, and so all the rest.

Gunpowder Plot Book, State Papers, *Dom. James I.* vol. ii. n. 183. "The examination of Edward Hall, a Jesuit, February 13, $160\frac{5}{6}$."

A. He confesseth that he hath bene a Jhesuyte the space of about six yeares,[20] and hath bene in England sinc he was made Jhesuyte, xvi yeares and more, and that he hath called himself by dyverse names, but most comonly Vincent, and sometymes Parker.

He sayth he was in Mr. Abington's house eight dayes, and came thither on the Sonday at night before Sr. Henry Bromley came thither with the watch.

He sayth that Humphrey Litleton came to him as from Ro. Wynter and Stephen Litleton, after they had bene in the rebellion, desyringe him to provide some place for their securitye, the which message he supposed to be but to intrapt him, and therfore only gave him this answer, that for the present he should do nothinge because all the contrye was besett with watch and ward; he came some three weeks after with the same message againe, and then my answer was that he should forbare to come anye more, because he had bene at Dunchurch in this action, and he tould him he could do what he would, though he never intended yt, and that he should heare from him, when he had provided some place for them.

EDWARD HALL.

Same book, n. 185. "The examination of Edward Oldcorne, *alias* Hall, *alias* Vincent, *alias* Parker, taken February 20, $160\frac{5}{6}$."

He confesseth that his trew name is Edward Oldcorne, but is sometimes called by the name of Hall, sometimes by the name of Vincent, and sometyme by the name of Parker.

Same book, n. 187. "The examination of Edward Hall, February 24, $160\frac{5}{6}$."

He confesseth that uppon the 19 of Januarye last, he and Mr. Garnett met together neare vnto Esham [Evesham], he vppon a

[19] State Papers, *Dom. James I.* vol. xviii. n. 86, February 13, 1605-6.

[20] *Sic* in original, probably a mistake in the examiner who took it down.

bay horse, but the colour of Mr. Garnett's horse he doth not remember, and they ridinge together two or three myles, they mett with an old man sometymes servant vnto olde Mr. Abington, on horseback also ; and three or fower myles before they came to Mr. Abington's house, the olde man took ther horses, and they went there on foote. And when they came to the house, they were caryed into a gallerye by that old man ; and because they were afrayed to be trobled they were shewed to the place into which after they went.

Beinge demanded what the olde man's name was that ledd them to Mr. Abington's house, he desyreth to be pardoned not to answer that question.

He sayth the last tyme he saw Strange was in Easter term last, with Garnett their Superior. EDWARD OLDCORNE.

Same book, n. 190. "The examination of Hall, *alias* Oldcorne, February 26, 160$\frac{5}{6}$, at the Tower."

He confesseth that he cannot certainly affirme that ever he saw George Chambers before they were taken prisoners together. Beinge asked wether ever he weare att White Webbs, he answereth that he knoweth noe such place, neither did he ever see Mr. Garnett in anie house in Enfield Chase.

Allsoe he doth affirme that vpon the 19 of Januarie he mett with Mr. Garnett two or three miles on this side Evesham and two or three miles beyond Evesham, I mett with a man of my acquaintance, who sometyme did serve old Mr. Abbington, and after we had rid a few miles with him, we leaft our horses whear he appointed us, and from thence he brought vs on foote to Mr. Thomas Abington's. EDWARD OLDCORNE.

Same book, n. 196. "The examination of Edward Oldcorne, *alias* Hall, March 5, 1606 ; his other names are Vincent and Parker."

He sayth he bought a black horse of Mr. Wynter at May next shall be three yeares, and sould him againe. He sayth that he had no speech or conference with Mr. Garnett since his beinge in the Tower.

He now confesseth that he had conference with Garnett in the Tower, the one of them beinge of the one syde of the dore, and the other of the other syde, and that they have conferred together some twice or thrice, but how many tymes he knows not certainly.

He sayth that Garnett tould him that he would take no knowledge that he the said examinant was at Whyte Webbs ; and confesseth he hath been with him at Whyt Webbs in Michas. tearme was a twelvemoneth, at which tyme ther were Blonte and Lister, Gilbert Gerrat and others, to the number of tenne with himselfe ; but before that tyme they resorted to White Webbes ordinarilie. And Garnett tould him that the Pope had granted to Cardinall Allen an indulgence in the behalfe of all those that had the hymns and said these verses, viz., *Gentem auferte perfidam credentium de finibus, ut Christo laudes debitas persolvamus alacriter*, and a psalme beginning, *Deus venerunt gentes*, &c.

EDWARD OLDCORNE.

NOTTINGHAM, SUFFOLKE, S. E. WORCESTER, NORTHAMPTON, SALISBURY.

Same book, n. 197. "The examination of Edward Oldcorne at the Tower, March 6, 1605[6]." [21]

A. He confesseth that he sent for Mr. Garnett the Jhesuyt unto Mr. Abington's house, and that by his occasion he came thither about St. Barbara day last, hearing before that he was at Coughton, and in some distresse, and assured him that he should be welcome unto Mr. Abington and his wyfe, and as he hoped might remayne ther saffe, and that his man George Chambers brought him and his man Nicholas Owen thither, wher he remayned vntill his apprehension.

B. He confesseth that his own aboade hath bene most at Mr. Abington's, wher he was apprehended, and sayth both Garnett and he when ther were no straungers did ordinarilye dyne and supp with Mr. Abington and his wyfe in the dyninge chamber.

C. He confesseth that uppon Weddnesday, beinge the 6 of November, about two of the clock in the afternoone, ther came Tesmont from Huddington from Mr. Rob. Wynter's to Henlip, and tould Mr. Abington and him that he brought them the worst newes that ever they hade, and sayd they were all undone; and they demandinge the cause, he sayd that ther were certayne gentlemen that meant to have blown upp the Parliament house, and that ther plott was discovered a day or two before, and now ther were gathered together some forty horse at Mr. Wynter's house, meaninge Catesbye, Percye, Digby, and others, and tould them their throates would be cutt unlesse they presently wente to joyne with them.

D. And Mr. Abington said, "Alas, I am sorye," and this exam[t], and he answered him that they would never ioyne with them in that matter, and chardged all his house to that purpose not to goe unto them. EDWARD OLDCORNE.[22]

Taken before us,—C. J. POPHAM, EDWARD COKE, W. WAAD, JOHN CORBETT.

Same book, n. 198. "The examination of Edward Oldcorne at the Tower, March 6, 1605[6]."

Being charged that George Chambers hath served him two yeares or therabouts, or no, this examinant saith he will neither denye yt nor affirme yt, because he will not be guiltye of his bloode, in respect he will not hurt anye that have done him curtesye or service.

To the third article of Chambers' confession, he sayth he must not hurt any that have done him charitye; and beinge demanded yf yt be an iniurie to tell trewth, he sayth in some cases it may be.

Being demanded whether uppon the conference between him and Garnett in the Tower; Garnett did tell him that though he may confess that he was at White Webbs, yet that this examinant should say he knew nothinge of the matter. He answereth: [23] *His words were these to me: that you may acknowledge Whyt Webbs because my lords hath promised that the parties ther shall have noe harme for enterteynige vs. But for the other part of the question, (viz. that this examinate knows nothing of the matter) he affirmeth that he said noe such thing to him!*

[21] The capital letters are Sir Edmund Coke's.
[22] Own signature, a trembling hand, probably after torture.
[23] The words in italic are in Father Oldcorne's own handwriting.

Being demanded what was the cause of their so often meetinge at Whyt Webbs, he answereth,

The cause of their meetinge was that twice a yeare, or once at least they were by their rule to give account of their conscience to their Superior, and to renewe their vowes : and for doinge thereof they had allowed three dayes, and came thither commonly on the Thursday, but the other two dayes they made themselves readye for the Sondey [Sunday]. And sayth he was ther at least six tymes before he knewe the name of the house to be Whyt Webbs.[24]

Beinge demanded whether that Garnett to his knowledge was not in Mr. Abington's house at the least a fortnight before Sir Hen. Bromley made search ther in Januarye last, he answereth :

He desyreth to be pardoned ; he will not hurt any that hath done charitye unto any, and being demanded of his owne beinge ther, then or about that tyme, he maketh the like answer.

Being demanded whither he and Mr. Garnett did not dyne with Mr. Abington in the ordinarye dyning chamber before the search, he answereth this question is like the former, wherein he desyreth to be pardoned.

Beinge demanded what speeches were used between him and Garnett in the Tower concerninge a prayer for the good successe for the Catholique cause, against the beginning of the Parliament used at Coughton or elswher, he answerth :

That Mr. Garnett tould him he never penned anye prayer to that end, but perhapps I have spoken (sayd Garnett) that heretofore I have wished Catholiques to pray agaynst that tyme, because we had reason to suppose that ther would be made some severer lawes against Catholiques.

He confesseth that in their interlocution together in the Tower the sayd Garnett said vnto him : That they had not yet examined him of one matter or poynt which was of his occasion of cominge to Coughton with the Ladye Digbye at that tyme, which must seem to be most suspitious.

Beinge demanded whether upon their interlocution Garnett sayd to Hall, To-day or to-morrow I will wryte, and then they shall know that I am resolved to do my lord no hurt. He answereth he remembereth that Garnett sayd he would . . . [one word torn out] but for the rest of the question he cannot call any part of it to remembrance.

Being demanded whether upon the same interlocution Garnett sayd to Hall, I fynde they have no knowledge of the great, etc., What did he meane therby? Any greate man or any greate matter, or what other thing?

Answereth : He cannot call to memorye that he spoke any such thinge.

Beinge demanded what they resolved to say concerninge their cominge together to Mr. Abington's house,

Answereth that ther was no resolution taken, but fyndinge upon their conference together that they differed in the nombre of the myles they should come on foote to Mr. Abington, this examinant sayd that yt must be that Mr. Garnett thought the way longer then he did.

He confesseth that Garnett tould him in the said interlocution that he was examined concerninge the cominge over of Fawkes

[24] See note, p. 84, regarding White Webbs' house.

and that he tould him he never saw him but once, but he cannot call to mynde what other thinge he sayd about him.

EDWARD OLDCORNE.

J. POPHAM, EDD. COKE, W. WAAD, JOHN CORBETT.

Same book, n. 202. "The voluntary declaration of Edward Oldcorne, *alias* Hall, Jesuite, March 12, 1605[6]."[25]

A. Mr. Humphrey Litleton telling me that after Mr. Catesbie saw himself and others of his companie burnt with powder, and the rest of the companie readie to fly from him, that then he began to thinke he had offended God in this action, seeing soe bad effects follow of the same.

B. I answered him that an act is not to be condemned or justified upon the good or bad event that followeth it, but upon the ende or obiect, and the meanes that is vsed for effecting the same, and brought him an example out of the booke of Judges wher the 11 tribes of Israel weare commanded by God to make warrs upon the tribe of Benjamin; and yet the tribe of Benjamin did both in the first and secound battaile overthrow the other 11 tribes. The like, said I, wee read of Lewis King of France, who went to fight against the Turks, and to recover the hoolye [holy] land, but ther he loost the most of his armie, and himself dyed ther of the plague. The like we may say when the Christians defended Rhoodes against the Turks, wher the Turks prevayled, and the Christians weare overthrowne, and yet no doubt the Xtians' cause was good and the Turks' bad.

C. And thus I applied it to this fact of Mr. Catesbies: it is not to be approved or condemned by the event, but by the propper obiect or end, and means which was to be used in it; and bycause I know nothinge of thes, I will neither approve it or condeme it, but leave it to God and ther owne consciences, and in this warie sort I spoke to him bycause I doubted he came to entrap; and that he should take noe advantage of my words whether he reported them to Catholics or Protestants.

EDWARD OLDCORNE.

Acknowledged before us, J. POPHAM, EDD. COKE, W. WAAD, JOHN CORBETT.

Same book, n. 204. "The examination of Edward Oldcorne, *alias* Hall, Jesuit, March 13, 1605[6]."

He confesseth that about a yeare or twoo before the late Queene's death, Henry Garnett, Superior of the Jesuites, showed unto him at White Webbs a Bull of Pope Clement the 8, the effect of which Bull was that what Catholiks soever that after the Queenes death should take parte with any successor to the Crown of England that should not be Catholique and obedient to the Church of Rome should stand excommunicated and accursed, and was, as he remembereth, directed to all Catholiques, which Bull the said Garnett received from Roome, but whether by way of

[25] Except this heading and the capital letters the whole of the Declaration is in Father Oldcorne's handwriting.

Flanders by Father Baldwyn or otherways he certainly knoweth not. *And afterward Mr. Garnett toold him that he burnt it.*[26]

EDWARD OLDCORNE.

NOTTINGHAM, SUFFOLKE, S. E. WORCESTER, H. NORTHAMPTON, SALISBURY, J. POPHAM, EDD. COKE.

Same book, n. 214. Endorsed, "25th March. The declaration of Hall, the Jesuit, of the conference between him and Garnett."[27]

Receyving (Right Honourable) your command by Sir William Waade that I should put downe in writing the speeches w^ch^ passed betweene Mr. Garnett and myself since our coming to the Tower (the w^ch^ in truth weare nothing els but a brief rehearsall of our late examinations, first before your honours, and twice or thrice before my Lord Chief Justice, Sir W^m^ Wade, Mr. Atturney, and Mr. Corbett, and which your honours may ther see more certainly and perticulerlye then I can now deliver) I am most willing to obey your honours will herein, altho' for diverse causes, I now see it a verie difficult thing for me to performe: First in respect it is soe long agoe since those speeches passed betweene us, and att that verie tyme, I hearinge them but sleightlie, never taking care to comit them to memorie, supposing I should never have occasion to repeate them againe.

As alsoe Mr. Garnett then speaking to me in a verie lowe, whispering voice, att a cranie in the topp of a dore, I did not well vnderstand him, yett did not I interrupt his speech, or desier him to speak lowder, because I saw the matter he spoke of did nothing concerne me (hence your H^rs^ may conceive how imperfitlye those who weare sett to over hear us could relate our speeches when I could not sometimes vnderstand him, nor he me, by cause wee spake in such a lowe, whispering manner). And lastlie, by cause I did not understand divers matters (of which he tooled me he was examined) as never having heard of them before, although I heard his woords well enoughe which made me att that time conceive of them verie confusedlie. And these three difficulties still pressing me, doe much unable me to make anie perfitt relatione of thes speeches which your honors now require of me. Never the less, being readie to satisfie your honours comand to the vttermost of my power, I protest heare before God and to your H^o^. I will doe it as sincerlie and fullie as I can call them to memorie, humblie desiring your honours if anie thing shall escape me, which either thos which overheard us, or Mr. Garnett hath related, your honours will not impute it to anie voluntarie omission in me, but either to my forgetfulnes, or els to one of thos former three difficulties which I have alreadie mentioned.

Our first interlocution (if it may please your honours) was within two or three daies after our coming to the Tower, in which each of us did relate to the other our first examinations before your honours. Att which tyme Mr. Garnett toold me in generall terms (for we weare much afraid to be overheard by some in my Lord Graies chamber, which was the next roome to us) that your honours did much press him that he was privie to that powder

[26] These last words in italic, are added by Father Oldcorne himself.

[27] All in Father Oldcorne's handwriting.

treason, as also with manie other perticulers which now (said Mr. Garnett) I cannot stay to tell you ; but I did constantlie (said he) denie them all. Then said Mr. Garnett to me, your honours did alsoe urge him to deliver his minde, what he would doe, if soe bee the Pope should excom^{e} our King. And Mr. Garnett did answeare that he knew our Kinge was not excommunicated. But your honours pressing him more upon that pointe, he did (as he toolde me) deliver unto your honours the Catholique doctrine for the Pope's authority over all Christian princes.

Allsoe Mr. Garnett toolde me that while he was in the Gate-house he received a note written in Orange (but he toold me not from whom) whereby he understood that Father Tesimond was gone over sea, and that Father Gerard would presently follow him, after he had recovered a little more strength ; whereby (said Garnett) I gather he hath beene latelie in some secret place, as we are ; but by this I hope he hath recovered his strength, and is alsoe past over the sea.

Then I toold Mr. Garnett my examination before your honours, viz., how long I had bene a Jesuite ; how long I had bene in Inglande ; how long I had bene in Mr. Abington's house ; and how often Mr. Humphry Littleton came to me from Mr. Rob. Winters, and my answers to each of these, w^{ch} your honours have in writing, wherefore I will not trouble your honours heare againe to repeate them.

The next tyme we spake together was after our first exam^{n} by my Lord Chief Justice, Sir W. Waade, &c., when he toold me they much charged him with the Powder treason, and how Mr. Catesbie had confessed he had acknowledged the action to be lawfull, so ther weare care had to save as manny innocents as wear possible. And alsoe that two of Mr. Catesbie's men did affirme the same of him. But Mr. Garnett toold me he did denie all this most constantlie, and said if Mr. Catesbie or anie of his men had affirmed anie suche thing of him, they did him a great wronge. Perhaps (said Mr. Garnett) Mr. Catesbie might use my name to some that he was willing to draw into this action, the better to credit it, and soe likewise his men report it, because they had heard their m^{r} say soe. But I did never speake anie such thinge.

Then my Lord Chief Justice charged him with sending Mr. Thos. Winter and Father Tesimond into Spaine (about what business I know not, for I never heard of this matter before) but Mr. Garnett toold me he denied it ; and added if Father Tesimond went there it was of his own accord, and not with his privitie or mission. Then one of them replied that he being Father Tesimond's Superior, he coulde not goe out of this land without his licence ; but Mr. Garnett answered that he might ; and soe he did, said Mr. Garnett, if he went into Spain with Mr. Thomas Winter.

Sir Wm. Wade tooled Mr. Garnett that he could prove him a traitour anie tyme these 6 or 7 years, and that he had divers of his own letters to produce against him. Mr. Garnett answered, I have my pardon for anie thing I did in Queene Elizabeth's daies, but you have no thing against me since this King's reigne.

My Lord Chief Justice urged Mr. Gar. more about the matter of sending Mr. Winter and F. Tesimond into Spaine, and toold him you need not denie it, for I perceive you have your pardon for it. Noe, my Lord, sayd Mr. Gar., my pardon will not help me, for treason conspired beyond the seas are excepted. Well, said my lord, but you weare then here in Ingland. Yea, said Mr. Gar.,

but the treason was conspired beyond seas, and that is directlie excepted in the pardon. Who taught you that law? said my lord. Mr. Gar. answered that either he had read it in some booke, or that he had it from some sufficient lawier. You are in the right, said Mr. Attorney to Mr. Gar., for soe indeed is the law on that pointe.

Then my Lord C. J. wished Mr. Gar. to name all he knew was acquainted with that iourney; and he named Mr. Thos. Winter, Fr. Tesimond, and another (but I have forgott his name, but he is dead). Yea, said my lord, ther was a fourth, and that was my Lord Monteagle. I will not name him, said Mr. Gar, for he is alive. You doe well therein, said Mr. Atturney, and doe not name him. Whereby I gather, said Mr. Gar. to me, that they are willing to save my Lord Monteagle's creditt.

After this my lord charged him with Sir Edmond Baineham goeing over to Rome, and how he should carrie lres. with him from a nobleman in this land, and as I think Mr. Gar. named my L. Monteagle vnto me; but Mr. Gar. toold me that he answeared my lord that he onlie knew of Sir Ed. Bainham's iorney into Flanders, and that he went to serve in the Archduke's campe, to have some companie of men ther vnder him, and to this end he desired Mr. Gar. to write to some of his friends ther for him; the wch Mr. Gar. toold me he did; but, said he, I knew not that Sir Ed. Bainham intended to goe further. Then Mr. Atturney pressed him more with some other pointe about the same matter, but I did not wel vnderstand him what it was; but Mr. Gar. toold me he thus replied to Mr. Atturney: Good Mr. Atturney: lett me finde parte of that great curtesie that I have heard that you have shewed to others. Father John Cornelius, whom you once examd wrote thus to me of you, that he founde you *hominum humanissimus*, wherefore I pray you lett me have cause to reporte the like. Then Mr. Atturney promised him to shew him what favour he coulde; and that he would make the best of the things to his Majestie that were imputed to him.

Allsoe, then, Mr. Gar. toold me that he hooped he should have meanes within these two or three days to write to our friends, and then they should see he would doe my lord noe harme, and that was as I imagine, my Lord Monteagle.

He toold me alsoe that my Lord Chief Justice threatned him torture, and Mr. Gar. answered him with the words of St. Basill to the Emperour Valens: *Minare ista pueris!* Soe that I think, said Mr. Gar. to me, the next tyme they come they will trie my courage. Then I toold him how my lord and the other Commissioners did examine me how long I had been at Mr. Abington's. And my answear was that I came thither but the night before Sir Henry Bromley came thither to search. They also asked me whither ever I had bene at White Webbs; but I denied it. Alsoe when I was last at London. I answeared in the beginning of the last Easter terme. Alsoe they asked me whether I knew divers preests whome my lord named vnto me. And I did acknowledge as manie of them as I knew. And this, said I to Mr. Gar., was the substance of my examination.

The next tyme we had anie speech together was after our 2d examination by my Lord Chief Justice and the other three forenamed Commissioners. Att which tyme, said Mr. Gar. to me, he was examined about the saide points he had bene before, especiallie about the Powder treason, urging him with some other

perticuler circumstances, but he did not tell me what they weare; alsoe about sending of Mr. Christopher Wright into Spaine, when Quene Elizabeth lay sick, the which Mr. Garnett did confesse; but he toold my lord that was noe treason; and my lord did acknowledge it. Well, said he, to be short, I have not satisfied the Commissioners this day, for my lord was verie angrie w^th^ me; neither did anie of them write anie of my answers; neither did I this day sett my name to anie thing. Then alsoe he toold me that they had not as yet touched the greatest matter that might move suspitions against him, and that was his cominge at that tyme to Coughton with my Ladie Digbie; but I hope, said he, I shall answer it well enough.

Att the same tyme I also toold him how I was examined whether ever Chambers had attended on me or noe, and that I denied it. Alsoe how long agoe it was since Mr. Robert Winter gave me a black gelding. And I did answere that Mr. Winter did never give me anie gelding. Also of my cominge to Mr. Abington's, and where Mr. Gar. and I mett together, and wher we left our horses. And I toold him that my answer was that we two mett neare about Evsham, and came riding together with our guide till we weare within 4 or 5 miles of Mr. Abington's house, wher our guide made us leave our horses, and from thence wee came on foote to Mr. Abington's. This is contrarie to our agreement, said Mr. Gar. to me, for we agreed to say we came from Evsham on foote. Well, said I, lett us now help it as wel we can, for this I toold them, and this they have written; and this was the sum of my examination.

The last tyme we talked together was upon the next opportunitie that was offered us after our third examination by the said Commissioners. Att which tyme, said Mr. Gar. to me, they did more straitly charge him with the same points againe than at anie other time before, and perticulerlie about the Powder treason, which he said he did still most constantlie denie; then alsoe they charged him with his being att Sr. Everard Digbie's, and with his cominge at that verie tyme to Coughton, both which he toold me he did acknowledge, and that he hooped he had answeared them both sufficientlie; but he did not tell me what he did answere. Allsoe he toold me they charged him with a prayer that he should pen or make against the beginninge of this Parliament; but he said he denied that ever he penned or made anie such. Perhaps, said he, they have heard that sometymes this somer I have wished Catholiks to pray, for that we have cause to fear ther would be more severe lawes made against us this Parliament than had bene as yett; or els they have heared how sometymes upon occasion I have toold how Card^l^ Allen had gott an Indulgence of Greg. 13^th^ for all those that did devoutlie for the conversion of Ingland say that vearse w^ch^ is in the hyme of Alhallow Day: *Gentem auferte perfidam*, &c., and the psalme 78, *Deus, venerunt gentes.* Then alsoe they charged him with his being at White Webbs, promising him that the parties that dwelt ther should not be troubled for entertaining him; then he confessed his being ther. Then after Mr. Atturney toold him he had discredited himself in now acknowledging White Webbs, which he had so often before denied; but he answered that now he had confessed it because my lord had promised the parties should have noe harme for entertaining him. Then my lord asked him whether I had ever bene with him at White Webbs or noe. He answered he could not remember I

had been with him at White Webbs, but I had been often with him at other places. Then they asked him if he did not christen a child ther. He answered, he christened a child of Mr. Genning's ther. That same is Mr. Brooksbie, said my Lord Chief Justice. Then my lord charged him with being at White Webbs in October last; but Mr. Gar. did assure my lord he had not bene ther since Bartholmew-tide last, or at the furthest since the first of September. Then they charged him with Fauxe's iorney this somer into the Lowe Countreys, but he toold me he did most constantlie denie it, telling my lord he never saw Faux but once in his life, and that was this last Easter.

Then I toold him my examination, and how it was alsoe upon the same points it had bene before—viz. of my coming to Mr. Abington's; whether Chambers did ever attend me, and whether Mr. Rob. Winter had ever geven me a black gelding. And I toold him my answears were the same that I made before. Alsoe my lord asked me of my being at White Webbs, which I denied. Well, quoth Mr. Gar., hereafter you may acknowledge it, for my lord hath promised the parties that dwelt ther shall have noe harme for intertaininge vs. Att my lord's departure Mr. Atturney toold me that he could prove me guiltie both of the Powder treason and of the Spanish conspiracie, and I answered, if he could do soe I would desier no favour.

And this, right honourable, I have, as truly as possiblelie I can call to minde delivered heare in writing unto your ho. all the speeches that passed between Mr. Gar. and myselfe since our coming to the Tower; the w^ch^ if I have not done soe fullie as your honours expect, or perhaps have already delivered you by other means, I humbly desier your ho. to impute it to my bad memorie, and not to anie defect in my will; for I assure your honours heare before God, I have done it as sincerly and fullie as possiblely I can. This onelie favour most humblie and earnestlie craving of your honours, that as your honours promised Mr. Abington should not be endangered for entertaining us as preests, so there may be performance of the same, assuring myself he is free from all other matters he may be charged withall. And so I heare remaine,

Your honours most humble servant and poore prisoner,

EDWARDE OLDCORNE.

Most of the examinations of Father Oldcorne would probably have been made under torture. For five hours daily during four or five days, he was cruelly racked to an extent, say his historians, that no tongue or pen could describe, and which could only be credited by those who beheld it. His hands and fingers were benumbed, so that the brutal Wade, the Lieutenant of the Tower and rack-master, was obliged to guide the martyr's hand to sign his name. But in the midst of this he was ever himself, both virtuous, prudent, and constant, and as he, indeed, knew nothing of the plot, so did he ever profess his absolute innocency therein, and patiently endured these extreme torments, excessive to a degree, and far beyond the legitimate limits of that worse than pagan mode

of examination. Father Oldcorne himself complained of it, and openly protested against such treatment before the judges and the crowded court at his trial at Worcester, without any one to contradict him, or to stand up in defence of such conduct. And nevertheless, says Father Bartoli, we find the infinite clemency of the King in not allowing any one accused of the plot to be tortured lauded to the skies, and handed down to the memory of future ages in the writing of the mercenary historians of the day! But with all his torturing and the pressure brought to bear, all the stretching of the laws and the skill of the London lawyers remarkable at that period, there was no shadow of any sufficient proof of condemnation brought against him before that high tribunal of the Privy Council; it was therefore determined by Government to send the Father into the county where Father Garnett and he were arrested, there to be arraigned, condemned, and executed.

"Wherein," observes Father Gerard,[28] "assuredly the providence of God, and His sweet disposition was plainly to be seen both towards the good Father himself and all the Catholics of that shire. For doubtless a more grateful thing could not have happened to that Father than to suffer in that place where he had laboured so long, and now to water those plants with his innocent blood which he had, with the help of God's grace, so carefully planted, and so many years watered before with Catholic doctrine and instructions of good life. Neither could anything have been provided more profitable or pleasing to that country than to have him die amongst them, whom in his life they did so highly and so worthily esteem, and to see his constancy at the end of his course, whose virtues they had seen and admired in so many years' conversation. Briefly, they might well and did esteem it a great happiness to see him go to a crown of glory who had assisted so many of them to the obtaining of grace, 'ut coronati essent in misericordiâ et miserationibus.' And so to have him a patron to their country for time to come who had been a pattern to them in the way of virtue, whilst he walked amongst them.

"This good Father, therefore, about the midst of Lent [the 21st of March, 1606] was sent from the Tower towards the county of Worcester, and with him Mr. Thomas Abington, in whose house both Father Garnett and Father Oldcorne were

[28] "Narrative of Gunpowder Plot," *Condition of Catholics*, pp. 265, seq.

taken; with them also Mr. John Winter, the youngest of the three brothers, who was before condemned when his brothers and the rest of the conspirators were condemned, but was not executed with them, because the Council would have some of them executed in the country for the greater terror; and rather this than the rest, because he was no actor about the Powder, but only a party in the rebellion, which, therefore, was thought fittest to be punished where it was performed: and withal it was the rather deferred until this time of Father Oldcorne his execution, to make a show unto the people that Father Oldcorne was to be touched with the same conspiracy or rebellion for which it was known the other suffered. With him also was sent down Ralph [Ashley], who had for some years faithfully served Father Oldcorne in his spiritual business and negotiation for souls, and was taken with him, and brought up to London with him, and suffered torture in the Tower with him, and now was carried down with him, and was to go to Heaven with him.

"As they went through Holborn, going out of London, Mrs. Abington did meet her husband, Mr. Thomas Abington, and with many tears took her leave of him, but yet promised to labour earnestly with the King for his pardon, which she hoped to obtain the rather by her brother's means who was the Lord Mounteagle, now in special favour, as you may guess, being the man that had discovered the Plot of Powder. Mr. Abington wished her to be of good comfort, for himself was not troubled; and withal, willed her to put his Majesty in mind how he had suffered four years' imprisonment for his good mother, for whom also his elder brother was executed, and that himself had never undutifully thought against him or his in his life. They were all carried down to Worcester like prisoners, and prisoners supposed to be guilty of most heinous treason, and their usage by the way and at their coming to Worcester answerable thereunto.

"They were arraigned at the Lent Assizes, Father Edward Oldcorne and Ralph [Ashley], also Mr. Thomas Abington and Mr. Humphrey Littleton. . . . Mr. Abington was indicted and condemned upon the statute of relieving Priests, although he did allege for himself that which had been sufficient to clear him, *vdlt.*, that he was absent from his own house, and who might come in his absence he knew not, nor could hinder; and, before he came, they were so shut up and besieged in secret places that they could not be gone; therefore he,

neither being cause of their coming nor staying, could not justly be found guilty of that penal statute. But they knew so well his constant love to the Catholic religion (which had been so oftentimes and so well tried before); and his devotion also and respect unto Priests was so well known unto them, that they made no scruple at all to presume that those two Fathers were there with his approbation and good liking. In which respect they doubted not to condemn him as guilty, although, before the time of execution, there came a reprieve from London, obtained by his wife and the Lord Mounteagle of his Majesty; and so his life remaineth still at the King's pleasure, and his lands and goods forfeited. Which lands of his, because they should have returned to his heirs in case he had been put to death (this statute being but of felony and not of treason), they might be a motive to save his life, that so the gain might be greater by his life than by his death it could be. The gentleman showed great constancy, courage, and devotion at the receiving his judgment, as he had often done before in his examinations and conventions before many several commissioners for the cause of religion, where at all times he did answer with such learning, judgment, and sufficiency (being a man of great reading and of a very good understanding), that his adversaries were generally unwilling to deal with him in that kind. And several Bishops of Worcester (to whom he had been prisoner) had received diverse foils at his hand both in private and public conferences."

We have before mentioned that Mr. Humphrey Littleton was indicted and condemned for harbouring two of the proclaimed conspirators, to which he pleaded guilty, and both in court and at the place of execution begged pardon of God, of the two Fathers, and of the Catholics generally for his treacherous conduct in so basely betraying them.

"Father Oldcorne's indictment," continues Father Gerard, "was so framed that one might see they much desired to have drawn him within the compass of some participation of this late treason; to which effect they first did seem to suppose it as likely that he should send letters up and down to prepare men's minds for the insurrection. But for this they had no other ground but that he was a man so much esteemed by the best Catholics in those parts, and those counties were the place which it seemed the conspirators did most trust upon for assistance. They also did seem to think that he had written some letters for the relief and conveying away of

Mr. Robert Winter and Mr. Stephen Littleton after their rebellion, and before they came to Humphrey Littleton's, where they were apprehended. Also, they accused him of a sermon made in Christmas, wherein he should seem to excuse the conspirators, or to extenuate their fact, and withal, that speaking with Humphrey Littleton in private about the same matter, he should advise him not to judge of the cause, or to condemn the gentlemen by the event, alleging some examples and authorities to prove that God does not always give present success to such causes as yet He doth approve and will afterwards prosper. But none of these causes could they prove, the Father showing that he had not sinned in anything, either against the law or against the King.

"And for the first, being a mere supposition, without any proof or instance to be alleged, it could not have any force against him, whereas his protestation was of great force in denial thereof, affirming seriously, upon his death and salvation, that he never knew anything at all of that treason, and that he was as innocent thereof as the child new-born. And for the second, as they without proof did suppose that he had holpen to convey away Mr. Robert Winter and Mr. Stephen Littleton, being his ghostly children and dear friends, he cleared himself very sufficiently from so unjust an accusation. But, withal, did prove very learnedly there at the bar, that if he had so done, yet he could not be justly condemned for that by any law, all circumstances considered of his estate and theirs, they having been reputed for so virtuous men before this error, and might justly be presumed to be very penitent now for this enterprize so unadvisedly undertaken. For the last, he utterly denied he had spoken anything, either in public or private exhortations, to justify the attempt of the conspirators, and declared there what he had said and with what intention. And Mr. Humphrey Littleton, who had been his accuser in those points, did there publicly ask him forgiveness in the Shire Hall, and said he had much wronged him.

"But when none of these things could be proved against him, yet, being a Priest and a Jesuit, well known to have gained many souls to the Catholic faith, he was found guilty by the jury, and condemned by the judge to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, as in case of treason, and as blessed Father Campian and Father Southwell and others of his predecessors had been before him. He received the sentence with joy, and told them there in public that he had been tortured in the

Tower five hours five several days together, one after another, which, if it were five hours at a time even one of the days (as his words were understood), then was it a most great extremity that he sustained. For one hour's torture will make the hands so swollen and so sore (besides the pain in the other parts of the body), that it is a very cruel thing to put a man to the like the next day after. But God, in Whom we can do all things, does not forsake them that hope in Him."

Father Bartoli observes that at the close of the trial, the judge, went quite beyond the case, and evidently for the purpose of craftily catching the prisoner in his words, and convicting him of a capital offence, asked if there was either in the Old or New Testament, any passage to prove that God had given to the Roman Pontiff any power over the persons of princes, to which Father Oldcorne without hesitation replied that there was, and referred him especially to the injunction of Christ to St. Peter, *Pasce oves meas*—"Feed my sheep"—in virtue of which commandment he showed that such power was given to the Vicars of Christ and Successors of St. Peter for the good of the flock committed to their charge, and over everything connected with it, and the Father was proceeding to speak upon the subject, but the judge had heard enough, and stopped him, and proceeded with his charge to the jury.

On the night preceding that fatal day, Father Oldcorne was surprised by two unexpected events—the one causing him the highest consolation, the other the deepest grief. The cause of the latter was the infamous treachery of a soldier, who getting to know of the attempt that Father John Floyd intended to make at nightfall to visit Father Oldcorne in the same prison, and to assist him with those last spiritual comforts which one priest is able to communicate to another, the traitor anticipated him, and giving the keepers a description of his person, he was immediately arrested on presenting himself at the prison, to the much greater pain of Father Oldcorne than his own. Father Floyd for this act of charity, was confined in prison for twelve months, and then sent into exile with forty-six other priests and Jesuits.[29]

[29] This eminent controversialist and divine, was a native of Cambridge, born 1572, died at St. Omer's College September 16, 1649. Having made his course of humanities and philosophy at the English College, Rheims, established by the munificence of the Duke of Guise and the exertions of Cardinal Allen, he proceeded to Rome, and was admitted to the Society in 1592. Being a man of great talents, he made distinguished progress in

The cause of his joy, as we gather from the MS. memoir in Father Richard Cardwell's collection before referred to, and from Father Gerard's narrative of the Gunpowder Plot (*Condition of Catholics*), was the conversion of an obstinate sinner and perverse heretic, who was condemned to die the next day for his notorious crimes, and was confined in the same gaol. He was a Calvinist. This man "being under the same condemnation, and not as yet fearing God," the very day before he was to die went singing licentious songs and whistling up and down the prison, and jesting with all he came across, utterly careless about his eternal welfare, being according to the creed of his sect, "assured of his salvation."

learning, and not less in religious virtue. He was employed in various offices of the Society with distinction. He taught philosophy and theology with great success and was equally ready as a preacher, and whilst the variety of interesting matter which his cultivated genius supplied rivetted the attention and instructed the minds of his hearers, the spirit of religion and piety which was infused into all he said, made an equal impression upon their hearts. The numerous works which he left in English and Latin showed the extent and variety of his talents and learning. He was professed of the four vows 1609 (*Vide* Annual Letters, St. Omer, 1649. Father More (*Hist. Prov. Angl.* lib. vi. n. 41) says that he was a younger brother of Father Henry Floyd (whose life is given in *Records*, vol. i. series i. pp. 503, seq.), though his senior in the Society. Experience teaches that the things which appear to us to be safe are not always so. For Father Floyd having been called to visit Father Oldcorne in Worcester Gaol, was detained, and was unable either by entreaties or by bribes to escape the clutches of Popham. After a year's imprisonment he was sent into banishment, and spent four years more in preaching at St. Omer and publishing his controversial works, which met with great applause for their learning and ability. He then returned again to England, where he was often captured, and as often contrived by many payments to escape from the pursuivants, and finally went to Louvain, where he was Professor of Theology, and spent the rest of his life either in teaching or in writing, until he was removed by a sudden death at St. Omer in 1649, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, fifty-seventh in the Society, and fortieth of his solemn profession. Father Floyd passed by the various *aliases* of "Daniel a Jesu," "Hermanus Lœmelius," "Annosus Fidelis" (See Dodd's *Church History*, vol. iii.). Father Floyd was a student of the English College, Rome. The following is an extract from the Diary of that College: "1590. John Floyd, of the diocese of Ely, æt. 18, was admitted among the alumni on October 19, 1590, took the usual college oaths in March, 1591, and entered the Society, with the leave of the Cardinal Protector, on November 1, 1592." He is named in Gee's list, *circa* 1623, as being in London: "John Floyd, a Jesuit, lying about Fleet Lane." He is also named in the second Douay Diary, lately published by the Fathers of the Oratory, London—(1) March 17, 1588, came to us *ab Augensi schola* John Floyd; (2) August 18, 1593, he received minor orders with many others, and on the 22nd of the same month was sent to the English College, Rome, with nine companions. For an account of his works, see Father Southwell's *Bibliotheca S.J.*, also Dodd's *Church History*, and Dr. Oliver's *Collectanea*. Wood (*Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 264. Edit. 1721) mentions Father Floyd in his notice of Dr. Herbert Croft, the Protestant Bishop of Hereford, who died there 1691. Dr. Croft and his father, Sir Herbert Croft, of Croft Castle, Herefordshire, are noticed in the "College of St. Francis Xavier," series x. part i.

Mr. John Winter having noticed the man, and pitying much the lamentable condition of the poor heretic, began to admonish him that such neglect of his future account could not but proceed from a great blindness of soul and hardness of heart, affirming at the same time that in the Catholic religion he had been taught a very different manner of proceeding, especially at such a time. "Do you," said he, "my good man, pass this time, so precious to you, in trifling, who must so soon appear before God, the just Judge, to render an account of all your past life?" To whom the man replied, "I am not anxious about it, nor do I fear any danger, as before this hour to-morrow I shall be with God." "But," interposed Mr. Winter, "it is by no means certain that any can be admitted there without repentance." He again replied: "This care Christ hath long ago freed me from, having taken it upon Himself." "Well, indeed," said Mr. Winter, "how far removed you are from the truth, the Father who will be your companion in suffering to-morrow will more clearly point out to you, if you will consent to converse with him, and he will show you the right way how to save your soul." The man answered that he cared not with whom he conversed, so sure was he that no man could prove him to be in error.[30]

"Mr. Winter called the Father, who was retired to his prayers, and he hearing of this opportunity of doing good, came gladly, took the man aside from the crowd, and began to catechize him with such judgment, learning, and sweetness of spirit and feeling, that he first led him out of the labyrinth of his errors, opening the eyes of his mind to acknowledge the truth, and arousing his soul to the care and thought of his salvation, he then taught him what was necessary for him to believe and know expressly, and in all minor matters to submit his judgment to the Catholic Church, which he proved to him invincibly could not err nor lead into error. He then

[30] Father Gerard remarks that "from the conduct and answers of this poor man one may plainly see the spiritual blindness and desperate danger into which heresy hath brought souls in this country; this being not only an opinion which some of them hold, but an absolute point of their faith, to believe that they are elected, and shall certainly be saved, and that so soon as they are dead (for they believe in no Purgatory or intermediate state). Yea, this is with them not only a point of faith, but their very justifying faith, by which they say they must be saved without necessity of good works. Wherefore no marvel though this poor fellow did out of that ground build his secure and careless proceedings, laying all upon Christ's back, wherein they pretend that they attribute much to the Passion of Christ, and that we dishonour the same by requiring the necessary concurrence of our own cooperation."

taught him how to prepare himself to become a member of that Church, and having instructed him to make an examination of his conscience during his past life, sent him away to do it by himself, and promised that night to hear his confession. The man returned from the Father greatly satisfied and contented, and forthwith applied himself to his business, in which task the Father constantly rendered him assistance; he left all his companions, and retired into a corner, there to recount his years so carelessly spent, and so little thought of before that time. His companions, wondering at this sudden alteration, came to invite him to be merry and drink with them as before, but he sent them away with this answer that he had serious business to think of. That night the good Father kept his promise, and reduced this stray sheep into the fold of Christ, supplying with his prudence and skill that which in so short a time, and so raw a scholar, was likely to be imperfect in the preparation of his penitent. Yea, he made good proof in this one patient how great dexterity and skill he had in the curing of diseased souls. For with the effectual assistance of God's grace, he wrought this man's mind not only to a constant belief of the Catholic faith, but to a fervent profession also of the same, and a public demonstration of a perfect conversion. For the next morning, when the Father was laid upon the hurdle, and drawn to the place of execution, according to the use and form of sentence which was pronounced, this neophyte, being led in company of other prisoners by a footpath hard by the horse way, when he saw the Father come by lying upon the hurdle, he suddenly slipt from the rest of the company, and stept into the horse-way, and followed the hurdle directly, though the way was filthy, and no footman went in it but himself. The keepers and the rest of the prisoners called upon him, and asked him why he did so. He replied that he would follow his Father to his death, whom he hoped to follow after his death to a better place. 'Why,' said they, 'art thou become a Papist?' 'I am a Catholic, said he, 'I thank God and this good Father, and so I mean to die.' They replied that he was a notorious thief, and known to have committed many crimes. 'It is true,' said he, 'I was so, indeed, when I was of your religion. I was then a Protestant and a thief, now I am a Catholic and penitent; and as heresy was the cause of my disorders then, so now the Catholic religion is the cause and means of my repentance.'" This affecting scene, so gladdening to the heart of the

martyr, was no doubt permitted by God to console him for the brutal conduct of the Protestant minister about to be recorded. "In this mind and manner of proceeding, the good convert continued till his death, to the admiration of all who had known his former courses, which gave occasion to divers to see and acknowledge the great difference between those trees which brought forth such different fruits."[31]

On the 7th of April there were taken from Worcester Gaol, and led to the place of execution, Redhill, one mile out of the city, on the London Road, Father Oldcorne, stretched and bound upon a hurdle, followed by five others, Mr. John Winter, Mr. Humphrey Littleton, Brother Ralph Ashley, and the good malefactor lately converted, and another whose name is not mentioned. The way was long and miry, not like the fine macadamized road of the present day, with its lowered hill, which then was rough and steep; and along the midst of it the Father was dragged at the tail of a horse, the sledge making deep furrows through the mud, and the martyr himself being splashed by the horse's feet. This sight, most distressing to every one else, was a cause of such joy and delight to a certain Protestant minister, that he indulged his pleasure by breaking out into loud laughter, and for the increase of his own triumph, and the shame of the Father, he excited the people to make game and mockery of him. Besides this, not to lose a jot of his merry delight, with which he was perfectly intoxicated, he kept in the rear of the procession, as far as the bad road permitted, with a crowd of children he had gathered, who like himself insulted the Father with infamous reproaches, and a thousand foul epithets. Which insane insolence of the Calvinist minister, pleasurable as it was to him, and perhaps he thought he was doing a good action, was nevertheless highly offensive to the more sage ones of his sect, who considered it to exceed a hangman's cruelty, and to show no marks of an ecclesiastic, which character he bore, and to exhibit a remarkable contrast to the devout conduct of the martyr, with his joined hands, his serene countenance, and his eyes upraised to heaven.

Father Oldcorne, being come to the place of execution, first with great fervour commended himself to Almighty God, to the Blessed Virgin, and to his patron, St. Jerome, to whom he was ever very much devoted. He then declared to the people that he came there to die for the Catholic faith, and for the practice of his priestly functions, seeing that they neither

[31] Father Gerard's Narrative, *Condition of Catholics*, p. 273.

had nor could prove anything against him which, even by their own laws, was sufficient to condemn him, but that he was a priest of the Society of Jesus, wherein he much rejoiced, and was ready and desirous to give his life for the profession of that faith which he had taught many years in that very county, and which it was necessary for every one to embrace that would save their souls. He prayed aloud for the King and all the Royal family, for his accuser (whom he said he heartily pardoned), for the judge, jury, and all any way concerned in his death. Then being asked again about the treason, and his taking part with the conspirators, he protested there again that he never had the least knowledge of the plot, and took it upon his death that he was as clear as the new-born child of the whole or of any part of it. Then again commending his soul with great devotion, humility, and confidence into the hands of God, and to the Blessed Virgin, St. Jerome, St. Winefrid, and his good Angel Guardian, he was turned off the ladder, and hanging awhile, was cut down, and quartered, and so his innocent and thrice happy soul went to receive the reward of his many and great labours. The following interesting mention of Father Oldcorne is made in a letter written by Father William Baldwin, the Vice-Prefect for Belgium of the English Mission, dated, Brussels, May 20, 1606, to Father Robert Parsons in Rome: "They praise the courage and constancy of Catholics marvellously, and have an apprehension of the daily increase of them, as also that the better sort in England are inclined Catholically, and are Catholics in profession. They speak much of the zeal of the Lady of Shrewsbury, and of the indignation of the King upon hearing of the manner of Father Oldcorne's death and how that at his requesting all Catholics to pray for him, and say *De profundis*, there were found so many to say that aloud, as they were esteemed a great part of the number, and so many by signs and voices to have given show of Catholic profession, as all were amazed."[32]

After him followed Brother Ralph Ashley, the faithful follower and companion of his labours, of whom a short notice is given in our present series.

Mr. John Winter was the first to suffer. He died with great show of devotion and good state of mind, as was shown also by his fervent endeavours the night before to help towards the conversion of the good thief. After him followed

[32] Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.*

Mr. Humphrey Littleton, whose penitent conduct and public act of reparation we have already mentioned. Of that act of justice, Father Bartoli observes, all Worcester was evidence. Robert Abbot alone, because it was so honourable to Father Oldcorne, attributed it to despair and madness.[33]

Father Gerard, in his Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot, concludes his notice of Father Oldcorne and Brother Ralph and other sufferers as follows: "But as for Father Oldcorne and Ralph, their case was so clear that no Catholics in all the country doubted to call them, and to call upon them presently as martyrs, and did strive exceedingly for some part of their holy relics. Besides, Almighty God did testify by special signs the great merits of blessed Father Oldcorne, which I think fit here to set down.

"For first, the place where his bowels were cast into the fire (as the custom is), being in the open field, and subject to rain and all injury of weather, yet did the fire continue burning there, and could not be extinguished for sixteen or seventeen days together, until at last the town of Worcester, fearing a miracle, did send to put it out with violence. But they could not hinder the people from seeing the wonder to be great, and more than natural, and giving unto Catholics just cause to remember with what zeal of burning charity he had for the like number of years sought to enkindle their hearts with heavenly fire, like the true disciple of Him that said, 'I am come to send fire on the earth, and what will I but that it be kindled.'" The MS. memoir of Father Oldcorne we have mentioned before,[34] in recounting this evident miracle, says "that the satellites kept pouring water upon the fire, and could not extinguish it, and that during sixteen days there was a pouring rain, and still the cinders kept burning. At last, on the seventeenth day, which was a very great fair, it broke forth again into a flame in the sight of the people gazing upon it, and then at last it was brought under by water poured upon it in great abundance. But in the spot a quantity of grass sprang up in the form of a crown, like a royal diadem, which remained indelible for a long time."[35]

[33] Bartoli, *Inghil.* lib. vi. p. 138, quoting Robert Abbot, *Antol.* cap. x. p. 151.

[34] In Collectio Cardwelli, *Vitæ Martyr.*

[35] Father Nieremberg, in relating this miracle, says by mistake *six* days, and considers *that* a sufficient prodigy. But all the other authors name the sixteen or seventeen days.

Father Gerard continues: "In like manner, there was seen to grow within the court of Hinlip, where Fathers Garnett and Oldcorne were taken, and where Father Oldcorne had for many years together deserved a crown of glory, a formal crown of grass, both higher and of different colour from the rest of the grass round about it, and the wonder was the greater in respect that the gates of the mansion being broken down at the time of the search, and so continually standing open, and both swine and other kind of cattle coming in, yet none of them would either eat of that grass or did tread upon it to deface it: yea, when neighbours did cut it down, in like manner as they had extinguished the fire, yet did it grow up again in like height and form as it was before, and so continued to the great admiration of all the country thereabouts. But it is to me much greater marvel that they will not open their eyes and see 'how wonderful God is in His saints.' I hope in God the time will come when the city of Worcester will see and acknowledge both the burning charity with which the blessed Father Oldcorne lived and died amongst them, and the crown of glory which he hath received at the hand of God for his faith so truly kept, and his course so happily consummated. His life was holy, his death saintly. God send us part of his blessed merits and intercession."[36]

The authors who have treated of Father Oldcorne, are Andreas Eudæmon Joannes in apolog. pro Garneto 6 and 10 (Item in confutatione Anticolini cap. iii.; Petrus Ribad. in appendice ad centuriam martyr. S.J.; Tabula eorumd. martyr. Romæ incisa; Menolog. S.J. MS.; Jacobus Gualterius in Tabula Chronographica; Arnoldus Rayssius in Hierogazophylacio illust. S.J. Belgico, p. 172; Petrus Oultram in Tabula virorum illust. S.J. Gallicè; P. Joan. Gerard in relatione rerum suarum MS. quæ servatur in Tabulario Romano; J. C. Nieremberg de viris illust. S.J. tom. ii. Hispan.; Jacobus Damianus in Synop. S.J. lib. v. cap. xxvi.; Hilarion de Cosse Hist. Cath. lib. iii. in Edm. Campiano Gallicè; P. Mathias Tanner vita et mors Jes. pro fide interfect.; P. Bartoli Inghilterra lib. vi. &c.; P. Hen. More, Hist. Prov. Angl. S.J.

[36] Father Gerard's Narrative, *Condition of Catholics*, p. 286.

THE LIFE OF BROTHER NICHOLAS (*alias* JOHN) OWEN.

THE following biography of this faithful servant of Christ, is taken from Father Mathias Tanner, S.J., *Vita et mors Jesuitarum pro fide interfectorum*, who quotes Father Bartoli, *Istor. Inghilterra*, and Father John Gerard's personal Narrative, and his History of the Gunpowder Plot.[1] To these sources have been added several documents from the State Papers in the Public Record Office regarding the confessor, including two examinations of Brother Owen in the Tower after his last seizure at Hinlip with Fathers Henry Garnett and Oldcorne and Brother Ashley.

Of the parentage, birthplace, and early years of Brother Nicholas Owen, we have no record, nor can we tell the exact time of his admission into the Society. He was a man of talent and admirable prudence, and from his skill in contriving hiding-places for the priests hunted to death by the searchers and pursuivants he saved the lives of a great many, and thus contributed as much as any one to the preservation of the Catholic religion in those trying times. It is not unlikely that he followed the trade of a builder, and Father Tanner says that Father Garnett, having been acquainted with his indefatigable labours for several years, "lawfully bound him to the Society," although it was for good reasons kept secret. Father Henry Garnett came to England, as we have seen in his life, on September 8, 1586, with Father Robert Southwell, the poet and martyr. In 1588, on the seizure and committal to prison of Father William Weston, the Superior of the English Mission, Father Garnett was appointed his successor, so that it must have been after this date, according to Tanner, that Brother Owen was admitted. But from Father Henry More[2] we gather that this event must have been much earlier, for he places him amongst the *first* English lay-brothers who were received—these were Brother William Lambert, admitted in 1557, John Pellison in 1562, and Ralph Emerson about 1569.[3] Father More, after naming these as the three first English lay-brothers, adds: "To them may be added John Owen, *alias* Little John, commonly so-called from

[1] *Condition of Catholics under James I.*
[2] *Hist. Prov. Angl.* vol. i. n. 31, p. 31.
[3] See "Life of Brother Emerson," *Records*, series v.

his diminutive stature, who was in the constant service of ours. He was very skilful in designing hiding-places in the houses of Catholics. Falling into the hands of the enemy, and refusing to make any disclosures or confessions, they tortured him with such brutal ferocity that his bowels gushed out with his life."

Father Tanner's "lawful binding to the Society" would, no doubt, refer to Owen's solemn profession, which is never allowed until after at least a trial of ten or twelve years. Supposing Father Garnett to have admitted him to his solemn profession in 1590, this would carry his entrance back to about 1579. In 1580, Father General wrote several letters of consolation to some of the suffering English members, and amongst others one addressed "To our Brother Nicholas." He was clearly admitted at that time. The letter is taken from the collection of Father Richard Cardwell.[4]

In England.

To our Brother Nicholas,—

Although the bearer of this letter will be able to explain personally to you as well all news about ourselves, as also to express our affection for you, nevertheless he thought it a good opportunity of my writing a few lines to you, to give you to understand what I know will be most grateful to you, that we embrace you as a most dear son in the charity of Christ. For the sake of which charity, though I doubt not but that you already do so, and will continue to persevere in it, yet I would warn you, dearest Brother, that you labour diligently to keep yourself in the holy fear of God, and defend yourself against all deceits of Satan, and especially to arm yourself against the allurements of flesh and blood, than which nothing is more dangerous, nor any enemy to be more constantly waged war against. And whilst you diligently attend to the spirit as I have said, in the next place I earnestly commend you to have a care of the body also, and that you study to strengthen your health for this travel which you have undertaken, and that you seriously attend to this for God's greater service. Indeed I hope our Lord Jesus will restore it to you, and henceforth entirely establish it to your lasting and great consolation, which, notwithstanding I trust that He of His bounty will do, yet I will not cease to implore Him; and in all things we require of you, we will always have regard both to your health and comfort. Since you will get all information from the bearer of this letter, there is no need for my writing at greater length. Wherefore I conclude, commending you to the grace of God, that He will deign to protect and govern you in all things to His Divine glory .Amen.

Rome, April 15, 1580.

[4] Stonyhurst MSS. Collectio Cardwelli ex Arch. de l'Etat Belg. Brussels, 1871–2, vol. i. p. 37.

Fathers Tanner and Nadasi mention November 12, 1606, as the date of Brother Owen's death in the Tower. Dr. Oliver, in his short notice of him, says: "The true date of his death I conceive to be February 6, 1606, not the 12th of November, as the Necrology has it."[5] But in this Dr. Oliver is mistaken, for, as we have seen, on the 5th of February Brother Owen was actually on his way to London,[6] and one of his examinations in the Tower, which will be given in its place, is dated March 1, 1606. He is also named in a letter of Father Garnett, March 3, 1606, to Anne Vaux, and in one of Secretary Cecil to Sir Edward Coke, the Attorney General, dated the 28th of March of the same year.

Brother Owen passed by several *aliases*. He was sometimes called by the Christian name of John, sometimes Nicholas. Also by the surnames of "Little John," "Little Michael," "Andrewes," and "Draper."

Father Tanner says: "A great servant of God in a diminutive body, Nicholas Odoēnus, otherwise Owen, spent eighteen years with Fathers Henry Garnett and John Gerard in the capacity of a faithful and most truly useful servant. Born in England in the midst of a depraved nation, he lived a singularly innocent life, untainted by the allurements of the world; his confessor, who had known his conscience from his earliest childhood, solemnly asserts that he preserved his baptismal purity unsullied until death. With incomparable skill he knew how to conduct priests to a place of safety along subterranean passages, to hide them between walls, to bury them in impenetrable recesses, and to entangle them in labyrinths and a thousand windings. But what was much more difficult of accomplishment, he so disguised the entrances to these, as to make them most unlike what they really were. Moreover, he kept these places so close a secret with himself, that he would never disclose to another the place of concealment of any Catholic. He alone was both their architect and builder, working at them with inexhaustible industry and labour, for generally the thickest walls had to be broken into and large stones excavated, requiring stronger arms than were attached to a body so diminutive as to give him the nickname of 'Little John.' And by this his skill many priests were preserved from the fury of the persecutors, nor is it easy to find any one who had not often been indebted for

[5] *Collectanea S.J.*

[6] See letter of Sir Henry Bromley to Salisbury, p. 76.

his life to Owen's hiding-places; a benefit redounding to all Catholics, whose progress in virtue and the means of using the Divine Mysteries were thus due to him. His unwonted success in constructing these hiding-places, and many striking coincidences connected with them, would seem to have been a reward from Heaven for his remarkable piety; for when he was about to design one he commenced the work by receiving the Most Holy Eucharist, sought to aid its progress by continual prayer, and offered the completion of it to God alone, accepting of no other reward for his toil than the merit of charity and the consolation of labouring for the good of Catholics. In the meanwhile the heretics were furious at finding so great a number of labourers spread abroad throughout the whole length and breadth of the land, in advance of previous times, nor were the schemes of traitors and emissaries of any avail in capturing them, as they always eluded their grasp, in the safe retirement of the hiding-places."

Father Garnett, having reaped benefit from the indefatigable labours of Brother Owen, whereby he rendered himself so useful to the Catholics, received his solemn profession in the Society; but the Fathers studiously concealed the fact of his being a lay-brother, lest a door of entrance to that degree should seem to have been opened for men of the highest rank, who might seek for admission, and might feel offended if they were rejected as utterly useless for service in that degree in England. And this did really happen; for the religious virtues of Brother Owen, notwithstanding all his efforts to play the servant, shone so clearly forth from beneath the disguise, that great men became envious of his state, and eagerly solicited admission to it from Father Garnett, the Superior. For the virtues of the most matured religious were conspicuous in him—an assiduous practice of prayer, a love of holy poverty so ardent that no child could have more for the fondest mother, an almost immoderate use of voluntary mortifications, an insatiable desire of suffering for Christ, of which he gave many proofs during three imprisonments in which he was punished and tortured to the heart's content of the heretics. His free and public praises of Father Campian, whose servant he had been, openly declaring him to be an innocent man put to death for the religion of Christ, exposed him to his first captivity. The Protestant minister, in his exasperation, caused him to be confined for a long time in a loathsome dungeon, with a heavy chain attached to his leg, to which Owen himself added a rough

and painful haircloth by way of voluntary infliction. Besides this, Father John Gerard relates that he once saw a servant of the gaoler inflict upon him a succession of boxes on the ear, which insult and pain Owen received without making the slightest complaint. Being removed to a yet more filthy gaol with three companions, they were tortured by so long and severe hunger that one of them died from want. "He himself confided to me," writes Father Gerard, "that the body of this poor man appeared so covered with lice and swarming with vermin, as to resemble a mole-heap or ant-hill teeming with its busy travellers."

Brother Owen nevertheless obtained his liberty, and then gave his labours to Father Gerard as a servant, until, being apprehended with him, he was once more thrust into a wretched prison in London, and carried before the examiners. We give an account of this last arrest from Father Gerard's auto-biography.[7]

"I wanted to hire a house where I might be safe and unknown, and be free to treat with my friends; for I could not manage my business in a house that was not my own, especially in such a one as I then dwelt in. I had recourse to a servant of Father Garnett, named Little John, an ex-cellent man and one well able to help me. He it was that used to make our hiding-places; in fact, he made the one to which I owed my safety. Thanks to his endeavours, I found a house well suited for my purpose, and settled with my landlord about the rent. Till the house was furnished, I hired a room in my landlord's own house.[8] There I resolved to pass two or three nights in arranging my affairs, getting letters from my friends in distress, and writing back letters of comfort in return. Thus it was that the traitor got sent to the place, which was only known to a small circle of friends. It was God's will that my hour should then come.

"One night, when Little John and I had to sleep in that room, the traitor had to bring a letter that needed an answer, and he left with the answer about ten o'clock. I had only come in about nine, sorely against the will of the lady, my entertainer, who was uncommonly earnest that I should not leave her house that night. Away went the traitor then, and gave information to the priest-hunters both when and where he had left me. They got together a band, and came at midnight

[7] *Condition of Catholics*, pp. lvii. seq.
[8] In the examination of Frank it is called Middleton's house.

to the house, just as I had gone to sleep. Little John and I were both awakened by the noise outside. I guessed what it was, and told John to hide the letter received that night in the ashes where the fire had been. No sooner had he done so and got into bed again, than the noise which we had heard before seemed to travel up to our room. Then some men began knocking at the chamber-door, ready to break it in if it was not opened at once. There was no exit except by the door where our foes were; so I bade John get up and open the door. The room was at once filled with men, armed with swords and staves; and many more stood outside, who were not able to enter. Among the rest stood two pursuivants, one of whom knew me well, so there was no chance of my passing unknown.

"I got up and dressed, as I was bid. All my effects were searched, but without a single thing being found that could do harm to any man. My companion and I were then taken off to prison. By God's grace we did not feel distressed, nor did we show any token of fear. What I was most afraid of was, that they had seen me come out of that lady's house, and had tracked me to the room that I had hired; and so that the noble family that had harboured me would suffer on my account. But this fear was unfounded; for I learnt afterwards that the traitor had simply told them where he had left me, and there it was that they found me.[9] The pursuivant who knew me, kept me in his house two nights; either because those who were to examine me were hindered from doing so on the first day, or (as it struck me afterwards) because they wished first to examine my companion, Little John."

This traitor was John Frank, servant to Mr. Wiseman, in the confidence of the Catholics and priests, and wholly unsuspected; indeed Father Gerard only discovered him some time after, upon the occasion of certain letters, as we have already mentioned in the Life of Brother Fulwood.[10] The examination of this man, taken May 12, 1594, may be seen in the Public Record Office, State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.*, vol. ccxlviii. n. 103. A full copy of it is given in Father Morris' *Condition of Catholics*, pp. xliii. seq. Among other things he states—

"*Item*, he saith that Nicholas Owen, who was taken in

[9] Father Morris, in a note, says that this noble lady "was the Countess of Arundel, whose husband, Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, was at the time (1594) in the tenth year of his imprisonment in the Tower. . . ."

[10] *Records*, vol. i. series i. pp. 486, seq.

bed with Mr. Gerard the Jesuit, was at Mr. Wiseman's house at Christmas was twelvemonths; and called by the name of Little John and Little Michael, and the cloak that he wore was Mr. Wiseman's cloak a year past, and was of sad green cloth with sleeves, caped with tawny velvet and little gold strips turning on the cape. And the said Owen was at Mr. Emerson's at Felsted while Mrs. Wiseman lay there."

Brother Nicholas was now (1594) in the Counter. In the life of Brother Richard Fulwood it has been already mentioned that both he and Little John had been examined and tortured, and that, unable by coaxing or bribery to draw anything from them that would affect others, their persecutors had recourse to threats and then to force, but the Holy Ghost in them was all-powerful. They were hung up for three hours together, with their arms fixed into iron rings, and their bodies hanging in the air, causing frightful pain and distension of the nerves; but all to no purpose. This was the terrible "Topcliffe" rack described in the Life of Father Southwell,[11] Father Gerard soon after procured the release of Nicholas for a sum of money by way of ransom. He seems still to have acted as a messenger to that Father in the Clink Prison, to which he had been removed from the Counter in the Poultry, but he was living with Father Garnett as a servant.

Father Gerard was soon after transferred to the Tower, having been informed against by a fellow prisoner, an unhappy fallen priest named Atkinson, who, as Father Gerard says, "was standing by when I handed a packet of letters dated from Rome and Brussels to a servant of Father Garnett's of the name of Little John, about whom I have before spoken. This latter, after having been arrested in my company, as I have related . . . had been released for a sum of money which some Catholic gentleman had paid. For his services were indispensable to them and many others, as he was a first-rate hand at contriving priest's hiding-places."

Father Tanner mentions the racking of Brother Nicholas as above stated, with the addition that his sufferings were rendered all the more terrible by attaching heavy iron weights to his legs.[12] At length, making a happy use of his skill and art, he again not only "broke prison," but,

[11] *Records*, vol. i. series i. pp. 357, seq.

[12] In the Life of Brother John Lilly a short description of this rack and of the torture is given, taken from Father Gerard's Narrative. See *Records*, vol. i. series i. p. 451 note.

on the occasion of Father Gerard's escape from the Tower, he was ready in waiting at a fixed spot with horses, and a little before day-break conducted him to Father Garnett, who was then staying in the country, to the great joy of both Fathers, and the congratulations of the Catholics.[13]

Father Tanner, after mentioning the removal of Father Gerard from the Clink Prison to the Tower upon the information of the priest Atkinson (which was especially calculated to inflame the Queen's ministers, and excite them to extract by all possible tortures the place of Father Garnett's concealment, whom for so many years, in spite of the fraud and treachery of the adversary, they had never been able to catch), states that five commissioners met at Barkley's, the Lieutenant of the Tower,[14] and when they saw that no blandishments would avail them, led Father Gerard off to that horrid and terrible dungeon set apart for torturing criminals.[15]

"I felt now," says Father Gerard, "such intense pain that it seemed to me impossible to bear it longer, and I fainted. It never, however, entered my mind to give the information they wanted. But by the great goodness of God this thought refreshed me in my extremity, that I had often desired to die for Christ. With this thought our good God gave me also out of His immense bounty to resign myself to His good pleasure. From that time the help of Christ was not wanting to me. This desire of dying for Christ gave no little revival to my spirit, and seemed to diminish the pains of my body. The examiners, seeing that I gave them no further answers, left me in charge of some sturdy guards. The gaolers also remained, and kept wiping away the sweat that ran down from my face the whole time. They say that they had been commanded to torture me until either I died under it or else confessed. But I kept praying in a low voice, and invoking

[13] Father Gerard in his Narrative says: "After we landed, . . . I with Richard Fulwood went to a house which Father Garnett had in the suburbs, and there I and Little John shortly before daylight mounted our horses, which he had ready there for the purpose, and rode straight off to Father Garnett, who was then living a short distance in the country [probably his house in Enfield Chase], and got there by dinner-time, and great rejoicing there was on my arrival, and much thanksgiving to God at my having thus escaped from the hands of my enemies in the name of the Lord."

[14] These were R. Barkley, Edward Coke, Thomas Fleming, Francis Bacon, and William Waad.

[15] We have given from Tanner Father Gerard's description of his own sufferings on the rack, as being applicable to Brother Nicholas also, who was tortured in the same way, though with still greater cruelty.

the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary in order to distract my attention from their words.

"I had been in this way till after one o'clock, when I fainted, but for a short time only as I suspect, for the men who stood by lifted me up, or replaced the steps under my feet until I came to myself, and immediately they heard me praying they removed the steps and let me down again; and they repeated this eight or nine times for the space of five hours, as often as they thought me in danger of dying under the violence of the torment. After five hours Wade returned and said, 'Will you yet obey the commands of the Queen and Council?' 'No,' said I, 'what you ask is unlawful, therefore I will never do it.' 'At least, then,' said Wade, 'say that you would like to speak to Secretary Cecil.' 'I have nothing to say to him,' I replied, 'more than I have already said, and if I were to ask to speak to him scandal would be caused, for people would imagine that I was yielding at length, and wished to give information.' Upon this Wade, departing in a rage, said, 'Hang there, then, till you rot.' After some time they took me down from the rack, and though neither foot nor leg was injured, yet I could scarcely stand, and they took me back to my cell.

"Early next morning I was referred back to my yesterday's pillar, but they could not put the manacles on, for the flesh had so risen on both sides that there were two hills of flesh with a furrow between, and they would meet no where but in the furrow.

"In my hands and feet I felt a great deal more pain than on the previous day, but not so much in my breast and belly. While thus hanging I prayed, sometimes in silence, sometimes aloud, and hung this time much longer without fainting, but at length I fainted so thoroughly that they could not bring me round. How long I remained in the faint I do not know, all I know is that when I opened my eyes I found myself sitting upon a bench. Barkley, the Lieutenant of the Tower, expostulated with me upon my obstinate silence; but God gave me such great strength of voice and courage that I replied, 'I would rather die a thousand times than do what they require, and offend God for man's sake.' 'Well, then,' said he, appearing to say it with sorrow, 'we must hang you up now and in the evening too.' 'Let us go, then,' I replied. And attempting to rise, I could not stand, and had to be supported to the pillar. And if there was any strength in my soul it

was given I am sure as a favour for my being in the Society, though a most unworthy member, nevertheless I am a member. I was suspended therefore a third time in very great pain of body, but not without great consolation of soul, as I believe from the desire I had of dying. I certainly thought that I should die, and felt great consolation in committing myself to the will and good pleasure of God, despising entirely that of men. I think I hung not quite an hour this time, when my gaoler took me down and led me back to my cell. He seemed very sorrowful. He then brought me some food of which I could eat but little, and that he was obliged to cut for me and put into my mouth, my hands being completely benumbed. The sense of feeling in my hands returned after about three months, but I did not recover the full use of them for six months, the time of my escape from the Tower."[16]

Father Tanner then proceeds in his biographical notice of Brother Owen to give from the same Narrative of Father Gerard, an account of his wonderful escape from the Tower, for he attributes the deliverance of the Father from prison and certain death to the cleverness of Owen, and we can well imagine this desperate undertaking to have been planned by so experienced a head. It was ably carried out by Brothers Fulwood and Lilly, who were less known in those quarters than Owen himself. Having given some extracts from the Narrative in the lives of Brothers Fulwood and Lilly, we shall content ourselves with referring the reader to their biographies. Brother Owen, as we have seen, waited in readiness with two horses, mounting which the fugitives rode away to meet Father Garnett, who was expecting them.

Father Gerard again mentions Brother Owen, and describes a narrow escape which the brother had from arrest. It occurred in the year 1599, soon after the seizure of Brother John Lilly (personating Father Gerard), as we have already mentioned in his Life, page 9. Father Gerard says—"Now at this time, that is, soon after my return from London, we had driven over to the new house to make arrangements for my removal thither, and with the special object of determining where to construct hiding-places. To this end we had 'Little John' with us, whom I have before mentioned as

[16] Father Gerard, in his fuller Narrative, says that the Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir Richard Barkley, who was evidently a compassionate man, was so disgusted with the torturing of innocent men that he resigned his post after holding it only for about three or four months. He was not the Lieutenant at the time of Father Gerard's escape.

very clever at constructing these places, and whom Father Garnett had lent to us for a time for this purpose. Having made all the necessary arrangements we left 'Little John' behind, and Hugh Sheldon also to help him, who is now in Rome with Father Parsons in the room of John Lilly. These two, whom we had always found most faithful, were to construct the hiding-places, and to be the only ones beside ourselves who knew anything about them. The rest of us, however, returned the same day to our hostess's own house, and by the advice of one of the servants, God so disposing it, we came back a different way, as being easier for the carriage. Had we returned by the way we went, the searchers would have come early to the house where we were, and most probably catching us entirely unprepared, would have found what they came to seek. The fact was that the road by which we went to the new house ran through a town where some of the enemy were on the watch, and had seen us pass, but not seeing us return they concluded that we were spending the night at the new house, and went there the first thing in the morning to search.

"But the house was so large that although they had a numerous body of followers, they were not able to surround it entirely, nor to watch all the outlets so narrowly but what Little John managed to make off safely. Hugh Sheldon they caught, but could get nothing out of him, so they sent him afterwards to prison at Wisbeach, and from thence later to some other prison in company with many priests, and at last in the same good company into exile."

Hugh Sheldon was a native of Staffordshire. The above arrest took place at Lord Vaux's, Harrowden. Sheldon was afterwards transferred with several others from Wisbeach Castle to Framlingham Castle preparatory to banishment in 1603, on the occasion of the accession of James I. His name is included in "a list of Jesuits in England, with the chief places of their abode."[17] "Mr. Sheldon, a lay Jesuit." He was at Rome in 1608, and succeeded Brother John Lilly in his office there, on the latter's departure for England in May, 1609.

But Owen, the contriver of Father Gerard's escape, having by these and other trials, and by a faithful service of twenty years with Father Garnett been well proved by God, though he had never as yet been entered on the Catalogues of the Society

[17] State Papers, *Dom. James I.* 1603, vol. vii. n. 50.

as a member, and still retained the name and office of a mere servant, at length for the third time fell into the hands of his enemies, together with his master Father Garnett and Father Oldcorne. Moved by a charity than which no man hath greater, that of laying down his life for his friend, he voluntarily came forth from his hiding-place, after he had carefully concealed Father Garnett in it, in order that he might himself be taken by the enemy, and by passing as a priest, thus preserve the lives of the Fathers as more useful for the Catholics. He was seized along with Brother Ralph Ashley, the servant of Father Oldcorne.[18] "It is incredible," writes Cecil, "how great was the joy caused by this arrest throughout the kingdom. Knowing the great skill of Owen in constructing hiding-places, and the innumerable quantity of these dark holes which he had schemed for hiding priests all through England." Cecil now saw before him a sure prospect of being able to seize and thus exterminate the priests to a man in England, and by the confiscation to the royal treasury of the property of the leading nobility who had harboured them in these domestic refuges, to fill his own coffers also.

On hearing of the capture of Owen, he burst out into a joyful exclamation. "No dealing now with a lenient hand. We will try and get from him by coaxing, if he is willing thus to contract for his life, an excellent booty of priests. If he will not confess he shall be pressed by exquisite tortures, and we will wring the secret from him by the severity of his torments." Matters were conducted with all skill and industry. At the commencement a "free custody" was allowed him in the prison, in order that those who visited him might be stealthily watched, thereby to gather conjectures as to secrets. But Cecil being baulked in his expectations by Owen's prudence, he was removed from the Marshalsea Prison, where he was first confined, to the Tower, where he was pressed and tried by every species of savage torture to compel him to make the disclosures which Cecil was eagerly desirous to obtain.

Waade, who was then the Keeper of the Tower, entertained an insane hatred of the Catholic religion, and, with the utmost obsequiousness to the orders of Cecil, set himself so determinedly to work that he kept this patient sufferer during six days suspended upon the rack in the most terrible torture, and indeed sometimes for six hours together, notwithstanding he

[18] The reader is referred to the Life of Father Garnett, for a full account of the seizure at Hinlip.

was infirm, and had for a long time suffered from hernia. Nor did this savage monster regard even the laws of the land, which forbade criminals to be racked who were thus afflicted, for fear of causing the death of a man as yet unconvicted. Cruelty indeed suggested an opportune remedy, for to prevent his dying under this butchery, they girt his body with an iron band as a precaution. Such, however, was the excessive ferocity of this examination by torture—the most vehement pain of which was chiefly felt in the breast and abdomen, as we learn from Father Gerard, who had experienced it—that no bandaging could possibly avail. For the sufferer, who was most patient under his tortures, and refused absolutely to answer any question of Waade's, speaking with God alone, and sweetly invoking the aid of Jesus and Mary, though silent as to aught else, so aroused the brutal rage of Waade at seeing himself baffled by the little man, and observing the increase of patience which he gained in prayer, that he ordered the executioners to exert themselves, and put out all their strength to cause a further distension of the sufferer's body by adding fresh weights to his legs. Whilst exerting themselves in this last effort, their victim's bowels broke in a frightful manner from the lacerated body, the very iron girdle itself assisting to tear open and enlarge the wound; and in the midst of this horrible torture Brother Nicholas breathed forth his soul into the hands of God, upon the rack.

Such an end was calculated to move to compassion the savage heart even of the most abandoned man. Yet Waade and Cecil, the Secretary of State, who had long ago been transformed into brutes in human shape, were so enraged that they sought to defame the murdered man by a most unheard of and infamous calumny. They published, both in writing and by pictures, that Brother Owen had thus committed suicide in a fit of despair, by inflicting the wound upon himself, to escape the hands of justice, and avoid the further tortures which seemed to be imminent, and all this in the absence of the gaoler from the prison. They also gave out as a reason for this desperate act, a false apprehension in the mind of Owen that the severer torture was reserved for him, of being hung up by his two thumbs, even were it but for a short time. It was in vain that they attempted to fix this crime upon him by such an extravagant falsehood, for his courage and constancy were well known even to Protestants, having been abundantly proved by his severe examination under a similar

kind of torture ten years before, and therefore men were not likely now to be convinced that he would have committed suicide through despair. Or how came it to pass that a poor despicable servant was allowed a table-knife (with which they said he had committed the act) for cutting his own food, a favour never granted to criminals even of the highest rank, or by the most indulgent gaoler? Father Gerard had been unable to procure by entreaties even a small penknife to adapt a stick instead of a quill for use in writing? One might ask why was not the neglect or indulgence of the gaoler in allowing such a knife visited with the usual punishment? Or why the body of Nicholas was not, according to the prescribed law for self-murderers, buried without funeral rites at some cross road outside the city, with a tablet or a pole to tell the tale? Father Tanner uses in addition the still stronger argument that from the excess of his torture Brother Owen had lost the use of his hands, as will appear more fully in the account given by Father Gerard. One of the executioners themselves who had racked him spoke of his patience and courage in the six days' torturing on the engine as a miracle, declaring that of all those who had passed through his hands he had never before met with such fortitude and so Christian a spirit; nor were upright men wanting who repeated these facts to the people when the body of the martyr was exhibited, in order to persuade them to believe the truth of the false reports which were given out. Although the mouths of these persons were closed by their being imprisoned for their boldness, nevertheless the truth became current outside the prison, and restored the good name of the servant of God, who was extolled for having most generously contended for the Catholic faith by a glorious combat to his last breath.

We shall proceed to give the account of Brother Nicholas' arrest at Hinlip, from Father John Gerard's Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot, followed by some interesting documents from the State Papers in the Public Record Office, and conclude this history with the same Father's account of the martyrdom of this noble sufferer for conscience' sake.

On the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, Father Garnett, accompanied by Brother Nicholas, had taken refuge with Father Edward Oldcorne and his companion, Brother Ralph Ashley, at Hinlip, near Worcester.

Brother Nicholas' name also occurs in various documents already given in the life of Father Garnett, viz., Sir Henry

Bromley's list of prisoners, *Dom. James I.*, vol. xviii., n. 64. 1; in Father Garnett's examination, dated March 6, 160$\frac{5}{6}$, *Dom. James I.*, vol. xix., n. 16; in one of the "Interlocutions" in the same vol. xix., n. 7, March 2, 160$\frac{5}{6}$; in Father Garnett's intercepted letter to Mrs. Anne Vaux, same vol. xix., n. 19; and lastly in the orange-juice letter, Gunpowder Plot Book, p. 242, n. 2.

The following are two of the confessions of the martyr; Gunpowder Plot Book, part ii. n. 192, *Dom. James I.* 1606.

"Examination of Nicholas Owen, taken February 26, 160$\frac{5}{6}$.

He confesseth that he hath been called by the name of Andrewes and knoweth not whether he hath bene called by the name of Little John or Draper, or any other name than Owen and Andrewes.

That he came to Mr. Abington's house the Saturday before he was taken, but refuseth to answer from what place he came.

He denieth that he knoweth Father Garnett or that he ever served him, or that he [Father Garnett] is called by the name of Mease, Darcy, Whalley, Philips, Fermor, or any other name.

He denieth that he knoweth a Jesuit called Oldcorne, or Hall.

And that he knoweth that Geo. Chambers served Hall the Jesuite. He confesseth that he hath known George Chambers some six or seven yeares, and became acquainted with him at an ordinarie in Fleet Street, and saith he, this examinant served at that tyme Mr. Henry Drurie of Sussex.

Gunpowder Plot Book, part ii. n. 194. *Dom. James I.* "The confession of Nicholas Owen, taken March 1, 1606."

He confesseth that he hath at tymes attended and followed Henry Garnett, the Provincial of the Jesuits, some fower yeares or thereabouts.

That he was at the house of Thomas Throgmorton called Coughton, in the beginning of November last, when the Ladie Digby was there, and by the watch that was in the town they did understand that Catesby, Percy, and the rest of the traytors were upp in armes.

That on All Hallowe Day last, Garnett did say Masse at Coughton House, at which Masse this examinant was, and some others to the number of half a dozen.

That the forenamed Henry Garnett *als.* Walley, the Provincial, was at Henlipp, the house of Thos. Abington, some six weeks before the tyme that he was apprehended by Sir Henry Bromley; and Hall the Jesuite was there about three days before the house of Mr. Abington was besett, having been there also before that tyme, and from thence the said Hall went into the country for the space of a seven night, and came againe as before is said, some three days before the house was besett.

That during the foresaid time of 6 weeks, he did attend on Mr. Garnett to make his fyer and to do those things which were fitt about him. That the said Garnett did lye in a lower chamber descending from the dyning roome; and did ordinarily dyne and

supp in the dyning chamber with Mr. Abington and his wife ; and when Hall was there, he did dyne and supp there likewise.

He also doth confesse that he hath bene often tymes with the said Garnett at the house called White Webbs, in Enfield Chase.

NICOLAS OWEN.

W. WAAD, JOHN CORBETT, &c.

The last paper we shall notice is the following letter of instructions written by Secretary Cecil, to Sir Edward Coke, the Attorney-General.

Dom. James I. State Papers, vol. xix. n. 94. Endorsed by Sir Edward Coke, "My Lord of Salisbury's directions touching P. treason," $160\frac{5}{6}$.

These things I am commanded to refer unto your memory. . . .

First, that yow be sure to make it appear unto ye world yt there was an employment of some p'sons to Spaine for a practise of invasion, as soon as ye Q.'s breath was owt of her body.[19]

The reason is this for wch ye K. doth urge it : he saith some men there are yt will give owt, and do, *yt only dispaire of the K.'s courses in* [with] *ye Catholicks, and his severity, drawe all these to souch woorks of discontentment;* where by yow it will appear yt before his Maties face was seen, or yt he had don anything in government, the K. of Sp. was moved, though he refused it, saying he rather expected to have peace.

Next yow must in *any case*, when yow speake of the lre [letter] wch was the first growd [ground] of discovery, *absolutely disclaime yt any of these wrote it, thogh yow leave ye further judgment indefinite, who els it shold be.*

Lastly, and yt yow must not omitt, yow must deliver in commendation of my L. Monteagle words to show how sincerely he delt, and how fortunately it proved yt he was ye instrument of so great a blessing as this was. To be short, Sr, yow can remember how well ye K. in his book dyd answere his lordship's part in it, from wch sense yow are not to varry, but obiter (as you know best how), to give some eccleo [*eclat*] of yt particular action, in that day of publick triall of these men, because it is so lewdly given out, yt he was once of this Plott of Powder, and afterwards betraied

[19] This was at least straining at a point. Lingard says (*History of England*, vol. vii. p. 9), that the Catholics almost unanimously supported the right of James I. Amongst the State Papers, *Dom. James I.* vol. i. n. 56, 1603, is a most affectionate and loyal address of the Catholics of England to the King on his accession, stating their cruel grievances, and protesting the most loyal obedience. Shortly *before* the death of Elizabeth the representative of an *expiring faction*, which has been called the Spanish party amongst the English Catholics, had arranged with the Ministers of Philip a plan for the invasion of England. *The death of Elizabeth disconcerted the project.* It is true that a few discontented individuals remained, two of whom, insignificant persons, were sent to Philip to discover the real dispositions of the Spanish Council soon after James came to England, but they signally failed. At all events, weak as it was, it afforded a point of which the Attorney-General was to make use to aid him in rendering the accused "as fowle in this as yow may."

all to me. This is but *ex abundanti* yt I do trouble yow, but as they come to my hedd or knoledge, or yt I am directed, I am not scrupulous to send yow.

You must remember to lay Owen as fowle in this as yow may.

Father Gerard thus writes of Brother Owen :[20]

"But the man that was most extremely used and with extremities brought unto the last extremity, which is death itself, was one Nicholas Owen, commonly called and most known by the name of Little John. By which name he was so famous and so much esteemed by all Catholics, especially those of the better sort, that few in England, either priests or others, were of more credit. This man did for seventeen or eighteen years continually attend upon Father Garnett, and assist him in many occasions. But his chief employment was in making of secret places to hide priests and Church stuff in from the fury of searches ; in which kind he was so skilful both to devise and frame the places in the best manner, and his help therein desired in so many places, that I verily think no man can be said to have done more good of all those that laboured in the English vineyard. For, first, he was the immediate occasion of saving the lives of many hundreds of persons, both ecclesiastical and secular, and of the estates also of these seculars, which had been lost and forfeited many times over if the priests had been taken in their houses ; of which some have escaped, not once but many times, in several searches that have come to the same house, and sometimes five or six priests together at the same time. Myself have been one of the seven that have escaped that danger at one time in a secret place of his making. How many priests then may we think this man did save by his endeavours in the space of seventeen years, having laboured in all shires and in the chiefest Catholic houses of England? Then for spiritual good, it is to be noted he was partner with them all in the gain of souls, wherein he did preserve them ; and to which end he intended directly all his works, labouring in that painful and dangerous business to keep them in safety for the saving of souls, which it appeared well he respected more than his own body, for he was not ignorant that his office was much subject to the danger of spies, and that when he should happen to be taken he was sure to be extremely handled to wrest out of him the secrets of other men's houses. And so, *de facto*, he did prove

[20] See Narrative, *Condition of Catholics*, pp. 182, seq.

it ten years before this his last apprehension, at which time being taken with Father Gerard, though it were not known directly that he was the man that used to make secret places, neither the time as then all out so violent (things passing much with us by storms and calms, as in times of former persecution), yet was he then put to extreme torture, and used besides with all cunning to see if either force or fear would make him to relent. But when they found that he was so constant he would not yield in the least point, and so discreet withal that they could not take any advantage of his answers either against himself or others, having no evidence at all nor witness to come in against him, they could do no more but keep him still in prison, which they did until Catholics, that could hardly want [spare] him abroad, with a good round sum of money did purchase his liberty.

"One reason that made him so much desired by Catholics of account, who might have had other workmen enough to make conveyances in their houses, was a known and tried care he had of secrecy, not only from such as would of malice be inquisitive, but from all others to whom it belonged not to know; in which he was so careful that you should never hear him speak of any houses or places where he had made such hides, though sometimes he had occasion to discourse of the fashion of them for the making of others. Yea, he did much strive to make them of several fashions in several places, that one might give no light to the discovery of another. Wherein he had no doubt great aid from Almighty God, for his places were exceeding fortunate (if so we may term the providence of God), and no marvel, for he ever began his work with communicating that day he entered upon it, and, as much as his labour would give him leave, did continually pray whilst he was working. But the contriving of his works in the safest manner were also very much assisted by an extraordinary wit and discretion which he had in such measure as I have seldom in my life seen the like in a man of his quality, which is also the opinion of most that did know him well. But, above all, that which did most commend him both in the sight of God and man, was his innocent life and earnest practice of solid virtues. For the first it was such, that I think no man can say that in all that seventeen or eighteen years they heard him swear by any oath, or ever saw him out of charity; yea, I have heard his ghostly Fathers affirm very seriously, that in all that time they never knew him to have committed mortal sin, nor

anything that might be doubted to be such. His practice of the chiefest virtues was such that he had gotten great habits both in the religious virtues of poverty, chastity and obedience, and no less in humility, patience, and charity, which upon all occasions were very plainly seen in his conversation and actions, insomuch that he was as a pattern of those virtues in every house where he came. One trial of his patience I cannot omit, because it was most apparent and worthy memory. He was sent on a time to London by his Superior to fetch certain household stuff behind him upon a horse that was somewhat resty. He loaded his horse in an inn, and afterwards got up in the saddle with great difficulty; but then the horse would not forward, whether misliking his load or no, it is uncertain; but instead of going forward he rose so high with his forefeet that he fell backward and fell upon the man and burst his leg; which sore hurt he did bear with so great patience, and in like sort the dressing thereof divers times, but especially when being false knit it was needful to have it broken the second which was worse than the first, that they all admired him in the inn, where he was forced to lie a long time. And whereas his friends were much afraid he would there have been discovered in his long abode, yet his patience and virtue got him so much love that he received no harm, but was ever after most welcome to the place.

"Upon this hurt and the ill-setting of the leg-bone, one leg was a little bended and shorter than the other, whereof he had some halt, but so little as you could scarcely discern it; wherein, as he was made somewhat like in his pace unto blessed Father Ignatius (whose child and scholar he was), so did he labour and follow his steps in his Rules and holy Institution, whereof he was a most religious observer, and as we generally think a Lay-coadjutor of the Society, admitted by Father Garnett some years before his death, though his humble and discreet carriage was such as you could not discern any liberty of fellowlike conversation that he took thereupon with any of the Society, but rather carried himself in all things as a servant. And I have some reasons more in particulars to think that he was assuredly admitted of the Order, yet those can better tell that are of the Society here in England.

"Now to come to the manner of his death. It was such as might be expected from so innocent and holy a life; yea, such as the enemy did therefore much malign and seek to

hide, and that with disgrace in all he might. Being taken with Father Garnett, as hath been said, he was first committed to the Marshalsea, and not close prisoner of purpose (as it is thought) to observe who would come unto him; but he was too wise to give any advantage. When Father Garnett was committed to the Tower, he also was sent thither, there to be tortured, and that with all extremity, as it was before intended when he was first known to be taken; for even then a chief Councillor said: 'Is he taken that knows all the secret places? I am very glad of that. We will have a trick for him.' And so indeed they tricked him when they had him in the Tower, for they tortured him so long and so often that his bowels gushed out together with his life; which when they did espy, thinking to cover their own cruelty with his slander, they gave it out that he had slain himself with a knife that was lent him to eat his meat withal. And to make this report to go for current amongst the common people, they set forth a ballad with his picture, ripping out his own bowels with a knife as he lay in bed, his keeper being also in the chamber busy about some other thing. But this false slander was so improbable that even his enemies did not believe it, much less his friends that were so well acquainted with his innocent life and long-continued practice in virtue, besides his former tried constancy in that kind. For all men did see it stood with no likelihood that, after all his torments so patiently sustained, he should then of impatience or fear of more torments cast away himself; for then he would rather have done it before his torments or after the first time to prevent the next, for he was beforehand well assured they meant to use him with all extremity; and yet all the while he was in the Marshalsea, or where his carriage might be seen, no sign of fear or trouble of mind could be discerned, but an humble and quiet settled mind, using great diligence in prayer, as one that prepared himself to his last conflict, which he might well expect, especially knowing the state of his body, as he did, which I will by-and-bye declare. Again, if he would have yielded to sin to save himself from pain, would he not rather have yielded to their desires and discovered the secret places that he knew, for which he might be well assured not only to escape torments, but to be most highly rewarded, as one that could have done them more service in that kind than any man in England whosoever, and might have brought more priests into their hands and more gentlemen's and noblemen's livings into their

possession than any one man could; yea, he might have made it almost an impossible thing for priests to escape, knowing the residences of most priests in England, and of all those of the Society, whom he might have taken as partridges in a net, knowing all their secret places which himself had made, and the like conveyances in most of the chief Catholics' houses in England, and the means and manner how all such places were to be found, though made by others. So that as no one man did more than he in assisting the labours of all the priests that were workmen in that vineyard, so no ten men could have done so much harm as he alone might if he had been so disposed; by which he well knew he might have made himself great in the world, not only by their rewards for so great and extraordinary service, but also by the spoil of Catholics' goods, being so many and so great, as he might have come to the rifling of, and have had no doubt much thereof for his own share, especially the Church stuff, which he knew to be very rich in some places, and where and how it was laid up. These motives therefore of riches, credit, and pleasure, being joined with assurance of life and liberty, had been more likely baits for him to have bitten at, if he would have swallowed the hook of sin for the avoiding of torment, than by the torment of death voluntarily assumed, not to end his torments, as he well knew, but to begin a never-ending and that also much more intolerable torment in hell-fire. He wanted neither wit nor knowledge in spiritual things to discern the great difference between these two; especially seeing on the one side with pleasures and riches in the world to be joined a longer life, and so a time wherein he might at last hope to do penance and be saved. Whereas on the other side he could see nothing but present death without comfort, and that but *initium dolorum*,[21] the door, as it were, into the house of horror, despair, and everlasting torments.

"No; the truth was this: the man had lived a saintly life, and his death was answerable, and he a glorious martyr of extraordinary merit. God assisted him with so much grace that in all his torments he gave not the least sign of relenting, not any sign of impatience, not any one word by which the least of his acquaintance either did or might come in any trouble, of which three kinds they could not so much as feign any little instance to set forth with their forged slander, but set out the bare lie without any colour or likelihood at all.

[21] "The beginning of sorrows."

Indeed, I think they intended not to have killed him by torture, though they meant to give him enough, and more than ever any sustained of whom we can find records. For he hung in the torture seven hours together, and this divers times, though we cannot as yet learn the certain number, but day after day we heard of his being carried to torments."

Father Gerard then goes on to describe the bodily infirmity of Brother Nicholas, which is mentioned by Father Tanner, and which was brought on by the excessive pains of his former labours. He also shortly mentions his terrible death, and gives other reasons against the absurd report of suicide put out and maintained so energetically by the Privy Council to conceal this their horrible judicial murder.[22] After mentioning that the use of knives was not allowed when alone—even if he had not lost the use of his hands, he adds: "But his particular case proceeded yet further, for his weakness was such that when a kinswoman of his (to whom they sent for some relief for him) desired to see by his handwriting what he would have, his keeper answered: 'What would you have him write? he is not able to put on his own cap; no, not to feed himself, but I am forced to feed him.' This man was likely, then, belike to do such a deed with a knife which he was not able to grasp. But afterwards, the same party seeking further to know his estate, and coming to the keeper to learn, as desirous to help him with any thing that was needful, he secretly wished her to trouble herself no more, for said he, 'The man is dead; he died in our hands.' This was known presently to divers Catholics, though reported in private, as it was spoken, for fear of further examination and trouble. For after they had published that he had killed himself, and seeing it was not believed, the only argument they had to give it credit was to commit those to prison that spake against it, of which there were divers examples to terrify others. 'But God will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts.'[23]

"And of this great and worthy martyr there is no question but many witnesses will one day be produced to the glory of

[22] To show that this calumnious story was for a long time seriously maintained, we find in a list of Popish booksellers given by the apostate Gee in his *Foot out of the Snare* (see *Records*, series i. p. 675, Appendix), amongst others, "Henry Owen, brother to that Owen who ript out his own bowells in the Tower, being imprisoned for the Gunpowder Treason;" and even in our own day has the memory of this martyr for the faith been maligned by a repetition of the grave charge of suicide!

[23] 1 Cor. iv. 5.

God and His servant, and the salvation of their own souls if ever they come to penance. In the meantime I desire my soul may have part with his, and myself may be assisted with his holy prayers. About whose life and death I have been the longer, to show how much the truth of his virtuous life and glorious death is contrary to the published slander. This happy soul suffering all this only for his conscience and constant practice of charity, nor being so much as accused of any other crime."

BROTHER RALPH ASHLEY, *alias* GEORGE CHAMBERS.

Of the birthplace of this martyr we have no record, nor can we tell the date of his admission to the Society of Jesus. The fact of his being a member of the Society would no doubt, as in the cases of Brothers Owen, Lilly, and Fulwood, and others, have been kept secret, in order to render their services the more available in aiding the work of salvation of souls, by their passing off as simple secular servants. His death is mentioned briefly by Fathers Henry More and Bartoli, who use Father Gerard's Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot.

He had been with Father Oldcorne eight years at the time of his arrest. We have already mentioned, in the life of Father Garnett, his heroic surrender and capture with Brother Nicholas Owen at Hinlip, on Thursday, January 23, 1606, his being conducted by Sir Henry Bromley to London with the other prisoners, and the insertion of his name in Bromley's list of prisoners sent to Cecil. Interesting mention is made of Brother Ashley in Father Tesimond, *alias* Greenway's Autobiography.[1]

"I stopped," says Father Tesimond, "at Brussels, in expectation of a companion to go with me to England, and was able to inform the Superior of the English Mission of my arrival. Not many days passed ere I met a youth named Raphael [Ashley[2]], who had left the College of Valladolid

[1] *Troubles*, series i. pp. 162, 163.

[2] "Raphael, that is Ralph Ashley, afterwards martyr" (Father Grene's marginal note in original at Stonyhurst). It would appear from this that he was a lay-brother in 1597. We read in the second Douay Diary (see *Records of the English Catholics*, edited by the Fathers of the Oratory, p. 230) the following entry: "On the same day [April 28, 1590] departed Mr. Launcelot Backhouse, who here wished himself to be called William Harrison, and Ralph Ashley, our cook, whose place was supplied by Henry Remington." This was most probably Brother Ralph, who may have left Douay to enter the Society, and, after his noviceship have been sent as cook, baker, &c., to Valladolid.

some months before, where he had served as baker and in other offices, but being somewhat indisposed and unfit for such fatigues he had been sent to England. Meeting with him in this way, and knowing how virtuous and well-disposed he was, both from the acquaintance I had had with him at College and from the constancy which he had displayed among the Dutch heretics, by whom he had been captured on his journey and ill-treated, I thought good to take him as my companion to England. And I account it a singular instance of Divine Providence towards the youth that I should have done so, and it has ever given me the greatest satisfaction and consolation. For I was able to recommend him to Father Edward Oldcorne, with whom he remained for eight whole years, till at length they were both taken and received the glorious crown of martyrdom. Such was the constancy, the ardour, and joy which he displayed on the occasion, that I doubt if throughout this cruel persecution there was any secular who showed greater bravery or more evident signs of the special assistance of the Holy Spirit and the lavish graces of our Lord God. I touch briefly upon this event now to point out how many excellent companions I had at the commencement of my missionary life. For of the three whom I have already mentioned [John Ruffet, priest, Father Roger Filcock, S.J., martyr, and Ashley], two are glorious martyrs, and the third is a confessor, so that all three are now saints in Paradise."

Brother Ralph Ashley is named in the extract from the same autobiography in the notice of Father Thomas Lister given below. He is also occasionally mentioned in the same account of their journey to England, where they landed on March 9, 1598. They made their way to Father Henry Garnett, amidst great dangers, and were sent by him after some weeks to Father Oldcorne at Hinlip.

Father Gerard, in his notice of Father Oldcorne, says: "Likewise one that did attend upon Father Oldcorne, and did assist him in his journeys and many good works when he was at liberty, did now suffer with him, as he afterwards died with him. His name was Ralph ——, and he was divers times put upon the torture, but the certain number or measure of the times I cannot yet learn. But he patiently and constantly endured all, without revealing any one place or person of his master's acquaintance."

The following are copies of two examinations of the martyr by torture. The trembling signature gives clear indications of the rack.

Dom. James I. Gunpowder Plot Book, part ii. n. 186.

The examination of George Chambers, February 23, 1605[6].

He saith that about some fower dayes before the late rebellion in Worcestershire this examinant came to Mr. Abington's house in Hinlip, about two miles and an halfe from Worcester, and tarried there some four or five days after, until he might safely pass without being apprehended, and travelled from one Catholike house to another, but refuseth to name any Catholike, or bringe any Catholique into troble; and sayth that he came from a Catholiques house when he came to Mr. Abington's house, but refuseth to name any Catholique as before.

Being charged that he is a lay-Jesuite, refuseth to answer whether he be one or no, but absolutely denieth that he is a priest.

GEORGE CHAMBERS.

Exam. per J. POPHAM, EDW. COKE, FR. BACON.

Same book, n. 195.

Examination of George Chambers, taken March 1, 1605[6], *at the Tower.*

I. He doth confesse that he hath served Hall the Jesuite [Oldcorne], now prisoner in the Tower about two yeares.

II. He likewise saith that he was twice at the house of Mr. Abington at Hinlip, to seeke his said Mr. [master] but he was not at those tymes there.

III. That he was at the said house of Mr. Abington called Hinlipp, some six weekes after Michaelmas, and at that tyme the forenamed Hall, the Jesuit, *alias* Parker, was there also, and this examinant remayned there two dayes.

IV. That the said Mr. Hall, the Jesuite, had a blacke horse which was bought of Robert Winter, and the foresaid horse was bought at Michaelmas was twelve months or thereabout.

V. He also saith that on the Sonday in the afternoone, before the searche, a servant of Mr. Abington's, called Robert, brought this examinant into the gallery where Hall his master and Garnet the Jesuite were together.

VI. That he was never but once with his said Mr. at White Webb, and that was at Easter was twelve month.

GEORGE CAMBERES.

Father Gerard in his Narrative, after mentioning that Father Oldcorne, and with him Mr. Thomas Abington (in whose house both Father Garnett and Father Oldcorne were taken), were sent from the Tower to Worcester about the middle of Lent, continues: "With them also Mr. John Winter, the youngest of the three brothers, who was before condemned, when his brothers and the rest of the conspirators were condemned, but was not executed with them, because the Council would have some of them executed in the county for

the greater terror; and rather this than the rest, because he was no actor about the Powder, but only a party in the rebellion, which therefore was thought fittest to be punished where it was performed; and withal it was the rather deferred until this time of Father Oldcorne's execution, to make a show unto the people that Father Oldcorne was to be touched with the same conspiracy or rebellion for which it was known the other suffered. With him also was sent down Ralph of whom I spake before, who had for some years faithfully served Father Oldcorne in his spiritual business and negotiation for souls, and was taken with him and brought up to London with him, and had suffered torture in the Tower with him, and now was carried down with him, and was to go to Heaven with him. . . . They were arraigned at the Lent Assizes, which is a court of public justice holden twice a year in every county, for the trial as well of country causes in law as for life and death, touching all such malefactors as are taken and do belong to those shires in which the assizes are holden. Therefore at the Lent Assizes at Worcester were brought to the bar Father Edward Oldcorne, and Ralph, also Mr. Thomas Abington and Mr. Humphrey Littleton. . . . Ralph was also indicted and condemned, upon supposition that he had carried letters to and fro about this conspiracy. But they neither did nor could allege any instance or proof against him, and he solemnly protested, upon the salvation of his soul, that he had never known of the treason in the least degree. So that he could not be condemned nor suffer for any other cause but for the helping and assisting the good Father there condemned with him in his spiritual functions. Which cause, as it was glorious in itself, so for it the good and virtuous man did very gladly accept both sentence of death and death itself, as he showed most apparently after, when he came to his execution. Thus they received all four sentence of death, but Mr. Abington was reprieved, and they three were kept in the gaol together, with Mr. John Winter, until the next Monday after, which was the day of execution. . . . After him [Father Oldcorne] followed Ralph, his faithful follower and companion of his labours, who showed at his death great devotion and fervour, as may be guessed by this one action of his; for whilst Father Oldcorne stood upon the ladder and was preparing himself to die, Ralph standing by the ladder suddenly stepped forward and takes hold of his good Father's feet, embracing and kissing them, with great devotion, and said, 'What a happy man am I, to

follow here the steps of my sweet Father!' And when his own turn came, he also first commended himself by earnest prayers unto God, then told the people that he died for religion and not for treason, whereof he had not had the least knowledge; and, as he had heard this good Father before him freely forgive his persecutors and pray for the King and country, so did he also. Then, before he was stripped of his clothes (which is usual to all such as are afterwards to be quartered, that their bodies may be the sooner cut up after they are laid upon the block), he perceiving a Catholic woman of his acquaintance stand weeping by the gallows, he ungartered himself, and with dexterity casteth them so to her that others could not perceive that he did it of purpose. But the maid doth still keep the garters as great jewels, and thereby it may appear what opinion he had of his own innocency and the cause of his death. He showed at his death great resolution joined with great devotion, and so, resigning his soul into the hands of God, was turned off the ladder and changed this life for a better"—Monday, April 7, 1606.

FATHER THOMAS LISTER *alias* BUTLER, a companion of Father Oldcorne, and one of the Missionary Fathers of this district, was a native of Lancashire, born 1559, and entered the English College, Rome, September 15, 1579, æt. 20.

The following is an extract from the Diary of the English College, Rome:

"1579. Thomas Lister of Lancashire, in the diocese of Chester, aged twenty, was admitted to this College among the alumni of the Holy Father by the Reverend Father Alphonsus Agazzari, the Rector, by special order of his Eminence Cardinal Moroni, the Protector, September 15, 1579. He took the usual College oath March 6, 1580. In the month of August 1581 he publicly defended theses in philosophy, and entered the Society in the year 1583."

He entered the novitiate February 20, 1583, where he was a fellow novice of Mutius Vitelleschi, afterwards General of the Society. He made his studies at Mussipont, where he took the degree of D.D. in 1592.[1] Father Gerard tells us he was at Hinlip with Father Edward Oldcorne.[2] This is confirmed by a document in the P.R.O State Papers, *Dom.*

[1] Stonyhurst MSS. Father Nicholas Southwell's *Catalogus primorum Patrum*, p. 23.

[2] See Father Morris's *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, series i. p. 166, note 1.

James I., 1605, vol. xiv. n. 40; endorsed, "A relacõn of the Jesuites proceedings," from which we extract the following. The document is a report of the Sheriff of Herefordshire, and a full copy will be found in the "History of the College of St. Francis Xavier, or the Hereford and South Wales District," in the present volume.

"Herefordshire and thereaboute. Hee saith that except good order be taken in tyme, the Recusantes by the Jesuites persuasions, will take upp armes against the Kinge. Jones *alias* Holland, Lister *alias* Butler, and Oldcornie *alias* Hall (three Jesuits), are the chiefe that labour with the people in those partes to that effect. There are other persons likewise that are the J——ts' instruments, and priests by their calling who at the J——ts' assignments doe very much hurte that waye. . . . All these persons have nothing in their mouthes but 'the sworde, the sworde' and warres! They say there is now no further hope for Catholics, being leapt out of the fryeing panne into the fier. Nor other course to be taken for them, but only by force to free themselves. . . . The laye gentlemen that runne this course with the Jesuites are as followeth. . . . Mr. Abington the elder and Mr. A. the younger, with whom Lister and Oldcorne the J——ts doe remaine. . . . When the Queen was dead, North, the priest, came out of Monmouthshire in all haste into Herefordshire, signifying that the Catholics were upp in armes there: and styrred as earnestlie as he could the Catholics of Herefordshire to doe the like. And Lister, one of the Jesuites, with his companions were as busye in Worcestershire, telling them that the Catholics in Herefordshire were in armes."

Mention is made of Father Lister in the autobiography of Father Tesimond *alias* Greenway, Stonyhurst Collection, and translated from the original Italian in *Troubles*, series i. p. 156. From this, and a note at foot of p. 167, we gather that early in $159\frac{7}{8}$, he had left England with Father Edward Coffin, who had been sent into England as a missionary priest, March 10, $159\frac{3}{4}$, and was then ($159\frac{7}{8}$) *en route* for the novitiate, having been admitted to the Society by Father Garnett the Superior, January 13, $159\frac{7}{8}$. They were seized in Holland, sent back into England, and long kept in prison. Father Coffin was imprisoned first in Newgate and then at Framlingham, whence he was sent into banishment on the accession of James I. in 1603. It does not appear what became of Father Lister, where he was confined, nor how he regained his liberty; but,

as we have seen above, he was the companion of Father Oldcorne for a long time at Hinlip, and was actively employed in the Worcestershire mission at the time of the Gunpowder Plot. He was most probably apprehended during that period; for his name occurs in the list of the forty-seven priests who were sent into banishment from different prisons in 1606, as recorded in Bishop Challoner's *Missionary Priests.* The Bishop, copying from the Douay Diary, gives "Thomas Butler" as the alias by which Father Lister passed on the mission. We cannot trace him further. The following is an extract from Father Tesimond's narrative.[3] He had arrived at Lillo, a fortress nine miles from Antwerp, with his two companions, the one a secular priest, and the other was Ralph Ashley, the lay-brother, and companion of Father Oldcorne, whose biography is given above. They lodged that night at a public house, and were in great danger of being discovered, for in that very house the priest had some short time before been actually seized, and had bought himself off.

"Then," says Father Tesimond, "I called Raphael, who spoke Flemish tolerably well, and told him to try and find something to occupy the people of the house, that they might not have time to stand about idly looking at us, and that I would attend to some English soldiers whom the report of our arrival had brought together. They came, as usual, under pretext of a visit of civility, but in reality to see who we were, and at least to get their suppers that evening. It seems to me that this occurrence came from God, for this was Ash-wednesday, and on the following Friday two others of our Fathers, Father Thomas Lister and Father Edward Coffin, after having escaped all other perilous passes in the ports of England, whence they came as obedience called, and other places of these heretical states, either because they were too quiet and modest, or because they could not pass themselves off as the occasion required, were taken in that very house, and in the room we occupied, and were brought to Middle-burgh a day before our arrival in that city, as I will directly mention."

Then follows an amusing account of his schemes to avoid detection at Lillo. He arrives with his companions at Middle-burgh, after encountering and escaping great dangers on the way.

"We had not been in Middleburgh more than a day or

[3] *Troubles*, pp. 166, seq.

two, when our host came to tell us that there was talk through all the city of the capture of two Jesuits at Lillo. By this news my companion was a little disturbed, doubting whether they had not got to know of our passing through that place, and were therefore in search of us; but we soon learnt the truth, that is, that two Fathers had been taken and were brought prisoners to Middleburgh where they were to remain till letters came from England to say what the Queen's Council wished to be done with them. How they came to be taken and what they suffered in that prison, they can relate better than I. This only will I say, that when I heard the news I planned to visit them, and help them in the best way I could. There was in that city a Flemish merchant, a good Catholic, Arnold Fatter by name, in whom we put great trust. I begged him to go in person and visit them, and to ask Father Thomas Lister whether he knew a person called Oswald Tesimond, as he was in the city, and desirous of seeing him, and begged to know in what way he could best carry out his wish. The good Arnold hesitated some days, whether he would run the risk of such a visit; and at last gave it up, not daring to go in person for fear of being noticed and calumniated by the heretics. But he sent by the keeper of the prison to ask Father Thomas whether he knew such an one, naming me, without saying that I was in Middleburgh, or anything else. The question good Father Thomas thought very strange, having had no news of me for many years, and not dreaming that I was in that city; and though he immediately remembered me when the question was asked him, he replied by asking what such a question meant; and that answer was brought me by Arnold without telling me that he had made the heretical keeper of the prison his messenger; perhaps because he perceived that he had betrayed my name, and so had brought me into no slight danger. Nevertheless, after some days I went to the prison, and showing a desire to see for novelty and curiosity' sake, what sort of men Jesuits were, of whom one heard so much, giving the keeper something to drink, I got leave to enter and to talk to them at my ease. Those good Fathers were greatly consoled at the sight of me. When we had comforted one another, and had talked awhile, I gave them to understand that when they wanted anything I had left orders with the merchant Arnold to help them with all they could want, and that on the credit that my friends had given me he would not fail to procure them whatever they

might ask. This was shortly before my departure from Middleburgh for England, and they availed themselves afterwards of that merchant's money to obtain their release from prison; but the business was so badly managed that they were taken again and sent into England, where they were long kept in prison, as they themselves can declare in narratives of their own."

In a return of "the names of the Jesuits in England, with the chief places of their abode," amongst others is "Mr. Lister, with Mr. Cotton of Warblington in Hampshire."[4]

Father Lister is supposed to be the writer of the interesting narrative contained in the life of Father Oldcorne.

FATHER OSWALD TESIMOND, *alias* Greenway, *alias* Greenwell, *alias* Philip Beaumont—one of the three Fathers specially charged by the Government with being engaged in the Powder Plot, was, for nearly eight years, missioner under Father Oldcorne at Hinlip and the adjacent country. For a Life of this Father, his escape, his first journey to England, &c., we refer the reader to Father Morris's *Troubles*, series i. pp. 143—183.

Huddington, the seat of Sir George Wintour, was one of the old missions or chaplaincies of this district. Father Adrian Talbot, whose real name was Fortescue, served here and in the district. He was son of Sir Francis Fortescue, of Salden, Bucks, by his wife Grace Manners,[5] niece to the Earl

[4] *Dom. James I.* vol. vii. n. 50, 1603, often referred to in our *Records*. Father Lister's name also appears in a document in the Public Record Office, London, *Dom. Eliz.*, vol. cxlviii. n. 61, 1531, a list of English Catholic priests and students at Rome, &c. He was then at the English College, Rome. See *Records of English Catholics*, &c. Douay Diary, p. 358, edited by the Fathers of the Oratory, 1878. Likewise Pope Gregory's list of priests sent into England from Rome, &c. 1573—1583. In 1584 he was sent from Rome with eighteen more, of whom nine became martyrs. See *Records of English Catholics* as above, and *Records of the English Province, S.J.*, vol. iii. p. 47.

[5] *Vide* an account of the Fortescue family in Father Morris's *Troubles*, Introduction to Father Tesimond's autobiographical account of his landing, *ut supra*, pp. 144, seq.

SIR JOHN FORTESCUE, Knight = A.B.
Died 1607.

FRANCIS = GRACE MANNERS.

ADRIAN, S.J. Born 1601. Entered the Society of Jesus 1624. Died 1653.	FRANCES, a nun.	MARY = JOHN, tenth Earl of Shrewsbury.

of Rutland, and brother to Mary who married John Talbot tenth Earl of Shrewsbury. Born in 1601, he entered the English College, Rome, for his higher studies as a convictor among the alumni, October 2, 1621, æt. 20, in the name of Adrian Talbot *vere* Fortescue, of the diocese of Oxford. After spending two years in Rome with great proficiency, he left on September 17, 1624, and chose the novices at Watten, whom he had long ago loved, as the apostolical companions of his life.[6] In a Catalogue of the Province for the year 1642, he is named as a native of Oxfordshire, born 1601, entered the Society in 1624, and solemnly professed of the four vows May 4, 1640. He came to the Mission 1638, before which time he had been Professor of Sacred Scripture and Hebrew. He appears to have been Superior of this Residence at one time. He was uncle to Sir George Wintour. In the archives of the Residence is a letter from Sir George to him on business matters, dated July 21, 1648. He is said to have been a missioner in Lincolnshire for some years. He died on the 13th of December, it is supposed at Huddington, and was buried in the parish church there, where (says Dr. Oliver, *Collectanea*) a brass plate bears this inscription.

Sta
Viator, et in
Demortui vestigiis
Viam Immortalitatis
Lege :

Hic jacet D. ADRIANUS FORTESCUTUS ex illustri Fortescutorum de Salden familia oriundus, cui satis non erat nobilitate sanguinis insigniri, nisi partum à majoribus splendorem majore virtutis suæ luce decoraret. Adolescens igitur, parentibus, amicis, patriæ valedixit; et maximam Europæ partem, studio discendi peragrans, Belagè, Gallicè, Italicè, Latinè, Græcè, Hebraicè sic loqui didicit, ut et doceret. Neque modo linguam excoluit, sed mentem etiam liberalibus Artibus, et sublimi Philosophiæ et Theologiæ scientiâ, nec non sacrarum Litterarum mysteriis expolivit. Eò demum perfectionis evasit ut rerum caducarum illecebras procul abjiciens, mundo, carni, sibique ipse bellum indixerit, quo (Christo duce ac auspice) feliciter defunctus, meruit esse in prælio Victor, in pace Martyr, utrobique Cœlis, Arisque dignus. Tandem annos emensus quinquaginta duos, virtute magis quam ætate plenus, postquam vitam labore, mortem patientia vicerat, obiit xiii. Decembris anno salutis MD.C.LIII.; terris corpus, Superis animam, posteris omnibus avitæ fidei, et ardentissimi Deum erga proximumque amoris, Christianæ denique militiæ relinquens monumentum.

Nunc abi Lector
Et quo poteris gressu ad Æternitatis
bravium
Præeuntem sequere.

This brass plate, detached from its original position in Huddington Church, was for many years to be seen at the

[6] English College, Rome.

Talbot public-house in the village. Of late years it was restored, but it is still in a loose unfastened state in the chancel.[7]

Sutton Coldfield, Warwickshire, the seat of the Ferrers family, was another of the old missions of this Residence. FATHER GEORGE GRAY was there certainly in 1668—1671, when he was declared Provincial of the English Province. He appears to have returned when his office of Provincial expired, as old documents preserved in the archives of the Residence show, which are dated from thence in the year 1677. Father Gray was a native of Lancashire, born 1608; entered the Society in 1629, and was professed of the four vows June 21, 1645. In 1655, etc., he was the Father Socius of Father Edward Knott, then Provincial. He died January 30, 1686, æt. 78.

The following are extracts from a number of the letters of Father George Gray to the Very Rev. Father General. Several of the later ones were written during the time of his Provincialate, 1671—1674. The three letters in 1662 express the great interest felt by the members of the English Province in the advent of the new Queen Consort, the excellent Catholic Princess from Portugal.[8]

Most Rev. Father in Christ,—

P.C.

Our Provincial is now gone to make his visitation in the counties nearest to the sea coast, to be ready on any given signal of the Queen's arrival to hasten to the port. But it is wonderful how our hopes, which are every day raised, are daily frustrated. We cannot imagine what is the cause of the detention of the fleet. Assuredly if it had set sail on the appointed day, as the letters inform the King it did, it would long since have reached the port; nor have the winds been so contrary as to create the delay.

On the last day of April the Duchess of York brought forth a daughter. Not a few of the Court wish it had been a son.

The recommendatory letters addressed to the King by foreign princes, especially Newburgh, are of the greatest importance to the English Society. The Lord Chancellor clearly proved this to our Provincial, when his Reverence visited him on official matters, and was most politely admitted to an audience and listened to by him, &c.

GEO. GRAY.

London, $\frac{2}{12}$ May, 1662.
To Very Rev. Father John Paul Oliva (Vicar-General), S.J.

[7] Dr. Oliver's *Collectanea*, 1845.

[8] The letters will be found marked nn. 60, 61, 62, 77, 79, and 80, Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vol. v.

Rev. Father in Christ,—

P.C.

Our Provincial has left us for a short time in London. Three days ago he departed for the sea coast, where the Queen is expected to land. The design is to present her Majesty with the respects of the English Society, and their prayers for every prosperity upon her first arrival. Another reason of his journey is to congratulate the Portuguese Fathers, coming with her, on their arrival. Although the place of her disembarkation is unknown, yet all are daily kept on the tip-toe of expectation. As soon as the floating standard and the sails are descried in the offing by the look-out ship, swift couriers are ordered to hasten hither. Already some of the nobles make for Portsmouth as the place for the expected arrival of the Queen. The rest of them will join the royal cortège when the King sets off. A great quantity of court furniture, provisions, and baggage is being conveyed hither with all haste, for the reception of so large a number of guests.

Our adversaries are now less violent against us. They have exhausted the quiver of their calumnies, and scarcely inflict any wound. I am certainly of opinion that the storm raised against us by them will greatly redound to our fame and commendation. Our friends are as many now as before the storm. All praise and honour be to God, &c.

GEO. GRAY.

May, 1662.

To Very Rev. Father General Paul Oliver, Vicar-General, S.J.

Very Rev. Father in Christ,—

P.C.

Hampton Court (a magnificent royal palace built by Cardinal Wolsey on the banks of the Thames, fourteen miles distant from London) has been royally furnished in expectation of receiving the King and Queen as guests to-day or to-morrow.

The concourse of people is so great that the neighbouring town and village and adjacent country itself is insufficient to receive them. The person, the modesty, the wit, prudence, affability, and above all, the piety of the Queen, is lauded to the skies, not merely by ambitious flatterers, but also by just observers of things. By these endowments, and more powerfully by the ties of marriage, she has now most straitly bound the King to herself. Truly, Catholic posterity can never be reticent upon the following fact most worthy of being chronicled. Upon her entrance into the kingdom the chief of the English nobility and the Privy Council held a meeting, and came to the conclusion that it was necessary for the marriage to be performed by the Protestant Bishop, and according to the rites of the Established Church of England. This having been communicated to the Queen, she replied that both religion and conscience would by no means allow her to consent to it. And when with loads of reasons they vehemently insisted that it would be neither honourable nor safe to the King that the ceremony should be performed otherwise than according to the rite and law of the country, nay, that even the legitimacy of all the royal issue might be called in question, she nevertheless firmly resisted on religious grounds. As a last scheme they endeavoured to conquer her by having recourse to the affectionate coaxings and entreaties, almost supplications, of the royal spouse himself. But the invincible heroine still stood out and persisted, distinctly

asserting that she would rather return back to Portugal with the affair unaccomplished than yield against her conscience to their demands, and that she would be satisfied with a very small ship in which to return out of that grand fleet which at such cost and preparation, and with such a noise in all Europe, had conducted her to England. At length she conquered, and the marriage was performed after the Catholic rite, although she did not refuse, what with a safe conscience she could admit, that the marriage already performed should be ratified by the Protestant Bishop.

The Catholics wonderfully and justly extol this example of constancy. The Protestants also admire it, and the false idea is snatched away from them, by which they hitherto believed that the Queen, tender and truly like a little waxen maid, would be brought to act and bow to whatever the King pleased.

Last week was transported to the house of the Portuguese Ambassador (which is in Wylde Street, London) great treasure from Portugal arrived with the Queen. It was brought in four waggons from Portsmouth to London, attended by a numerous escort of cavalry. It is guarded day and night by a hundred infantry. It is believed to be a part of the Queen's dowry, gold and jewels. It is said that a great quantity of bags have arrived. Nothing richer or more pleasant ever happened to a British Queen, by whose marriage the empire of the English is spread beyond the bounds of Europe, even to Africa, &c.

GEO. GRAY.

London, May 30, 1662.

Charissime Domine,—

Our little number is daily attacked by frequent deaths. I lately wrote that Mr. John Grove had been snatched from us by a premature death.[9] Now, indeed, I have to report that Mr. Christopher Simpson is also dead.[10] He was truly a religious man, and a distinguished operarius in this vineyard. He was Superior of ours in Northumberland for about twenty years. It is a wonderful fact that he was able in the midst of an heretical nation to open with impunity an academy for select youths of the higher class, and to defend and preserve it even to this very day. The known probity and candour of the Father drew many of the leading men among the heretics to him, insomuch that they did not hesitate to intrust their sons to his teaching. He entered the novitiate at Watten, being already a priest, on May 27, 1634, æt 28. He was professed of the four vows October 25, 1648, and died March 3, 1674, n.s., in his sixty-eighth year.

I add here something concerning Mr. Galli, who came hither with her Serene Highness the spouse of Modena. He is a man truly pious, prudent, modest, humble, and if I am not deceived, very learned. It was scarcely possible to have sent here a person more fitted for the post which he sustains with the greatest credit and satisfaction to the Princess. He communicates with me with the utmost candour his doubts and plans whatever they may be. He lately wrote to your Paternity regarding a communication of the merits of the Society to the Princess. Allow me also to add

[9] A short notice of this Father is given in series x. "College of St. Francis Xavier."

[10] See *Records*, vol. iii. series v. p. 116, "Residence of St. John the Evangelist," for a short notice of this Father.

my petitions for this favour, more especially as he asks me to do so. This distinguished heroine has long ago shown a strong inclination towards our Society, and her attachment to it will be enhanced by granting the petition, &c.[11]

GEO. GRAY.

London, March 3, 1674 (N.S.).
To Very Rev. Father Paul Oliva.

Very Rev. Father in Christ,—

John Fernandez, a coadjutor of our Society, and lately Socius to Father Anthony Fernandez, deceased, after that Father's funeral went to the Queen to take leave of her Majesty on returning to his country. But the Queen answered that it would be a great pleasure to her, should it be the will and meet the approbation of his Superiors, that he should remain in England for the comfort of the sick Portuguese. He is also well skilled in medicine and pharmacy, and by his gratuitous services in the application of medicines, cures and conciliates many. He is truly a most religious man, and affords the best example. I understand that Father Galli, the confessor to the Duchess of York, wishes to keep him as his Socius and assistant. Wherefore I humbly beg your Paternity to allow Brother John to remain in England, especially as the request is made by our excellent Queen. If Father Galli takes him as his Socius it will be all the better, and according to the custom of the Society, &c.

GEORGE GRAY.

London, $\frac{8}{18}$ May, 1674.

Very Rev. Father in Christ,—

P.C.

I crossed the English Channel and landed at Calais on the 24th of June, and on the same evening my Socius accompanied me to St. Omer, together with a noble youth, Sir Thomas Preston, of whom I have elsewhere written.[12] Despising the world and abandoning a most ample inheritance he was admitted by me into the Society at Watten, June 28, 1674. He is a widower and was twice married, and is thirty-two years of age. He has two daughters by his last marriage; there is no issue of the first, his wife not having survived the marriage beyond a few weeks or months. To his daughters he leaves ample fortunes.

GEORGE GRAY.

St. Omer, July 4, 1674.

[11] Father Mark Anthony Galli was originally of the French Province. He came to England with Mary, Duchess of Modena, afterwards Duchess of York and consort to James II., in quality of her Confessor. After the Revolution he resided with the Court at St. Germains, where he was still living August 1, 1701, upwards of eighty years of age. Shortly after this date he retired to Watten, and died there September 7, 1703. Father Galli passed sometimes by the *alias* of Judice. He was made a Professed Father Feb. 2, 1663. He appears to have been transferred to the English Province.

[12] This was Sir Thomas Preston, Bart., S.J., who will be more fully noticed in the continuation of the history of the College of St. Aloysius, or the Lancashire district, "Ulverston and Furness."

Very Rev. Father in Christ,—

P.C.

By the good help and protection of God I am now with my Socius at Liege. In our journey between Brussels and Namur on the 23rd of July we diverged from the high road in order to avoid coming into contact with soldiers and robbers, and got into most difficult bye lanes. In one of these lanes the car in which we rode sank into deep mud and running swampy water. No one came to hurt by the accident save my Socius, who, overwhelmed by the weight of those that fell upon him (for he was the undermost), and suffocated by the water, was [to all appearance] killed. Being at length extricated from beneath the car and the mud, he was pronounced to be dead by the surrounding crowd, especially as for the space of a quarter of an hour he showed no signs of life, either by breathing or by any motion of the body. I came to him, opened his breast, rubbed his temples, and several times called out in his ear, "Jesus, Mary," when, behold! on a sudden he raised his eyes and looked about him, not being as yet come to his senses. However, in a short time, about a quarter of an hour, he was so far recovered as to be able to walk with me to Namur, about half a mile off. He remained there for three days, where the great charity of the Fathers, of Father Provincial, Father Rector, and all the rest, so restored us, that scarcely any vestige of the accident remained. &c.

GEORGE GRAY.

Liege, August 3, 1674.

Worcester.—The English Mission in this ancient city may be traced back, through the persons of Fathers Garnett, Oldcorne, Lister, and probably Father Parsons himself, to its earliest days. In the ages of faith, Worcester had its share of religious houses.

1. The Hospital of St. Oswald, founded by the Saint himself. Leland in his *Itinerary* calls this "An antient and fayre large chappell of St. Oswald, which first was erected for monkes then infected, or shod after be infected with leprosie. After it was changed to a hospital, and there was a master, fellowes, and poore folkes; but of latter tymes it was turned to a free chappell, and beareth the name of St. Oswald's, as a thing dedicated of ould tyme to him; and here were wont corses to be buryed in tyme of pestilence, as in a public cemetery for Worcester.

2. The Hospital of St. Wolstan, on the south-east part of the city, for two chaplains, five poor men, and two poor women.

3. The Convent of Dominican or Black Friars in the north, or highest part of the city.

4. The Convent of the Grey Friars, without St. Martin's Gate, founded by the Earl of Warwick.

5. The Convent of the Trinitarians of the Order of Redemption of Captives.

6. The Convent of the Friars de Pœnitentia or de Sacco.

The ancient presbytery and chapel are said to have been in the Tything, in or about the site of the house of the late Matthew Pierpoint, Esq. It was here, according to report, that James II. heard Mass on his visit to Worcester. An agreement exists in the archives of the Residence, dated October 24, 1681, 33 Chas. II., for completing some buildings in the Tything, "in a streete called the Fourgate."

After the Revolution, the chapel and mission of Worcester, from which, during the heat of the persecution, the old Jesuit missioners as a body were obliged to retire, are said to have been served by the Carmelites until 1720.

Meanwhile, the Fathers retired to Eveslench, near Worcester. As a body or community they may have done so, Worcester having probably been till then the head-quarters of the Residence; but that one of the Fathers at least always remained in that city, is clear from the old accounts and papers. In 1693, there is a letter from Father Humberston, afterwards Provincial, to Father Mannock at Sir Isaac Gibson's house at Worcester, where there was a chapel. There was also a chapel in 1681 at Mr. Thomas Berkeley's at Ravenshill. In a catalogue of articles belonging to the Residence of St. George, 1687, is the following:

"Books.

"A library at Grafton, my Lord Shrewsbury's house: two trunks of books at Gubbershill. Some books at Ravenshill. A trunk of books in the garret. A closet of books at Sir Isaac Gibson's, as you go up the stairs. *Item*, a chest of books in a roome behind ye chappell.

"Church stuffe.

"Besides what is in this house. At Ravenshill, two faire vestments. One old black vestment. Silver and silk to make a vestment. A large mantel of silk to make another. A very faire chalice. A trunk of young Mr. Berkeley's; a sylver crucifix vpon an ebony crosse. At Sir Isaac's, two vestments, antependiums, an altar stone, a faire crucifix, etc."

The Annual Letters of the Residence for the year 1677 give the following interesting report connected with Worcester. "One of our Fathers in the mission of Worcester converted a robber who was under sentence of death, and being present underneath the gallows at his execution gave him the last

absolution on a signal agreed upon. A short time after, says the same Father, a man of the same stamp, who had moreover been a Catholic from his cradle, whom I had also fortified in prison with the last solemn rites of the Church for a pious death, when he had come to the place of execution sought me out, calling me aloud by my name. I was not now, as on the former occasion on horseback near the gallows, but on foot in a spot a little apart from the multitude, and I began to be noticed from the extreme parts of the gathering. My name resounded as if by magic through the whole assembly; the very hangman himself from the top of the ladder acted the part of a crier. I stood still, however, at my post until a certain Lutheran, to whom I was known, came up to me accompanied by two officers, saying that the man wished to speak a few words to me before he was executed. They opened a way for me through the midst of the crowd, and I was at length brought to him. He immediately grasped me by the hand, and placing his mouth close to my ear made his confession, the immense surrounding multitude gazing on every side, some shouting out that I was a priest and was hearing his confession. They were, however, stopped by the Sheriff and his men, and I remained there until the convict was dead. At length the crowd dispersing, I also went away. Many eyes were fixed upon me, and some were pointing at me with their fingers, but ultimately I got off without any mishap."

"In the same mission a servant of ours, accustomed to confess, having been brought up a Catholic, for the sake of pleasing her husband who was a Protestant had frequented the Protestant Church for seven years in spite of the struggles of her conscience. She had been repeatedly warned of her crime by the Fathers, but in vain. During the past year it pleased Divine Providence, for the purpose of bringing back this wandering sheep, to send her a violent fever, which to all human appearance had now reduced her to extremity; whereupon causing her husband to be sent for, she solemnly declared that he alone had been the cause of her living so many years against her conscience, and that through him both her soul and body would be condemned to Hell. When she had reproached him with this and other things, she earnestly entreated that, if by chance she should be restored to health, she might be no longer compelled thus to prevaricate contrary to her conscience. This being promised she was reconciled to the Church, and was shortly afterwards restored to health, and has hitherto persevered with great constancy."

Among the early missionary Fathers of the District, or connected with it, we find—

Father John Floyd, who was seized on his visiting the martyr Father Edward Oldcorne in Worcester gaol, has been already noticed in the life of that Father, pp. 237, 238, note.

Father Robert North *alias* Duckett, who was a fellow-missioner with Father Oldcorne in this district, is stated by Father Gerard in his narrative to have been a prisoner in Worcester gaol at the time of Father Oldcorne's martyrdom in that city (1606). There is very little information about this Father. In a State Paper we have already quoted in page **272**, certain priests are mentioned as being the Jesuits' tools, and amongst the rest is one Eton *alias* North; and in another part of that paper he is called a priest. The following is a copy of a letter from Father North to Father Robert Parsons, addressed "Sigr. Ingelberto, Venice."[13]

October 30, 1606.

Good Sir,—As our miseries daily increase, so necessity forceth to seek few remedies, and to continue our complaints, especially unto those who are able to yield redress, or at the least may both comfort and encourage us to sustain with patience. Wherefore our humble suit must be directed unto Sigr. Paul [the Pope] in the greatest scandal and downfall that this many years hath happened or could have come unto the nation, or have blemished the glory of our springing revived Church. So it is that partly by the doctrine of approving the oath, and much more of allowing and defending our [ ] abhorred churchgoing, we are brought into that estate that we fear in a short time *ne lucerna nostra prorsus extinguatur*. Neither let our friends think that we speak this to amplify the matter, for no doubt the case is more lamentable than we could have imagined or expected; for now not only weak persons here and there upon fear of temporal losses do relent from their constancy, but whole counties and shires run headlong without struggle unto the heretics' churches to service and sermons as a thing most lawful, being emboldened thereunto by the warrant of their pastors and spiritual guides, who upon a sudden it seemeth, voluntarily and presuming upon their own wits daily degenerate into false prophets or wolves; whose leader is Thomas Wright, of whom I have often spoken already; and lest that his doctrine might be suspected for want of authority, he is contented to authorize and confirm the same by his own example, and it is verified amongst them, *Si videbas furem currebas cum eo*, &c. [He then goes on to mention a book which Wright had lately published. And speaks about the doctrine of Azor concerning the point, and urges that some more effectual order is required to stay the terrible evil.]

[13] Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vol. iii. n. 71.

All are well here except Philip Tremain, who is gone to God, and hath exchanged this misery into eternal felicity, leaving behind him a desire in us of speedy dissolution, that by a short consummation we may attain to the like glory.[14]

Yours very assuredly,

ROB. NORTHE.

FATHER WILLIAM FORSTER *alias* ANDERSON (according to a Catalogue of the Province for 1655, in which he passes by the name of Anderson) was a native of Norfolk, born 1589, entered the Society in 1608, and was professed of the four vows on October 12, 1623. He was educated at St. Omer's, and distinguished himself by his talents, and after completing his higher studies in Rome and Sicily, for many years taught with reputation and was Prefect of Studies, &c., although constantly labouring under severe asthma, which in the end proved fatal to him.

We give the following autobiographical account of himself, extracted from the students' interrogatories at the English College, Rome.

1606. William Forster *alias* Anderson: "I am son of Lawrence and Elizabeth Forster, and am in my nineteenth year, and was born near a place called Haneril in Essex, and brought up by my grandfather in a village called Packingham, after whose death I lived and studied in various places. My parents are of the higher class, but in reduced circumstances. My father is steward to Sir E. John Caryll, Kt., in Sussex. My mother, because my father is a Catholic, and she a heretic (or Puritan as they term it) lives apart from him. I have neither brothers nor sisters. I made my humanity studies at St. Omer. Having been chiefly brought up among Protestants, I was from cogent necessity one of them, or rather a schismatic, waiting, however, an opportunity of becoming a Catholic. At the age of about fourteen, having been called to London by my father, I was reconciled and received into the Catholic Church by a priest named Pigot, then in prison, and I was then sent to St. Omer's College by means of Father Smith, and there made my humanity studies."

The Diary of the English College states that he entered as an alumnus in the name of William Foster, aged eighteen

[14] Mr. Philip Tremain is mentioned with several other gentlemen and ladies in the "seventh indictment accused for not going to church," given by Father Morris in his account of the imprisonment of Francis Tregian (*Troubles*, series i. p. 96).

years, in the year 1606, took the usual College oath on June 24, 1607, and after receiving certain of the minor orders, entered the Society on October 22, 1609.

We infer that he was at Worcester, or at least in the Residence of St. George, from the following interesting facts. Dr. Thornborough, the Protestant Bishop of Worcester, had a large family, which he carefully educated in the same heresy with himself. By the singular goodness of God, one of his daughters had been converted to the Catholic faith, in the profession of which she afforded an example of piety and constancy. Her elder brother, a man deeply immersed in every species of vice, was brought to death's door by disease contracted from his abandoned habits. Touched by sentiments of religion he frequently and earnestly implored his sister to send for a priest, as he greatly desired to die a Catholic. She, not to be wanting to her brother in his extreme danger in so necessary a matter, called in one of our Fathers. This was Father Anderson, who, having heard his general confession of his entire past life, administered to him likewise the most Holy Eucharist. After some time he returned to strengthen this new convert with the same sacraments. He was invited by him to return again for a third visit; but in the mean time the dying man discovered to his father his conversion to the Catholic faith. Snares were laid for the Father, and he was caught and taken before the pseudo-bishop, who tendered to him the infamous oath of supremacy, which he refused to take, and was consequently thrust into a loathsome prison, which we may imagine to have been Worcester Gaol. The wretched father of the dying convert not long after paid the penalty of his act by a miserable death, cursing and blaspheming the Holy Name, and crying out that a devil in the form of a horrid spectre was standing before him, upbraiding him with his wickedness and his injurious treatment of the priest. The Father was removed afterwards to London, where he was treated with greater indulgence, and eventually, through the interest of Queen Henrietta Maria, was released from confinement. He returned again to the mission, continuing for several years his apostolical labours with great zeal and success until the increase of his old complaint induced his superiors to call him abroad. He died at St. Omer's, June 9, 1657, æt. 68. From vol. i. p. 131 of Sanders' *Flandria Illustrata*, we gather that he was the second Rector of the House of Tertians S.J., at Ghent.

Father More, from whom we gather the above account, goes on to say that a more fortunate lot befell the daughter, than the son of the bishop. She was engaged to be married to a Protestant, and consented, though against her conscience, to have the ceremony performed with the Protestant rites. Scarcely had she set foot within the threshold of the church than, seized with a salutary horror of her sin, turning to the people she said, "Know you that my conscience cries out against me for coming here, and you, Mr. Preacher, beware! lest in performing this nuptial ceremony you say ought that is not right or strictly necessary, otherwise I shall instantly rush out." Then again, addressing the by-standers she said, "I solemnly promise that as long as I live I will never again enter this place." Nor did she break her pledge, but spent the rest of her life piously and Catholically, and had moreover the happiness of bringing her husband a short time afterwards to the same faith, in which they both persevered to the end of their lives.

Father Edward Beswick, who usually passed by the name of Sanders, was missioner at Worcester and in the Residence for many years. He was a native of London, born 1615. In the Catalogue for 1642 he is named as then studying logic at the English College, Liege. He entered the Society in 1639. In 1655 he was made a spiritual coadjutor, and in the Catalogue for that year is stated to be missioner in St. George's Residence, having entered on the mission in 1648. The Summary of the Deceased of the Province for 1680 states "that he died at Worcester in March, 1680, superior of the mission and district, æt. 65, in Religion 41, and that he laboured for thirty years in the English Mission with abundant fruit of souls. He had been for a short time missioner in the Neapolitan Province, also Minister at Liege College, performing both duties most satisfactorily. He was chiefly distinguished for his missionary talents, in the exercise of which he was most skilful and industrious, especially in the art of reclaiming bad Catholics. He fell into the hands of the pursuivants almost upon his first entrance into England, suffering imprisonment and other miseries with great cheerfulness. Turning to his special patron, St. Francis Xavier, in the last and critical moment of life, he happily passed away."

In pursuing the Records of the English Province during the eventful periods of Oates' Plot and the Revolution of 1688, we shall have to revisit the Residence of St. George.

To avoid interfering with the continuity of the history, we supplement the present series with the life of a holy youth, a native of Worcestershire, received into the Society in his twenty-first year, when upon his death-bed, in the English College, Rome, November 18, 1582.

BROTHER EDWARD THROGMORTON.

The following Life of this angelical youth is taken from a Latin MS. in the Stonyhurst Collection.[1] The point of its authorship is uncertain, and lies between Father Robert Southwell and Father Alphonsus Agazzari, the Rector of the English College, Rome. Dr. Oliver is inclined to attribute it to the latter. The holy youth was recommended to Father Agazzari by the Rev. Ralph Sherwin, the martyr, in a letter from Rouen dated August 1, 1580, and by Dr. Allen, when writing at the date of September 25, 1580. A translation of Mr. Sherwin's original letter, preserved in the Stonyhurst MSS., will be found at the end of this Life.

Father Bartoli[2] (speaking of George Gilbert, who had been received into the Society of Jesus at the English College, Rome, *in articulo mortis*)[3] observes: "A similar grace of being received amongst us at death, with permission to pronounce the vows of religion, was granted by the Very Reverend Father General in November of the past year (1582) to Edward Throgmorton, a young man of twenty years of age, an alumnus of the English College, distinguished for his high birth and for perfection in every kind of virtue requisite for constituting a saintly youth, one who left behind him a model for the imitation of all future comers from England to that College. Whoever wishes to read the life of Edward Throgmorton, will find it written either by Father Robert Southwell (of whose glorious martyrdom for the faith at London I shall presently treat) or by Father Agazzari, Rector of the English College, I do not correctly know which, some say one, some the other, perhaps it was the work of both; and it was faithfully translated by Yepes, Bishop of Taragona, in his history of the persecution in England, which renders it unnecessary for me to reproduce it here."

[1] A fine copy of the same life in MS. may likewise be seen among the State Papers in the Public Record Office.

[2] *Inghil.* lib. iv. p. 77. Edit. 1825.

[3] See his Life in *Records*, vol. iii. series viii.

In allusion to the reception of George Gilbert and Edward Throgmorton into the Society of Jesus on their death-beds, of which there have been frequent examples in recent times, Father Bartoli observes: "It is especially worthy of notice that amongst those who, on account of the resolution taken by the Father General Aquaviva as to the admission of English postulants into the Society, had been unsuccessful in their petition for that favour, several on falling subsequently into mortal sickness, renewed their application, and some of these had the consolation of being admitted, whilst others were disappointed. This also was the case with priests, who had already passed over into England to labour in the vineyard, and were there confined in prison, or were in great danger of imprisonment or even of death, since daily, and in the northern parts frequently every day, they were exposed to be taken by the pursuivants. There happened this same year a case in point. A priest, by name William Hart, a young man aged twenty-five, whilst he was an alumnus in the English College, Rome, sought for a long time in vain to be admitted to the Society. Being obliged to return to England, he carried with him thither not only the desire, but also so lively a hope of attaining his end, that having no opportunity of renewing his petition in person, he procured the intercession of Dr. Allen, so much respected by and so dear to the Society. Having thus done all in his power to become a member of it, he went that same year to complete the work in Heaven, for he was apprehended, and after many sufferings endured with marvellous fortitude, was put to death for the Catholic faith at York. The noble testimony which he bore to the faith by the generosity of his death, made the Protestants repent when it was too late, that they had drawn public attention to such rare virtue; he is justly reckoned amongst the most illustrious martyrs of the Church in England."

LIFE OF BROTHER EDWARD THROGMORTON.

§ I. HIS BIRTH.

ALTHOUGH very many holy men in the Church have, like brilliant constellations, shed the rays of their sanctity far and wide, indicating the highest and safest way of reaching heavenly glory, still, as some men look upon the light of their holiness like bats looking upon the sun, and think that they are rather to be admired than imitated, I have considered it a task worth my while to set before the eyes of all the

example of this young man, who, though marked by rare probity and holiness of life, was yet not distinguished by the glory of miracles, nor by ecstasies, nor by such rare and splendid virtue as shone forth in a Francis, a Dominic, an Anthony, and other saints of bygone times. This example will be all the more pleasing as it is more fresh, and all the more easy to imitate, inasmuch there is nothing to be discerned in it that is difficult, or that cannot readily be accomplished by all who wish to be virtuous. And that all may see that his virtue was hereditary, and, as it were, born with him, let us tell of his early piety and of the virtue of his parents.

Edward was born in England of the ancient family of the Throgmortons. His father was Sir N. Throgmorton, Knight, President or Chief Justice of the Principality of Wales.[4] Raised to that post of dignity by Queen Mary, he so discharged the duty intrusted to him as to preserve the province in great peace and tranquillity, thus abundantly commending her Majesty's choice and affording a lasting testimony to the abilities of the President. He was a most vigorous champion of the Catholics, and used to favour them so much, that the heretics often strove on this account to oust him from his office. Moreover, he practised the utmost liberality towards the poor; and whereas upwards of eighty persons at a time would often flock to his house, he generously

[4] In a *status* of the English College, Rome, for 1613 (see Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vol. iv. n. 4), is a description of Richard Campian, *vere* Richard Wigmore, an alumnus, a youth of high blood, the eldest son of one of the leading knights of Herefordshire, whose wife was the daughter of the President of Wales, and sister of Edward Throgmorton, formerly an alumnus of this College, whose life and marvellous acts were written by a Father of the Society, his confessor, the martyr, Father Robert Southwell. In the archives of the archdiocese of Westminster is an original Latin letter from Dr. Richard Barrett of Rheims (whither the English College of Douay had been obliged for a time to retire) to Father Alphonsus Agazzari, Rector of the English College, Rome, dated Rheims, December 28, 1583. A full transcript of this letter is given in pp. 333, 334 of the *Records of the English Catholics*, edited by the Fathers of the Oratory. Among other items of interesting news he mentions three recent martyrdoms in England, Body and Slade of Winchester and York—but the name of the third had not then reached them. The persecution increased daily, becoming more and more intense. Ten gentlemen of Warwickshire had been lately seized and thrust into the Tower of London,—"three of these, viz., two Throgmortons, brothers of your Edward now in Heaven, and another named Arden, have been most cruelly racked; and at the same time a certain priest named Hall. Faith and piety towards God, and a high devotedness and a dutiful obedience towards the Holy See, are no doubt, the real causes of their punishment. They pretend, however, other I know not what grounds—favouring the Queen of Scotts, entertaining new schemes, &c. Whatever they may be, I hear that many entertain good hopes of the speedy conversion of England. I fear in this turn of affairs, and change of

gave each one a sixpence at least. Although, following the evil example of nobles and persons of rank in the distracted reign of Queen Elizabeth, he yielded to the time, and lived for a long period in schism, cut off from the perfect unity of the Church, still in heart and will he retained an inclination to the piety and devotion in which he had been educated, and was so far from becoming a persecutor, that on the contrary he permitted priests and missionaries to frequent his house, nay, they thought themselves nowhere safer than under the shadow of his roof and the protection of his patronage and authority. Edward's mother, however, besides her invincible constancy to the Catholic faith, whence she never swerved in the least from the moment that heresy invaded the kingdom, showed such tender affection for all the poor, especially for priests, that she was truly called the hope and refuge of the sick and miserable. For proof of this it is sufficient to say, that though she was so noble a lady and enjoyed high credit with all, yet she was most ready to visit paralytic persons and others suffering from diseases of various sorts, and even to serve them with her own hands, and cleanse and apply remedies to their wounds, though horrible to look at. At home, besides those to whom she gave sustenance by daily alms at her house door, she had also a chosen number of poor persons, to whom she was wont to devote special care, and to supply them with clothes every year.

times, that when the heretics, who are now in power, see themselves about to be reduced to some straits, they may in the meantime exercise extreme cruelty towards the good. But God will give patience and so there will be no cause to fear. I think that the most grievous and sharp persecution of all that have gone before is now imminent. As to the rest, this is my conjecture. I see on every side cause of hope and fear. In these days the ports are so strictly closed that few escape of those who come to us, or go from us to England. Ten who were coming over to these parts have been seized in the very port, and sent back, or rather dragged *vi et armis* before the Privy Council. The number of Catholics daily increases in a wonderful manner. Our brethren are animated with such zeal amidst these dangers that it is difficult to restrain them; one amongst whom, Foster, takes the lead." After more news, Dr. Barrett concludes: "Oh, how I wish that I could at this time have but one short hour's conversation with Father Alphonsus. . . . I most humbly and with all my heart salute Father Minister, and in like manner Father Goode and the rest of the Fathers in your College." In the same Records several interesting and valuable letters from Dr. Barrett to Father Alphonsus Agazzari are published, the originals of which are preserved in the same archives of the archdiocese. The Mr. Arden named above was the fellow-prisoner of Father John Gerard and escaped with him from the Tower (See *Records S.J.*, vol. i. pp. 441, seq.). We also find in the same Douay Diary: "1580. 19 Sept. Throgmorton, a noble youth, and Thomson, came to us from Rotterdam, and were admitted to our community." "26 of the same month, Mr. Throgmorton and Mr. Evans proceeded towards Rome."

§ 2. HIS FAITH AND ZEAL FOR SOULS EVEN IN BOYHOOD.

Edward therefore, while born of such parents, far from degenerating in piety from the life of his ancestors, added by the fame of his own sanctity no slight crown to the merit of their virtues. To pass over his natural gifts which were many and above the common, to say nothing of the keenness of his understanding and the innate candour of his mind, and the refined beauty of his person, it was certainly a marvellous feature in this youth, that almost from his very cradle he was set on fire with the love of God. When he was as yet a child, just beginning to enjoy the use of reason, his behaviour in all circumstances, especially where God was concerned, was so grave and thoughtful, that when he was taken to the temple of the heretics—whether it was without the knowledge of his parents, or with their connivance, seeing that the custom of going there had now become established—he struck all present with great admiration for his singular modesty and devotion. When he was three years old, lest the poison of heresy should taint his mind while it was yet tender, he was placed for instruction under a tutor of high character, well approved for learning, piety, and attachment to the ancient faith. Other youths also flocked to this instructor from all parts of the county for education as well in letters as in the holy principles of virtue and true religion. So ardent were the flames of Divine love which he enkindled in his pupils, that very many of them resolved to suffer to the last rather than hold the least communion with heretics.

When this came to the notice of Edward, inflamed as he was with a singular fervour above the rest, it can scarcely be told with what tender affection he embraced them, and how many reasons he invented to strengthen them in their good desires. For when they came in the morning to school, he used to ask them how they felt in their good purpose, what progress they made in it, and whether their parents endeavoured by threats or stripes to hold them back from the course they had begun. And if he found any one who had suffered aught —as often happened—for refusing to go to the churches of the heretics; in order to give him courage, and make him the readier to bear the like another time, he used to extol his brave conduct, and speak of it to other Catholics, and assert with great earnestness his own desire of suffering such treatment for the name of Christ. "Oh," he would say, "that I

could take your place when you endure things of this sort! Oh, that those blows might fall on me, which are inflicted on you for the faith! Call to mind the examples of the saints, who having been tortured and scourged in a similar cause for Christ's sake, have received an eternal reward in Heaven, and at present enjoy the fruits of their struggle and victory." By these and other most sweet words encouraging his companions, he would embrace them, and rendering thanks to God in their name would strengthen them with most loving discourse. Also when he was summoned to Mass, he would thence take occasion to stir up in others a desire of hearing it. "If you knew," he said, "where I am going, what I am about to see, and how great a comfort I shall enjoy, what abundant consolation would you not gather from it! Stand firm, therefore, that you also may be able some day to be admitted to the same." Often, too, after schools he used to go a great part of the way home with those who lived at a distance, urging them to piety, and exhorting them that, if at home they were required on any occasion to act against their faith, they should steadfastly refuse. He sometimes went round the neighbouring houses, asking parents to send their sons to him on feast days, and the rather to incite them to do this, he would embrace their children, even the poorest, in their presence, in token of his love towards them. And if he succeeded in getting them to come, he would recite the Office of the Blessed Virgin with them, and instruct them with pious counsels according to his custom. But if by any cause they were hindered from attending, he took an opportunity himself of visiting their homes, invited them to play, and on that occasion would exhort them to constancy. That he might be able to procure Catholic books wherewith the better to assist them, he used carefully to inquire of his father's tenants of the better class, when they came to the house, whether they had any Latin prayer books, and if he found any, he took care to buy them up at once with money that he begged from his aunt, and then distribute them to the children, especially to the poor, as gifts of great value.

If a picture was sent to him, representing any miracle wrought by the Blessed Sacrament—not a few such miracles taking place at that time in Flanders—he seized the earliest opportunity of showing it to his companions, and maintaining the truth of the fact itself, he called the sayings of the heretics fables and lies, and advised people to refuse any

longer to listen to their sermons. When a boy would complain of his parents, and declare that he earnestly desired no longer to hear the falsehoods of such ministers or to go to their church, but was unable to fulfil his wish since he was severely flogged for it, Edward did his best to comfort him; he went to his uncle with whom he lodged, and prayed him to call upon the parents of that boy, and scold them for not being ashamed to annoy their son on the score of his Catholicity. When he perceived that this did no good, he used to advise the boys to run away from home, assuring them that God would never be wanting to them in such a just flight. When a little fellow of his own age had related to him that he was turned out of doors by his own father for having been reconciled to the Church, he took immediate care that the boy should stay with him, and be educated in the same house with himself. He asked him how many brothers he had, and how many of them had been received into the bosom of the Church. Upon hearing that he had ten brothers, but that he alone of them all had received this favour from God, then indeed Edward, overwhelmed with great joy, and caressing him, said: "You shall be to God as a tithe, you shall reign happily with the elect of God, and when your father and brothers, unless they repent, are eternally condemned, you alone shall enjoy the bliss of Heaven." Such was the strength which his words breathed into his hearer, that the latter afterwards declared that no priest had ever benefitted him so much as kind-hearted Master Edward.

Nor did the piety of this youth benefit boys only; its influence extended to old men and women, and even to heretics, as far as circumstances allowed. He taught some uninstructed men who could not read, and certain aged women that lived in the same house, the method of saying the Rosary; and sometimes after Mass, fearing lest, from not understanding the mysteries of that Sacrifice, they might waver in the faith, he would hasten to animate and comfort them, telling them again and again that if they could gain an insight into those mysteries they would thence derive the utmost joy and consolation. But they were not, he said, to be distressed because the mysteries surpassed their understanding; "for one Our Father and Hail Mary that you say with simplicity, pleases God more than if one of us, that understands things better, should spend a whole hour in prayer." This he said with the design of raising their drooping courage, and of

spurring them on more vigorously to the practice of prayer. When sometimes he was staying in the house of a certain heretic, under a tutor who was likewise a heretic, he devoted all his efforts to drawing his host out of error, and warmly urged to fortitude and perseverance those persons whom he knew to be inclined to the faith. If perchance—as sometimes happened—he heard any one vehemently inveighing against any point of Catholic truth, he opposed him not by argument but by rebuke. If the other supported his opinion with reasons, he used to answer smartly: "It is easy to overcome with reasons a boy like me, but if such a priest"—naming some learned man—"were here, he would have no difficulty in showing all your arguments to be empty and worthless." Again, he was afraid lest his tutor might cunningly endeavour to taint his mind in their daily intercourse, and inoculate him with heretical doctrine under colour of Catholic truth. The tutor had, in fact, already begun to do what the pious youth suspected, whereupon he at once let his parents know by letter that he would not trust his salvation to that deceitful heretic; and, therefore, begged and besought them earnestly that he might be withdrawn with all speed from his charge and society. In short, it is almost incredible, with what hatred of heresy and anxiety for the salvation of others he was filled, and how ingenious he was in inventing occasions for exhorting and instructing them. This behaviour was all the more worthy of admiration in him, as the sons of persons of rank when young shrink exceedingly from this kind of virtue, and in no country more so than in England.

§ 3. HIS CHARITY TO THE POOR.

He who was so zealous in his endeavours for the salvation of souls, showed a thoughtfulness and assiduity in procuring bodily relief for the poor, which deservedly attracted the admiration of all who saw him. Though his age as yet did not allow him to have any considerable sum of money in his possession, yet if, as often happened, any was given him either by his parents or by other persons, he took the earliest opportunity of distributing it to the poor. His chief love was for aged and decrepit men and women, and little children. He often used to say of them, "These are indeed the friends of God; how I wish that I had something to give them! for, whatever we provide them with, God will requite it as given to Himself." And so he was often anxious to give them his own clothes, like another

St. Martin, if he had been allowed to do so. Often, when he caught sight of poor people, he ran to the pantry, store-room, or kitchen, to get something for them; and if he was refused, or kept waiting, he pressed his demand earnestly and urged it with warmth. "It is our Lord's precept," he said, "and those poor people are standing before the door in the cold, and can you be so hardhearted as not to pity them?" If the servants gave, indeed, but selected the worst, he urged them to throw in something better, in accordance with an old saying of his, that what was given to the poor was given to God, and therefore ought to be of the best. Often, too, in winter time he led the children of the poor, suffering from cold and hunger, with his own hands to the fire, and prayed the servants to make ready something for them to eat while they were warming themselves. Nor was he less solicitous about clothing them when occasion offered. As soon as ever new clothes were given him, he thought of distributing his old ones to the poor, especially to the sons of Catholics; and having asked leave to do so, he made the distribution with wonderful cheerfulness and joy.

In a word, so great was the love which he cherished for the poor, and so ardent was his devotion to the needy, that he spent the time allowed for recreation either with them or in their cause. Whenever in company with other gentry he was bidden to put down money for play, he always gave away to beggars any winnings he might make. When he had his choice of recreation, he was very fond of fishing in a pond close by the house, so that he might bestow on the children of the poor whatever fish he caught. Even when wearing silk and fine linen, according to his rank, when circumstances permitted it, he avoided higher company, and did not blush to consort with beggar boys; and to the best of his ability, especially if they were Catholics, he would instruct and strengthen them. He also showed great signs of affection for a certain aged woman, who had nursed himself and most of his brothers. As often as any of his friends came to the house, he asked either for clothes or for money as a present to her, and was so full of charity for her that he seemed to wish to repay her in her old age the care she had rendered him in his infancy. He endeavoured, moreover, to instruct her with pious exhortations, and to encourage her by reading to her the lives of the saints. God recompensed this his love with no slight reward. Once when he was reading her the history of St. Thomas, Arch-

bishop of Canterbury, the nurse was lost in admiration at hearing the wonderful virtue of that Saint. Then she took occasion to tell Edward that his great-grandfather had some apparel which the Saint wore before he was killed by the wicked assassins. "Out of it," she said, "he gave me an alb when I was nursing your brother George, that I might wrap him in it on great feast days. I keep it with the greatest care in a box, and, please God, I will keep it as long as I live." Edward, hearing this, ran to his aunt, and told her what he had heard. The old woman was summoned and the alb produced, and then laid reverently by, until after full examination it was pronounced by a priest to be a true relic of St. Thomas. Thus Edward's charity had the good effect of bringing to light what otherwise perhaps would have lain for ever unknown. The alb was distributed in pieces to a large number of Catholics, and was the occasion of no common consolation. Nor do I think it a matter lightly to be passed over, with what ardent flames of Christian charity that boyish heart glowed towards a wretchedly poor woman who suffered for many years from a very strange and horrible kind of disease. He visited her, if not every day, at least frequently, though she lived at some distance; and not content with doing so himself he invited other young gentlemen to do the same. At the moment that her sad condition met their eyes, Edward, like a sedulous almoner, was wont to ask them for a contribution to assist the patient; nor did he arrive empty-handed when he visited her alone, but brought her either food, or holy water, or whatever she stood in need of. In short, he busied himself about her with such pious care, that with the assistance of a priest he converted her from heresy, and restored her to the unity of the Catholic Church.

§ 4. HIS LOVE OF GOD AND HOLY THINGS.

But if he manifested such ardent affection for the poor, how deep, we may be sure, was his feeling of attachment to priests? And when his devotion to both was so great, what are we to believe was his heartfelt love for God Himself? His deeds will be able to show this better than words; they made it evident with what veneration he regarded Almighty God and His ministers. As soon as he heard of the arrival of a priest, it seemed to be the most welcome of all news to him. At once he hastened to meet him, and if the servants were not on the spot he himself led his horse to the stable

and pulled off the rider's boots—nay, even sometimes he was not ashamed to clean them. And if on any occasion the crowd of gentry and visitors prevented the priest from sitting at table with the rest, he would at once run to his aunt and conjure her with many entreaties to give him leave to wait on him. If that were denied him, he implored at least to be allowed to dine in the room with him. In short, his great attention in all circumstances where priests were concerned, clearly manifested the feeling with which he regarded them.

It was also his anxious care to arrange the altar neatly, to adorn it with flowers, and perform the duty of sacristan as exactly as possible. If any flower or pretty thing, such as is usually given to children, were shown him, he did not, with the thoughtlessness of a child, use it for the gratification of his senses, but devoted it to the adornment of the altar. He had a special attraction for serving Mass, and from this arose a holy contest between himself and a youth related to him, of similar piety and disposition, which should more often serve Mass. You might see Edward earnestly begging a priest to promise him the favour of taking him for his server. If there were several Masses on the same day, he strove with all his might to be allowed to serve the greater part of them himself. In short, so devoted was he to priests and to sacred things, that while others were whiling away the time with play or gossip, his delight, if he had the chance, was to sit in a room with a priest talking of pious things, and particularly of Holy Orders, to which he had already in his heart dedicated himself. If he had no opportunity of doing this, he gave his whole attention to reading books of piety and saints' lives, especially on feast days and other holiday times. If he ever found any of his companions offending in the slightest degree against the strict rules of modesty, he rebuked him sharply, and declared that he would avoid him in future unless he was more guarded. When that did no good, he threatened to report him to the priest, for he considered that the severest thing that could be said, and in his high esteem and veneration for priests, he regarded a rebuke from them as the most grievous punishment that could befall any one. For the same reason he made it his duty to obey with the utmost promptitude even their least command, and it appeared to him that the most efficacious means of moving others to action was to cite the authority and injunction of a priest.

He was most scrupulous in observing the fasts of the Church, although by reason of his age he lay under no obliga-

tion. He was very diligent in fulfilling the orders of his master and his other superiors. Lastly, he was so remarkable for the gravity of his manners and the innocence of his life, that the neighbouring gentry held him up as an example of piety for their sons to imitate. Many people also, and those not of the lowest class, begged most earnestly of the uncle with whom he then lived, that their children might be admitted into Edward's service, doubtless with the intention that they should be instructed by him, and moulded according to his own character. Hence it appears with what rare sanctity and gentleness he was endowed, being so faithful to the service of God as to win for himself the goodwill of all to an extent which seemed to forebode already, as his own words indicated, the position which, by the singular favour of God, he was afterwards to gain above the rest of his kinsmen with whom he lived. For when one day two boys, relations of his, were asked at the same time by their master what station in life each would take if he had his choice, one said that his highest ambition was the dignity of a king, because in that state he could provide for the good of many; the other was of opinion that the office of a gallant general was preferable to kingly power, since from it higher praise and greater glory redounds. But the pious Edward, far removed from such desires, and revolving in his mind ideas of a widely different nature, said, "For my part, neither the perishable splendour of royalty, nor the passing glory of generalship seems to me so desirable; I would count it a far greater blessing if I could cast aside the allurements and the vanities of this life, and, apart from the noise of the world, bend all the powers of my soul towards God, Who alone can satisfy the full extent of human desire." This answer, so grave, and beyond the years of the speaker, was an augury which was confirmed by the event; for, not many years afterwards, being sent by his parents to the Continent, and eventually to Rome, he fulfilled what he had foretold in this answer. But before we record his doings at Rome, something must be said of his departure and journey.

§ 5. HE GOES FROM ENGLAND TO ROME.

As soon as the report got abroad that Edward had been summoned by his parents with a view to his being sent over shortly to France, it is wonderful how many of his old schoolfellows, and of the common people and gentry, assembled, both to bid farewell to the object of their singular esteem, and con-

gratulate him on his departure to a Catholic country. What tears started to the eyes of relations, what lamentations there were of servants, male and female; what weeping and grief of all! Each one bewailed the great loss which he foresaw he would suffer by the departure of Edward; and, as though about to be deprived for ever of one whom they held so dear, they accompanied him upon his way as if in a funeral procession, with many sad tokens of their deep affection. By his engaging conversation and wonderful affability, he had so gained the affections of all, and so united each one's heart to his own that none could part from him without keen feelings of grief. And when the time came for starting on his journey, the signs which he himself gave of reciprocal feeling, showed the tenderness of his heart. He made a prosperous journey to the port, and, under the favour of God, finally embarked. In a short time the wind began to rage furiously against the ship, and the sea was agitated into so violent a storm, that even in the opinion of the sailors there was imminent danger of shipwreck. On perceiving that things were in this state, the captain wished to prevent the boy's fears by assuring him that there was little or no danger, and that such violent storms were nothing unusual. "Do you think that I am afraid of storms?" said Edward. "That I am not; for well I know that so long as our God, under Whose care our ship sails, and under Whose banners we have determined to fight, does not deny us the safeguard of His protection, neither eddying winds, nor swelling waves, nor stress of weather will do us the least harm. But if the will of God shall arrange it so that the ship be overwhelmed by the fury of the winds, I certainly have no doubt that I shall somehow reach the same secure and blissful harbour of eternal salvation for which I am at present making, the harbour of my Saviour, Who, weary as I am and tossed about with the solicitudes of this life, will cherish me in the stillness of His peace. There is, therefore, no reason why my danger should give you so much uneasiness, for, come what may, thank God I feel my mind quite ready for it." The captain, marking this unconquerable greatness of soul in the youth, was struck with such admiration that this answer remained for many months impressed on his mind, and was frequently repeated by him again.

But since God's providence had decreed that Edward should be preserved to make further progress in virtue, and help to the profit of others with whom he was to live, the storm was at

length appeased, and he landed safe and sound at Rouen, where he remained half a year. Every day he repeated the prayers of the Breviary, making this devotion in addition to his former pious practice when in England of daily reciting the Office of the Blessed Virgin. At length, however, by the advice of the future martyr, Father Ralph Sherwin, then at the English College, Rome, he made up his mind to set out on his journey thither. It may well seem to us that so holy a man was moved to give this advice by a special inspiration of God, directing that one who was quitting Rome and hastening to England to gain the palm of martyrdom, should obtain in exchange that another might pass on from England to the Eternal City, to be speedily enrolled among the number of confessors! For whereas, in the present miserable condition of that island, no spot in the world is better suited than England for shedding one's blood for Christ, so, for dying a tranquil, happy death without bloodshed, there is nowhere found a fitter place than Rome. Accordingly, with one attendant he began his journey, which he did not hesitate to perform on foot, to afford him a better opportunity of suffering something for Christ, notwithstanding that he had the means of riding, and that his tender age and slender strength seemed to advise his doing so. At starting he proposed to his companion two points to be observed by himself; first, that he should abstain from excessive laughter; secondly, that he should so strictly guard his tongue and other senses as not to give any one the least cause of offence. If by any chance his companion should notice him failing on either of these points, he was to recall to his memory the agreement they had made together.

He strove to surmount the inconveniences of the journey by pious stories and devout conversations, so closely occupying his mind with thoughts of the things of God as to prevent its being readily drawn aside to reflect on bodily hardships. For this end, as often as he had a convenient opportunity, he did not fail to go to confession and to refresh himself with Heavenly Food. With the ardour of charity that he gathered from this Divine nourishment, he not only bore unflinchingly the privations that met him at every turn, but also greatly cheered his companion when broken down with pain and sadness, for his legs and feet were so swollen from the labour of the journey that he could scarcely set foot to the ground, and was forced to travel by very short stages. Edward paid him every kind office, animated him to bear his

pains manfully for the love of God, and roused his drooping spirits by all the means in his power. Then as his charity was not satisfied with doing all this, he spent a sum of money in hiring him a horse, and while his companion rode he generally followed on foot like a servant. But though he was never backward in supplying him with necessaries, he did not too readily indulge him in superfluities. For when they came to any city, and their attendant would always look about for the more frequented houses, Edward used to endeavour by arguments to draw him to meaner places, that were likely to furnish greater occasions of suffering. If in them, as often happened, coarse food was set before him, he took it with the utmost patience and cheerfulness ; nay, he always thought himself better off when his lodging could supply him with none but the meanest fare. He did not follow a very general habit with travellers, of quarrelling with their host about the price or quality of their food. Nor did he reject poorer dishes and demand better ones. On the contrary, that no room might be left for altercation or dispute, he preferred to satisfy the greediness of his hosts to his own loss, rather than contend with them about prices. Many such occasions happened, but especially once, when he had to pay a high charge for most miserable accommodation, being forced to pass the night on straw, yet he said not a word about it, nor gave the smallest sign of impatience, but bore everything with great endurance and equanimity, leaving behind a bright example of his rare virtue.

§ 6. HIS EXACT OBSERVANCE OF THE RULES AND DISCIPLINE OF COLLEGE LIFE.

At length, after surmounting many difficulties in his journey, he arrived in Rome ; where he went straight to the English College, whither he had been directed by Sherwin. Being admitted by the Superiors as a boarder, he did great honour to the College by the unusual and brilliant example of his virtues and piety. For although the condition of the boarders is this, that provided only they are careful to keep the common ordinances and statutes of the College, they are not bound to take Holy Orders, nor are they under the obligation of any College oath ; yet Edward, not content with his own duties, prescribed to himself the rules of the ordinary alumni, and resolved to learn how to practise the perfection which he saw was exacted from them. Of this fact, before proceeding to the examination of his virtues in detail, I will produce the reliable

testimony of that daily Exercise, which, after his death was found in his desk, written in English with his own hand. And since it embraces a distribution of almost the whole day, it proves how carefully he kept to the path of virtue in the most exact regulation of all his actions.

Daily Exercise.[5]

"In the morning, the moment that I hear the bell ring, I will rise as quickly as I can, make the sign of the Cross, and commend myself to God. And that I may be able to do this the more readily, I will be content the evening before with a light supper, and before lying down will commend myself to my Angel Guardian, and pray him to waken me at the proper hour; and I will go to rest with the intention that my body may be better disposed the next day to serve God, and not that I may find any pleasure in repose; and for the same end I will take one of the following sayings of Scripture, to rouse myself if I am sleepy at the time of rising.

"Monday. 'At midnight a cry was heard, Behold the Spouse cometh, go ye out to meet Him.'

"Or, 'If any one riseth and openeth to Me the door, I will enter in to him, and sup with him, and he with Me.'

"Tuesday. As though I heard our Saviour warning me, saying: 'Why sleep ye? Rise, watch and pray that ye enter not into temptation.'

"Wednesday. As though He threatened me in anger: 'If thou dost not watch, I will come as a thief, and thou knowest not at what hour I will come to thee.'

"Thursday. As though He asked me to rise: 'Arise, My beloved, and come.'

"Friday. As though He charged me with negligence: 'Rise and eat, thou hast a great way to go.' And at the same time I will think how far I am from perfection, and I will rise with the intention of doing something acceptable to God.

[5] In giving a full transcript of his self-imposed *regime*, the reader must bear in mind the exceptional character of this saintly youth, who was truly one in a thousand. He was besides, as a convictor or boarder, more at his own disposal than the ordinary alumni of the College could have been. Ordinarily speaking, such strict and self-imposed practices involve far too great a strain upon the head to be adopted by beginners, except in a modified form and under proper advice. The paper admirably depicts the character of the youth, and leads us to infer what might have been expected from such antecedents, had he been spared for riper years, but his course was to be a very brief one in which to accomplish "a long time"—like another Aloysius, Stanislaus, or Berchmans, and many other saintly scholars.

"Saturday. As though He rebuked me for my sloth: 'Rise, why liest thou with thy face to the earth?'

"Sunday. As though He promised me a reward: 'Rise thou that sleepest, and Christ shall enlighten thee.' Or as though He made a demand of me: 'Rise, pay what thou owest.'

"Then when I feel myself ready to rise I will answer in silence: 'My heart is ready, O God, my heart is ready,' and thus I will go on with some pious prayer or meditation till dressing is finished, diligently avoiding trifling conversation with my neighbour during this time. If I have to leave my room on business I will keep a careful guard over my tongue, and will return as speedily as possibly.

"If the signal for prayer be not given immediately I will spend the time either in reading the meditation for that day, or if I have already prepared it I will occupy myself in prayer, and will drive away evil thoughts, so far as I am able. As soon as the bell rings I will fall on my knees, or if my health does not allow that, will stand and make my meditation with closed eyes, so that nothing may distract me.

"When the signal is given for the end, after saying my ordinary prayers in my room, I will immediately rise and go to the church. If, however, I have not finished my meditation I will not forget it, but offering to God the obedience I will defer it until I reach the church, where I shall be able to finish it. Should I have finished my meditation before, I will still occupy my mind between the church and my room with saying some pious prayer, or reflecting on some point which I have meditated, offering the Mass which I am about to hear according to one of the subjects of my meditation, or for a particular need. On the way also I will take care not to be detained by any one, nor will I speak, unless I have to salute some person; and I will at once enter the church, or the choir, if need be, and will avoid the sacristy, unless I have some duty to do there.

"As soon as I enter the church, I will take holy water, and be careful not to look about me, but fixing my eyes on the High Altar or on the ground I will go to my usual place, and there kneeling down spend the time of Mass in pious meditations, firmly resolving with myself not to turn my eyes unless I am called.

"When Mass is over, I will go to my room in the same way as I entered the church, begging God to advance me in

my studies, seeing that they are directed to His service. I will take care also not to be detained by unnecessary affairs or conversation.

"When I enter my room I will always remember to take holy water, and mentally salute the patron of the room, and when I reach my place I will salute the Blessed Virgin, saying a 'Hail Mary,' and the prayer 'Ineffable Creator,' &c., and then drawing with my pen a sign of the Cross, I will go to work, and be careful during study-time not to speak to any one, unless grave necessity requires it. If I have to speak, I will do it in a low voice.

"Should I have no appetite for breakfast, I will perform at that time some of my spiritual exercises.[6] After breakfast, I will again apply to my studies, always beginning with the sign of the Cross, and with invoking the patrons of my studies, the Blessed Virgin, and my Angel Guardian, and saying the before-mentioned prayer. A little before the signal is given for schools I will quietly prepare myself to go out as the bell rings.

"In leaving my room, I will make the sign of the Cross, and take holy water, and commend myself to God, the Blessed Virgin, St. Catharine, and my Angel Guardian, and pray them that I may not fail in the duty on which I am entering. When I reach the door, I will salute all without distinction as they come up, if I see it advisable, and I will say nothing except what arises in familiar conversation, and that with modesty.

"On leaving the College I will take holy water, and fortify myself with the sign of the Cross. On the way between the College and the schools, I will not look about me, but fixing my eyes on the road, I will see that no nobleman or acquaintance passes by without a salutation, if it is proper to make one. Nothing that may happen shall make me look back or to one side. When I pass by holy images, I will say some ejaculatory prayer: such as, if it be an image of the Blessed Virgin, 'Holy Mary, Mother of God,' &c.

"On the way I will speak of no topic that does not appertain to studies or to piety, and that in a low voice and without disputing. If I happen to leave any image unsaluted, as soon as I remember it I will say my accustomed prayer, which I will choose at my discretion.

"On entering the Roman College, if I meet any Father of the Society, I will uncover my head; and, keeping the same

[6] In Rome, this meal is generally very light, and is called collation.

guard over my eyes, if the door is open, I will modestly enter the schools, but if it is shut, I will spend the time in moderate conversation with my companions, and this not about secrets or useless matters. When I enter the school, I will go with head uncovered to my usual place. On reaching it I will get ready for writing, and if the lecturer is not there, and I can do so conveniently, I will say some short prayer to myself, commending myself to God with the actions I am about to perform. When the lecturer arrives I will uncover my head, and make the sign of the Cross with the rest, adding any ejaculatory prayer that I remember. As often as I turn a leaf, I will put the sign of the Cross at the top, in whatever haste I be. When the lecturer is explaining, I will attend diligently, whether I have written all or not. If afterwards I have not finished, and have forgotten what remained to be written, still I will not ask my companions while they are writing, but rather I will glance quickly over their books, or I will leave a space and wait till the end of the lecture. In like manner when the lecturer is dictating, neither haste nor anything else shall make me open my lips, except under stress of great necessity, but I will finish patiently as I have begun. If any one, however, asks me for a word, if I can, I will tell him in a low voice. After lecture, when the Professor passes by, I will salute him, and if I have left anything out in the dictation, I will make it up. If there are disputations or repetitions in class, I will converse with no one at that time, but will listen quietly to the arguments, and will try, if I can, to draw some profit from them, having special care of my eyes not to look about, and also in particular of my tongue and of my other movements, so that, while others are arguing, I shall neither speak nor laugh, nor use any other gesture that may displease the rest. If I have to argue, I will say what I think without deriding or railing at others and without wrangling: and when I find an argument really answered, I will leave it. Always, but especially in disputations, I will take care not to watch the gestures of others. If the Father bids me to argue or to answer, I will do so by all means. If I see that any one has left anything behind him in the schoolroom, I will give it to him in the schoolroom itself or immediately after class: and to this end I will take diligent care to leave nothing behind, by getting ready before the bell rings. As soon as ever the signal is given for the end of schools, I will leave whatever discussion I was having with my neighbour, and

will modestly take my departure. As I go out, I will mentally pray God and the Blessed Virgin that I may meet with no occasion of sinning on my way back to the College, and I will return in the same order as I came, keeping guard over my tongue and senses. As soon as I get back, I will go at once to my room, and if the bell does not ring immediately for some duty, I will occupy myself in any prayer, or other needful work. Always, as I said, on entering my room, I will salute the patron of it, and on coming to my place say a 'Hail Mary.'

"As soon as the bell rings for sweeping, I will take the brush and sweep quickly in silence, unless I am asked a question, and if it is my turn to carry the dust away I will promptly do so and return as quick as I can, and put everything in its place before dinner, and if the bell does not ring at once, I will say some one of my prayers.

"As soon as the signal summons us to dinner, I will go out of the room and on the way commend myself to my patron St. John. As I wash my hands I will say the *De Profundis*, or some ejaculatory prayer instead.

"I will enter the refectory modestly and not look about me, but keep my eyes cast down rather than raised. When a priest passes by, I will uncover my head, taking care not to turn my eyes aside but keep them, as I said, cast down, or otherwise modestly bestowed, until grace is said, nor will I speak with any one unless asked a question.

"At the end of grace I will sit down to table modestly, and will take care during dinner-time not to talk to any one nor cast my eyes on any; but fixing my looks on the table, I will attend to the reading, and so continue to the end of dinner; and if I can do so without injury to my health, I will take whatever is served up, but if I cannot, I will modestly tell him that serves at table, ever putting this before my eyes, that I come not there to please my palate, but to sustain nature."

From this Exercise it is very clear what a strict method the holy youth observed in his actions, seeing that he gave such attention to the minutest points. And how exact he was in fulfilling this rule, all who have lived with him can testify. It was this that they most admired in him, that he ever kept the even tenor of his way, and observed the same course in all his actions. By this means he reached in a short time so high a degree of sanctity, that he became to all his companions a

perfect example of the right way of acting. That this may the more clearly appear, I will set forth one by one the remarkable virtues for which he was distinguished, as related after death by his confessor and others who were continually in his company. As each virtue is considered, we may judge how admirable he was in whom all those excellences appeared together.

§ 7. HIS SINGULAR VIRTUES, AND ESPECIALLY HIS OBEDIENCE.

We begin with that virtue which is reckoned the basis and foundation of the rest, according to the saying of St. Gregory: "that obedience is the only virtue which plants all other virtues in the soul, and guards them after they are once planted." Edward was most exact in the observance of the rules, so that neither by the example of his companions, nor by any human respect, where his conscience told him otherwise, could he be led to break even the least of them. Often when asked a question in English he answered in Latin, as the rules of the college require; and even on the most lawful occasion he did not go beyond the bounds of his room without the prefect's leave. And if he chanced to be away longer than usual, on returning he gave the reason of his absence without being asked, even when aware that the cause had come to the prefect's knowledge from another source, looking only to the fact that he was bound by the rule to give a reason.

He also laid open with the utmost freedom even the most secret recesses of his soul to Superiors, as to God's vicegerents, not only desirous that they should be acquainted with his smallest actions, but plainly disclosing to them the innermost thoughts of his mind, and his natural propensities, thinking nothing more desirable in this life than a perfect conformity in everything to the good pleasure of God, a point which he considered he had gained when he followed the direction of his Superiors as the rule of his actions. He understood, in fact, what St. Bernard says: "Whether God, or man acting in God's place, gives any command, it must no doubt be executed with equal care, and deferred to with equal reverence." Wherefore he was so obedient to his Superior's resolve, that if, after hearing his request, he should receive a refusal, he scrupled to ask the same a second time. It is also worthy of note that he was as diligently occupied with the business then present and to be done by order of the rule, or of the Superior, as though his salvation had hung

on the performance of that work alone. Nor was he so careful only of the matter to be done, but also solicitous about the manner of doing it, and hence, if he did not do everything at the proper time and place, he thought he had done nothing. This appeared the more admirable in him, seeing in how many persons the contrary defect exists. But though his remarkable obedience is clearly shown by what I have said, it is still a more striking testimony of it that not even in the holiest things did he dare to trust his own opinion, but followed the saying of the Wise Man, "lean not on thy own prudence." And even in his very practices of mortification he relied always on the judgment of the Superior, using or abstaining from them in full compliance with his decision, having learnt in Holy Scripture "that obedience is better than victims;" since, as St. Gregory writes, "By victims the flesh of another, but by obedience our own will is sacrificed."

He strove so hard to break his will, that as often as he had an opportunity he would ask leave even about the least things, and though the Superior's permission was not required for them, still he did not let slip the occasion of conquering himself, and of ascertaining with more certainty the good pleasure of the Divine will, which he always recognized in the voice of the Superior. Accordingly, he would neither stand up at prayer, nor sit down, nor pray with his head covered, without the Superior's consent and determination—not that he was troubled with scruples or with any vain and exaggerated fear of sinning, but because he was so attached to obedience as to desire to ask leave for every action of the whole day, and to do nothing at his own discretion. That such was the case he clearly showed every time the bell rang, when his promptness and activity in commencing the duty indicated was as though he recognized the voice of God Himself in the sound of the bell. Truly he was a thoughtful and faithful servant, whom as often as the Lord called either by the voice of a Superior or by a signal, He found watching; truly a man obedient to each sign of His will, who, without any delay in doing as commanded, immediately made ready his ears for hearing, his tongue for speaking, his feet for walking, his hands for working, and gathered up his whole soul to execute the order given. How great we may well imagine was the merit he gained at every sound of the bell, for which he always prepared himself with an anxiety to obey quickly

without loss of time, since St. Bernard witnesses that he merits greater grace who is ready before the command, than he who busies himself to obey after receiving it.

He was also wont to incite himself and others not a little to this promptness in obeying, by the example of a certain virgin. For when he would encourage any one to obey, besides quoting texts from Scripture and trite passages of the Fathers on the subject, wishing him to be strengthened by the example of this virgin, he said, "Have you not heard of a certain holy virgin, who, burning with a great desire to see Christ, and demanding that favour with continual prayers for a long time, at length attained to His most sweet sight, for Christ, in the appearance of a little babe, stood before her, and soothed her by His lovely presence and words, when it happened that she was called by obedience to some mean and common work; what do you think that virgin then did? did she prefer such a consolation to obedience? She did not; but rather, when she heard the call of obedience, she said to the Infant, 'See, sweet Jesus, I leave Thee to fulfil obedience; do Thou, however, if it please Thee, wait for me here meanwhile.' She went, therefore, and after faithfully accomplishing the duty, ran back in great haste to her cell, and as she opened the door a wonderful brilliant light fell on her eyes, so that she could hardly bear its exceeding great brightness. For Jesus, Whom she had left a little infant, had put on the appearance of a full-grown man, radiant with unusual splendour and majesty. Amazed at the sight, she broke forth into these words: 'How,' she replied, 'most loving Jesus, in such a short space of time, hast Thou grown to be so strong, so tall, and so comely?' Christ answered her, 'Thy prompt obedience has rendered Me such in this brief space.'" After telling the story in this manner, Edward, raising his eyes to Heaven, and taking his companion's right hand, "You see," he said, "what a great virtue obedience is, which not only exalts us sinners, but makes in a certain way even God Himself greater. And certainly," he continued, "if this example was firmly fixed in our minds, "we should be united to God by the closest tie possible." In fine, Edward was advanced to such a high degree of this virtue, that he was unwilling to depart even to the glory of heavenly bliss without first obtaining his Superior's consent. For, the second night before he died, he entreated earnestly that the Father Rector might be summoned, and when he was asked what he wanted at such a late hour

of the night, he answered that he had to go, and therefore wished to ask leave. Being asked whither he was going, "To Heaven," he said, "if permission is given me by the Superior." Nor, indeed, is this to be put down to a delirious fancy, since his mind was then quite sound, and he enjoyed the perfect use of his reason.

§ 8. HIS EXTREME HUMILITY.

But to pass from obedience to humility. So well did Edward form his thoughts, so well did he regulate his deeds and conversation, that whatever you heard from him, and whatever you noticed in his behaviour, seemed redolent of humility. He was so courteous and affable, even to the lowest sort of people, that, no matter with whom he treated, you might think he was dealing with Superiors. He measured no man by the obscurity of his condition and family, and notwithstanding his own high birth he never claimed any more consideration for himself in the college on that account, or failed to recognize the image of the Divine Majesty in another. By habitually venerating it in all persons, he arrived at such a low estimate of himself, that at length he who excelled most others in nobility and virtue, thought himself inferior to all. And therefore he preferred the company of those who were of less refined manners and humbler rank than himself, and among the less educated he spoke as though he himself laboured under those defects which he wished to be amended in them. When accused of vainglory in seeking after the applause or goodwill of Superiors under a false appearance of piety, he betrayed no sign of anger, but maintained his usual serenity of countenance and speech, rather accusing himself by his silence than entering into any explanation of his real motives.

Far from trying to excuse himself, he would take his companions' faults and punishments upon himself, desiring to pass as less perfect than he was, so that others, seeing their defects corrected in him, might be careful not to fall into them in future. He often asked the Superior to let him wait upon the servants, wash the feet of strangers, help in the kitchen, and perform similar lowly offices. Nay, he frequently tried to persuade Superiors that, as he was a boy he should not be punished like the older scholars, but should be whipped and treated like a child. If any one admonished him of a defect he thanked him heartily, and asked him again and

again that, whenever he noticed anything blameworthy in him, he would not hesitate to chide him freely. Not satisfied with this, he enumerated his own defects in writing to another, in order to suffer the humiliation of being blamed for them in public. Nor was he less careful in avoiding the snares of pride than in practising acts of humility. If the conversation turned on the nobility of his birth, the fortune of his parents, or the rank of his family, he always tried either to stop it, or to introduce another subject, thus seeking to shun everything that might give fresh strength to the natural feelings of self-esteem. This trait had been noticed in him while he was yet in England, for when some persons congratulated him on the magnificent state his father kept up, never going from home without a retinue of upwards of sixty domestics, who wore his livery, and were for the most part of gentle blood, Edward, so far from being gratified by this, betrayed the utmost indifference.

He took particular care to conceal his virtues, and if at any time their exercise was observed by others, a blush of virginal modesty spread over his face, and even against his will showed clearly the greatness of his humility. He was so far removed from any desire of praise or honour, that nothing caused him greater annoyance than to be lauded by others, and to one who had spoken of him before his face as good and as an angel, he replied with a smile: "I wonder very much that you apply such epithets to me. For if, with my inclination to pride, I were on this occasion to sin through self-conceit, you certainly would have to bear part of the blame. Abstain, I pray you, in future, and do not spur on a willing horse to wrong." Instead of any mark of pride appearing in him, he showed how carefully and perfectly he cultivated Christian humility. Nor is it wonderful that he was so assiduous in the practice of this virtue, for by a special light of the Holy Ghost he had found his way to its deepest root, in the perfect knowledge of himself. Although the purity of his mind was so great that for some time he was known to many in the college under the name of "The Innocent," and the integrity of his body was such that, by the testimony of his confessor, he had kept it unsullied, and had vowed that he would keep it so for the future, still his opinion of himself was so low, that when he had retired for a time for the more convenient performance of his spiritual exercises, and a certain Father was visiting him, he said with great grief of heart, as though from a deep

sense of his own unworthiness, "What would you do, Father, if you saw Judas here before you?" showing, even with tears, that he was willing to be thought like Judas. Nothing used to astonish him so much as that the Divine Majesty had deigned to look down on a creature so miserable as himself, and even to place the infinite treasure of the Godhead in a body so vile and corruptible as his.

§ 9. HIS HATRED OF HIMSELF AND LOVE OF MORTIFICATION.

As the result of this perfect degree of humility, whereby he had descended so deeply into the abyss of his vileness, he was possessed with such a sincere hatred of himself that he considered himself his own enemy, requiring to be conquered on all occasions. He would never seek to escape any opportunity of denying his own will, or any punishment imposed upon him, however these might come. Scarcely a day passed on which he did not ask for a penance, and he carried his pious importunity so far that Superiors were at a loss what penances they should impose to satisfy his inexhaustible eagerness for performing them. He was desirous, if he had been permitted, to tell publicly all his daily faults, and not content with the ordinary penances, he invented new and more difficult ones. When not allowed to perform them in the refectory, he managed to have them imposed upon himself at the meeting of the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin. He was sparing in his food, an enemy to dainties, and abstemious in the matter of superfluous dishes, so far as obedience allowed. And lest his soul might contract a stain from excessive gratification in taking food, he often besought God that what we read to have happened to St. Catharine of Siena might be granted also to him, namely, that he might lose the senses of taste and smell, and not find any pleasure in perfumes or viands.

When he visited the hospitals to serve the sick he used to make their beds, and chose by preference those duties which caused greater disgust to the senses. He was, morever, most fervent in chastising his flesh by corporal mortifications and fasts, and for all such practices he earnestly begged the Superior's leave. In winter time also, when the cold was most severe, and the rest were pressing round the fire, it was observed that he seldom went near, except when ordered. Who would believe that a high-born youth, nurtured so daintily among every allurement of pleasure, would have no care for his body, either in food, for which he wished to have no

liking, or in dress, which he desired to be worse than common; and would have so thoroughly renounced all delights as to embrace mourning instead of mirth, subjection instead of liberty, and instead of the pleasure of the senses their pain and torment? But though these things may appear surprising to men of the world, they will not be so to those who can appreciate the interior delight of his heart, and know the sweetness of that heavenly food wherewith his soul was greatly nourished, and made so strong as to bear the severest penances, not only without pain, but even with the utmost longing, and the most hearty good will. It was impossible that his mind, withdrawn from the love of perishable things, and busily intent on the contemplation of what was Divine, could judge aught else agreeable or delightful except to follow closely in the footsteps of his Lord, Whose most bitter torments, suffered for him, he rehearsed in daily meditation.

§ 10. HIS EARNESTNESS IN PRAYER, AND LOVE OF GOD.

The habit of prayer and meditation formed by this young student led him to turn his mind frequently to subjects of pious reflection, and thus to feed with a constant supply of fuel the fire of Divine love that was kindled within him. For besides the ordinary college hours of morning and night prayer, he would fill up with some pious consideration such intervals of time as occurred between lectures and other daily duties, and had no definite occupation allotted to them. Moreover, on vacation days, when he had to walk out, he used to ask leave to visit the shrines of the saints, that he might thus steal some opportunity for prayer. When the students went out to the country, and were engaged in general conversation, according to the bent of their minds, he, that he might combine relaxation and devotion, used to sing pious hymns with an expression of devotion that sometimes drew tears from his companions. In honour of the dolours of the Blessed Virgin his favourite hymn was the *Stabat Mater*, and with this he was so moved that he could never recite with dry eyes the words, *Sancta Mater*, *istud agas*, *Crucifixi fige plagas*. When at times he retired to the country-house to recruit his health, his first care was to attend Mass as usual, and in whatever manner his companions took their recreation, he never, except for the gravest reason, omitted his appointed hours for prayer. But though his singular devotion never relaxed, it was especially manifest during those days on

which he approached the tremendous mystery of the adorable Sacrament. He was inflamed with so ardent a love and desire of that great Sacrament, that his dearest delight was to speak of It, to think of It, and to receive It as often as he could. How many ways did he invent of preparing himself! How many helps did he devise for receiving it with fruit! Yet he said that the best means to this end, above all others, and as it were the only one, was a humble acknowledgment of his own unworthiness. For which reason he advised that the courtiers of Heaven, the saints and friends of God, should be invited to wait upon so noble a Guest. It was his wont, so far as he could, on a Communion day, not to speak before he had offered the first fruits of his words to his God Whom he received within himself. When he had found Him Whom his soul loved, he was wholly taken up with Him; and having his heart full of joy at His presence and most sweet conversation, while others went about different concerns he would retire to the choir, and there, notwithstanding his bodily weakness, spend two hours and more on his knees, nor retire again till he was forced by his rule of obedience to the sound of the bell; for he was most scrupulous, as we have said before, to leave instantaneously all other business the moment it sounded, tearing himself away even from sweet converse with God, that he might obey those who held God's place in his regard. He would also retire alone to some corner, and when he thought no one saw him would indulge his tears, groans, and sighs with great vehemence, as though, repeating the holy importunity of the Canaanean woman, he was resolved to compel our Lord to grant his request. Sometimes also, in presence of others at Vespers, meditating attentively, with his head resting against the wall, he was interiorly moved with such vehement fervour, that, despite his efforts to conceal his piety, he seemed to forget himself, and would break forth into sweet affections and utterances, and by his tears showed the emotion of his soul. If, on returning to himself, he found that he had been noticed, he would betray his confusion by blushes. In each of his principal actions he would recollect himself, and say a prayer before commencing them—short indeed, but so devout, that the words were not unfrequently accompanied by tears. By continual meditation on God he had acquired a tender and affectionate disposition, and thus it was difficult for him to restrain his tears even on a slight consideration of Divine things. Hence also it happened

that the subjects of his frequent meditation in the daytime would find expression even while he was asleep; and once at night he was heard to sing the *Veni Creator*, and repeat other words of prayer. For as live coals, though covered over with ashes, send out from time to time some sparks, so those ardent flames of Divine love which still lived in the breast of Edward, could not be altogether kept under or concealed, but must needs find some vent, even when he slept. His greatest subject of devotion, however, was the wonder which he felt that our Lord should shed such bountiful sweetness upon a creature so vile as himself. Rapt in this thought he could not divest himself of it, even though he spent whole days upon it. Accordingly, as he acknowledged to his confessor, he was forced to petition God to stay and withhold the hand of His bounty, saying that it was enough for him, and that he could bear no more. In fine, his infirmity and sickness took its rise from no other source than from the abundance of internal consolation, whereby he was frequently inundated beyond the strength of his frail body. Hence he was continually suffering in his head, chest, and stomach, while incessant tears and sighs distressed his head and breast. Still he always preserved the show of perfect health, because by his patience and cheerfulness of countenance he concealed his pain. His insatiable desire of suffering for Christ always rendered the trials, however great, which he had to bear, far beneath the sum of his wishes. When he thought of England and its prisons, the racks and quarterings, the hunger and thirst, the shame and outrage which were to be encountered there, and after which he had an ardent yearning, he counted all his college trials far too light; and he endeavoured to persuade each fresh student that the college discipline, far from being harsh and severe, was excessively light and easy considering the high dignity of the end in view.

§ 11. HIS CHARITY FOR HIS NEIGHBOUR.

From this burning love of God his charity for his neighbour may easily be conjectured, seeing that it flowed from it as a stream does from its source. His zeal for the good of the whole college made it a matter of primary concern with him to consult its profit and advantage by every means in his power, and knowing that good results depend chiefly on a clear perception of the end to be gained, and of the means by which it is to be gained, he very often introduced the topic

into conversation, especially when in company with the scholars who had lately arrived, or who appeared untaught and ill-informed, and he strove to induce others to have the same end in view that he had.

Besides his anxiety in promoting the good of all generally, he was equally assiduous in training the less instructed in habits of piety; and energetic in urging others to practise the same, refusing his good offices to none. If he noticed any one given to sadness he accosted him with soothing words, asked the cause of his trouble, and sought with agreeable conversation to distract him from his gloom. Hence, upon one occasion, when a companion advised him for health's sake to take part in a game, Edward, to please him, hastened to his room and got ready to play; but on the way, meeting one who was alone and sad, he forgot his original purpose and his game, and accosting him did not cease to console his mind with the sweet counsel of his words, till the sound of the bell recalled them to their studies. When he saw any one withdraw from the conversation of the rest, preferring solitude to society, he began to suspect that some distress of mind was the cause of it, and would at once devise an excuse for joining his company; and if he succeeded in doing so, he would accommodate himself to the other's character and probable reason for sadness, and by the cheerfulness of his countenance and the persuasiveness of his words, would leave no means untried of drawing his companion from his grief.

As he was most zealous in freeing others from care and trouble, he displayed equal solicitude in bringing back from error any one whom he detected swerving the least from the path of rectitude. Not that he ever used severe words, except in a very grave case, for he was utterly removed from all harshness; but by a gentle and benign rebuke he would modestly remind his companions of their duty. If he saw one looking at any object in the streets with unnecessary intentness, he would address him with a smile: "Now you have seen enough, conquer yourself a little and be satisfied. Do you not know that the eye is the outer gate by which death enters." This he always said with such gentleness and kindness of expression, that his words seemed to breathe love rather than censure. And though his charity in this particular often shone forth according as opportunity offered, it was most remarkable towards one who was intrusted to his special care, and whom he

endeavoured by wholesome advice to advance in the practice of piety. If he found any irregularity in him, or deviation from the customs of the College, so solid were the reasons, and so apposite the remedies wherewith he strove to draw him to the observance of the rules, that he either bent him to his will, or left him overwhelmed with confusion. Nor would he cease his admonition and advice until the other promised to do as he recommended. In order that he might the better succeed, he studied first of all to obtain possession of the other's affections, offering himself entirely to his service, and promising his assistance in all things; and this with such readiness, whenever there was an opportunity, that when the other would not at first yield to his words, he afterwards acknowledged himself vanquished by his charitable offices.

His ardent charity for the sick and the poor was attested by his longing desire to visit and attend on them. For he recognized Christ in their persons, and therefore served them as Christ Himself. When, according to the rules of the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin, he had gone to a certain hospital with other members of the College, and all were making ready to carry the dishes from the kitchen to the place where they are served up; that he might not go empty-handed, while the others were being supplied, he put himself in the front rank and seized a great tureen of soup, and though he had scarcely strength to carry it, and the tureen was so hot as to burn his hands, which the marks left on his fingers made evident, he stood manfully to the work he had begun, and by the inward glow of his love subdued the violence of the burning soup. In short, to sum up in one word, his readiness to oblige every one showed that the saying of the Apostle was true of him: "I became all things to all men that I might gain all."

§ 12. THE GRAVITY AND COURTESY OF HIS MANNERS. HIS SPIRITUAL CONVERSATIONS. HIS MODESTY.

In these virtues he especially excelled, and attracted all hearts to himself by his charming affability, sweetness, and sedateness of manner, combined with great sprightliness of countenance and conversation. He was held in great veneration by all, on account of their high opinion of his sanctity; and though he conversed with each person on terms of the utmost familiarity, yet the composure of his actions and gravity of his whole bearing was an example that curbed many from behaving with levity or childishness in his presence.

He shunned no one's company, but spoke with all indiscriminately as he met them, unless there was a pressing occasion to do otherwise. It was with great difficulty that he could be led to form a special intimacy with any one, and he did so only when there was prospect of great profit and advancement in virtue for himself and others. And so when one, who had known him very well in England, complained to him of his forgetting their ancient friendship, and the alliance which they had formed together, "Pardon me," he said, "for I am bound to obey my Superiors and the statutes of the College, by which I am forbidden to do anything which appears singular; and it would be altogether against charity, were I to have such an attachment for you as to prefer you to the rest. For we are all brothers, and provided I love you as a brother what more do you want?"

Nor should we pass over without mention the constant habit of speaking of Divine things to which he was so addicted, and which was so well known to his companions, that whoever wished to spend the time of recreation with him had to make up his mind beforehand to converse on pious subjects.[7] His favourite topics were the miseries of England, the end and object of the College, the means of attaining to it, the Blessed Sacrament, the kindling of Divine love in ourselves, the Blessed Virgin, the Angel Guardian, the examples or virtues of the saints, particularly of those for whom he had a special devotion. The efficacy and fervour of his discourses on these matters were wonderful, and the traces of his words still remain imprinted on many minds. But though very earnest on each religious question that he treated of, he was especially so when he spoke of the Blessed Sacrament, as he used often to do; and then the fervour of his words filled with astonishment and admiration all those with whom he was conversing. If he met with a companion whose remarks opened the way for the introduction of trifling and frivolous talk, he would cleverly contrive to turn the conversation to some good and profitable subject. For instance, when he was sick, and some one spoke to him about the wasting of his hands, he gradually turned the topic to the hands of Christ, and to the Passion and Wounds of our Lord. Another time, when some one who had been a dear friend of his in England complained that he never spoke of the things which they had done in England, nor of his parents, and seemed as though he had forgotten them,

[7] This strictness has of course its proper regulations and limits.

"Indeed," he said, "I have not forgotten them, but the further I am from them the more ardently do I commend them to the protection of God. But what good can come to them or to us from idly talking about them? It is far more useful for us to speak of our Father in Heaven, and of His friends who for His glorious name are butchered in England." Continuing the conversation in this strain, he withdrew the words and thoughts of his companion from the things of earth to those of Heaven.

When in the company of a number of persons, though he could not gain his end so easily owing to the variety of speakers, and the very different topics which different persons brought in according to the several turns of the conversation, he did not fail to introduce certain remarks calculated to change the subject and open out an ample field for pious discourse. For by constant practice he had acquired such facility of speaking of Divine things, that whatever was the subject on hand he found means of introducing religion. With his elders, however, and those from whom he judged that he might learn something, after proposing a spiritual question by way of suggesting a point for them to talk of, during the rest of the time he nearly always remained silent, listening to all that was said as attentively as if he was quite inexperienced and ignorant on such matters. With whomsoever he was speaking, he took especial care to avoid all harshness, and still more all abrupt contradiction. If he had offended at all in this way, he could not rest until he had asked forgiveness. Thus when he was once pressing upon a companion some things that he ought to do, and the other did not acquiesce in his advice, Edward began to urge, entreat, and even chide him with some sharpness, until he carried his point. The next day, while the other was thinking of anything but what had passed, Edward addressed him blandly in these words: "I would fain," he said, "ask you one favour, provided you are willing to grant it me." When asked what this was, he said that he would not tell unless the other promised to grant it, using much urgent persuasion, as though he had been about to ask some great and difficult favour. At last, having obtained a promise, he said: "You know that yesterday, without any reason, I scolded you, forgetting that you were my brother: wherefore, I beg you again and again of your kindness to be so good as to forgive me this offence." And this he said with a countenance so cast down, with hands

joined, and a voice so tearful and broken with so many sighs as would suffice to move the hardest heart to pity. Another time, when he had contradicted some one, though without bitterness and in a matter of no real moment, afterwards finding him alone he fell on his knees before him, and humbly prayed him to forgive the bluntness of his contradiction. These are unmistakeable proofs of the modesty that shone so singularly in his words and actions, and gained him the goodwill and admiration of everybody.

When walking in the streets, he kept his eyes cast down and his gestures humbly composed, and if in the usual walks or on the way to the schools there was occasion for speaking, his conversation turned on God and the things of God, or at least on matters which were really useful and important. If he had to argue in schools or at home, he would display decorum in his countenance, moderation in his words, and a measured gravity in his every action. He listened to others when speaking without interrupting them; and when his difficulty was solved he abhorred further cavilling. When he heard any persons bitterly wrangling together, he would interpose with some pious conversation, to remove the cause of dispute. If he had any difference of opinion with another he would very briefly and calmly explain his own, and if it was not accepted, he chose to yield the point rather than furnish fuel for further contention by protracting the argument; for he disliked all quibbles, idle speeches, and discussion, and not only carefully shunned them himself, but strove also to persuade others to do the same. When therefore such questions were proposed in his presence, he would change the conversation, or, if he could not manage that, he held his tongue and maintained silent converse with God. For that conversation seemed to him insipid and barren, in which there was no mention of God, or of the Blessed Virgin, or of Divine things. Lastly, he was careful in keeping an exact guard over his senses, and his every movement was so well regulated, that he would neither look at any object without a reason, nor listen to idle tales, nor speak without weighing his words.

§ 13. HIS PIOUS AND HAPPY DEATH.

As the time of Edward Throgmorton's happy death approached, on the octave of All Saints he was seized with a general corruption over his body, which was succeeded by a malady that after a time became very severe. The day after he

had taken to his bed he was asked by his confessor whether he was afraid to die. "Nay," he said, "to die is my wish, and I hope to be delivered by this sickness out of the prison of my body; for the world is seated in wickedness, and I am weak and sinful." Being asked again whether he was prepared, he answered that he had thought about his preparation long ago. The justness of his answer was manifest from the fact that he often used to speak on death and the manner of dying well, and had frequently this saying in his mouth, "So live, that you may dare to die." In fact, as though he foresaw that the time was not far distant, he had said to a certain person, "A few days after I am dead you will have no more remembrance of me." Indeed no one could consider attentively his manners and conversation without at once observing that he behaved in all things like one who had a presentiment that the time of merit remaining to him was but short. Hence, when asked about points concerning his health, he answered as if he had already set one foot in Heaven, and had neither hope nor desire left of recovery. When the inquiry was made whether he wanted anything, "Heaven," he said, "is all I want, and all that I desire." And on being asked, in presence of the doctor, whether he wished his services or to be helped in any way by him, he said that he desired this only, to be helped to die well. To the question whether he had anything on his mind, he answered, "Nothing except that I did not labour enough, while the opportunity was allowed me, to conquer myself, subdue my passions, and acquire virtues." His patience was wonderful through the whole course of his illness. He took his medicine regularly, although with great disgust. When sometimes he was racked with excessive pains, and tortured in all his senses by the violence of the disease, he conquered all by his endurance, never complaining, nor giving even the least observable sign of impatience; nay, even when the malady was at its height, and the pain most agonizing, he said, with a desire to be still more tormented, "Oh, that now I could lie stretched on the rack for the name of Christ, that joining these pains with those, I might offer myself a worthy holocaust to my Lord." But though his hopes were gone of obtaining that desire, and of ever experiencing the cruelty of the heretics, he did not fail to embrace courageously the occasions of suffering that were presented to him, and to approach as near as he could to the pains and torments of Christ.

He entreated Superiors earnestly that he might be cast

into some mean corner of the house, to lie upon straw, covered only with the vile clothes of the poor, and might be suffered there to draw his last breath, that in his death he might bear some resemblance to his Saviour, Who cried as He lay in the manger, and suffered the extremity of cold for want of covering. Nor did it seem to him hard to bear, even in his languishing and exhausted body, that which the tender age of the Infant Christ did not refuse to endure for our sakes. And as in dying he desired to imitate the poverty of Christ at His Birth, so he congratulated himself at seeing the likeness of the dying Christ in his own person. For when towards the end of his life, his eyes, that had long been closed by the disease, opened again and he beheld his hands disfigured with spots like those of a leper, he signified by the cheerfulness of his countenance, and a certain gentle smile, that he was pleased to contemplate their marred unsightly appearance. Likewise from the other bodily miseries that accompanied his peculiar disease, he endeavoured to arrive at a deeper sense of his own abjection. When some one remarked to him that the body itself was nothing else but a sackful of dirt, and that he had derived no more from his noble parents than any poor man from his, for all bodies alike were liable to manifold corruption, he acknowledged by a humble gesture the truth of what was said.

Indeed, he was always delighted when an opportunity offered of despising himself, in those very things which are to many an occasion of pride and display. Wonderful, also, considering the intensity of his pains, was his strong and fervent sense of Divine things; he seemed to be in constant communion with God or with the saints. He was often noticed to murmur verses of the Psalms, or hymns, and if any one began a prayer, he recited the remainder of it silently to himself, especially the hymns of the Blessed Virgin, for whom he had ever felt a singular veneration. Separated by a wide intervening space from his earthly parents, in order to prevent the enemy from making their absence and his exceeding fondness for them a matter of temptation, he transferred his whole affection to the glorious Virgin, and chose her for his Mother, paying her the daily tribute of subjection which he used to pay to his parents. For as he had formerly borne himself towards his father and mother, from whom, according to the ancient custom that obtained in England, he had been wont to ask a blessing daily night

and morning on his knees, so he religiously paid the same regard, but with more marked demonstration of respect, every day to the most Blessed Virgin, observing this so religiously that he omitted not the practice even in the increased severity of his illness. And though weakness prevented his kneeling on each occasion, yet he earnestly besought the Superior for leave to kneel down once a day at least and ask the blessing of his holy Mother. When he was told that for the present he should omit that ceremony, acting in other things according to his custom, he with great simplicity and purity joined his hands, and with his whole body reverently composed, exclaimed, "O glorious Mother, Blessed Virgin, deign of thy kindness to look on me, a wretched little being, and to accept me for thy son, and accord to me thy blessing." The loudness, distinctness, and sweetness of tone with which he pronounced these words struck all present with surprise, for his voice at other times was hoarse, and the change was regarded as an evident sign of his filial love of the Blessed Virgin.

His reverence for the saints also was very marked, for his special patrons, for his Angel Guardian whom he invoked with great veneration in all his chief actions, and particularly for those saints whom he drew as monthly patrons, according to the custom of the College, and whose aid he used to implore daily, reading their lives and speaking often of their virtues, and copying them in his own conduct to the best of his ability. He also committed to memory the motto which is usually given out with each monthly saint, endeavouring to turn its maxims to his own profit. The Divine goodness approved by no slight token in this very illness his piety towards the saints. For being asked whether he remembered the saint of that month, and the day on which his feast is celebrated, and the motto, he replied that he remembered all, and added that he had seen Odo (the name of the saint whom he had drawn that month) in a monk's habit, and had heard many things from his lips. What those things were we are ignorant of; but we know that he gave up his soul to God precisely on the feast-day of St. Odo, whence we may evidently presume that he was strengthened in the terrible struggle of death by the presence and patronage of him whom in health he had so much honoured. Moreover, the very motto which he had received along with St. Odo clearly foreshadowed his happy passage from this world. It was the

celebrated saying of St. Augustine, "He cannot die ill who has lived well." The issue proved the truth of the saying in his case. For although he had formidable encounters with his spiritual enemy, who appeared in visible shape, nevertheless being encouraged by the presence of the saints and even of Christ Himself, he crushed the head of the cunning serpent, while, according to his usual practice, lying in wait for his heel.

The reason of this attack seems to have been that, a little before, he had extremely provoked the enemy of the human race by a new act of piety. For whereas he had often desired to consecrate himself wholly to God by the vows of religion, and had never been able to obtain permission from his spiritual Father, as well for other reasons as on account of his weakness of body and delicacy of health, it seemed at last that now being upon the point of death, the leave might be granted which he had so long and so ardently craved. Accordingly, being allowed to pronounce the vows in the regular form of the Society of Jesus, he did so with such devotion and fervour as to draw tears from the bystanders. Then, when the formula was finished, he added the words, "To Thee, O God, One in Trinity, in return for this favour, be praise, honour, power, and glory." Although he had abounded in Divine consolations throughout the whole of his sickness, and had expressed to his confessor his astonishment at the great sweetness wherewith God deigned to visit him in his infirmity, yet the fresh access of consolation on this occasion seemed to throw him almost into an ecstasy. On the next morning, after he had pronounced the vows, he suffered strange alarms from the devil. Sending for his confessor, he said to him: "O Father, I have just been in very great danger. I was fearfully haunted by horrible spectres of the enemy. Six women seemed to come into my room in the pretended guise of nuns, wild and fierce to look at. They annoyed me cruelly, rolled me up and down without any mercy, and threatened a great deal if I did not recall the vow I had lately pronounced. And they said in a rage, 'You trust that that Father (naming a certain priest) will aid you by his prayers, but neither he nor the other Fathers, though there were no end to them, shall ever rescue you from our hands.' And while furiously breathing these threats against me, they at the same time forced such filthy and deadly things down my throat, that I thought I should altogether have expired on

the spot. When, in a great fright and anxiety as to what was to become of me, I made the sign of the Cross upon my breast, immediately our Lord appeared to me on His Cross, and those frightful hags were driven out of the room by His presence, and I was not a little relieved. I hope," he continued, "that I shall never again see such a sight, for I should certainly die of horror and alarm. Besides, those things that they put into my mouth have caused such bitterness to my palate, that in this life I desire to taste nothing more, save only my Lord. And the images of those women have taken such a hold on my mind, that when, after all the vision had vanished, I perceived some one standing by my bedside, I was afraid that the women had returned, and I began again to be grievously troubled, until with some attention I remarked him calling me over and over again by my name, and asking how I was. I beg you then, my Father, to be so good as to pray for me, and advise me what is to be done." He was told in reply that these were but artifices of the cunning serpent, wherewith he craftily tries to circumvent souls that are devoted to the Divine service, but that the attack was to be repelled by means of a firm trust in God, and that no harm could come to him so long as there was no consent on his part. He was also recommended to fortify himself again with the sign of the Cross, and to make a lively act of faith. Shortly after he had done so, he declared his entire deliverance from that affliction and from the loathing which he had felt before.

He also experienced a burning desire for the Sacraments, and frequently asked to receive them. But when his illness grew worse, and the doctor announced that it was time to receive the Holy Viaticum, he felt overwhelmed with extraordinary delight, yet asked his confessor whether he might be allowed to communicate, having taken something in the morning. Hearing that his extremity required such a dispensation he immediately acquiesced, and prepared himself for receiving. When all was ready for the administration of the Sacrament, he called his confessor and said: "Father, it is my custom, as often as I am about to receive my most sweet Lord," so he generally spoke of Christ, "to invite my Angel Guardian and my Patron Saints to assist me, and honour me with their presence, while I welcome so divine a Guest to so unworthy a place of entertainment." Having, therefore, invoked them, with great sentiments of piety he disposed

himself for Communion. He also asked what he was to do in case he should be obliged to cough immediately after partaking of that Holy Banquet; for these fits used to come on suddenly, as soon as he had taken any food. Being told that he ought to check it as far as possible, he succeeded through the help of Providence, for to this the effect should chiefly be attributed, as he employed at least a quarter of an hour in sighs and tears without any trouble from his cough. On being asked the same afternoon, whether it grieved him not to be able to open his eyes, he said that there was one thing only he desired to see, and that was his most sweet Lord in the Holy Eucharist. He also asked with great composure for the Sacrament of Extreme Unction. When this was deferred for a little, he begged in moving accents to have it administered as soon as possible. "For," said he, "the disease has gone beyond the strength of the remedies, and the hour of death is nearer than you think. I would take neither food nor medicine, were it not for the sake of pleasing the physician. The remedies of art are applied in vain, when nature loses strength to do her part. I beseech you, then," he said, "by the Passion of Christ, do not retain me any longer, but let me go, and do not refuse me the favour which you granted to Ralph Sirlew.[8] For he being laid to rest in peace half a day after his departure, gained a more tranquil repose than he could have found in this life, had he lived a thousand years. Do not then delay my course, but rather try to help it on, that I may look as soon as may be upon the glorious face of my sweet Lord." Led, therefore, partly by his prayers and partly by the evident danger of death, they administered the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, which he received with great eagerness and joy. The close of his career being at hand and his agony commenced, the Superior recited the Litany and commendation of his soul along with the usual prayers of the Church. Edward, however, showed no sign at all of death on his countenance, until they came to the words, "Go forth, Christian soul, from this world," &c. When these were pronounced the appearance of death came rapidly on, as all observed with great emotion, regarding it as an indication of God, that he who had not dared to mount even to Heaven without his Superior's leave and the sanction of obedience, embraced the opportunity when it was granted to him by these words, with an eagerness

[8] A student who had died in the same College not long before.

and speed as though waiting only for that moment. When they came to the words, "As thy soul leaves thy body, may the bright company of angels meet it," &c., he at once gave up his happy soul to that Blessed Company, who we may well believe came to escort it, with such peacefulness of countenance and position, that he seemed rather to be composing himself to a gentle sleep than struggling in the last conflict of death. It appears no slight testimony in confirmation of his happy departure, that, at the very moment of his decease, the priest who was saying Mass for him had come to these words of the Epistle of the day: "God shall wipe away every tear from the eyes of the saints, and there shall be no more mourning or crying, or grief any more." A certain person also, ten days after his death, was wakened as by the voice of one calling him two or three hours before daybreak, and felt the recollection of Edward suddenly arise within him; on opening his eyes he beheld the room resplendent with light and a brilliant star shining on the ceiling. He was overwhelmed with gladness at the vision, and his heart seemed to leap for joy. Whence we see fulfilled in Edward the prophecy of Daniel: "They that instruct many to justice shall shine as stars for all eternity." Lastly, the traces of his virtues which he left behind him in the College were so marked that all felt themselves greatly edified by his death, and very many resolved to enter with a more ardent zeal on the pursuit of virtue. And although it was considered that they ought not so much to pray for him as to sing the *Te Deum* in thanksgiving, nevertheless they performed the Office of the Dead according to the custom of the Church with great joy: for no one could be sad, even though Edward was so much beloved by all: for they hoped, and not without reason, that he had been admitted among those pious souls who have a rich reward stored up for them, and that he had received from the hand of God the crown as well of his purity as of the other virtues wherewith in life he was adorned by the same Jesus Christ our Lord, Who with the Father and Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth God, world without end. Amen.

The Diary of the English College, Rome, states: "Edvardus Throcmortonus, Anglus, Disc. Vigorniensis, an. 18, receptus fuit in hoc Collegio tanquam convictor qui solvat pro expensis, &c., Novembris 5, 1580. Mense Septembris 1581, fecit Spiritualia Exercitia. Die Nov. 18, 1582, obdormivit in Domino, insignis virtutis nobis relinquens exemplum."

In Father Grene's handwriting, annexed to the MS. life of Edward Throgmorton[9]—"Ex Epistola Illus^mi^ Dom. Georgii Talbotti, afterwards Earl of Shrewsbury. Dated, Monachio (Munich), November 16, 1611, to Father Thomas Owen, Rector of the English College, Rome."

You wrote to me some months past in answer to a motion which I made unto you about printing Mr. Edward Throgmorton's life of blessed memory, that it was thought convenient, and that it should be perfected, with addition of more particulars, which might be got by further informations. If, then, you have as yet had any such relations, you might, if it please you, add them to the rest, and send them a copy either of them apart, or of the whole life written of neew [anew] by some good legible Roman hand, and more correctly than was the last which you sent me. And I shall, I think, have good means to print it here, which I hope may be to good purpose to the edification of many. When he came first over into France, he remained under Mr. Delahide his discipline the space of three years, partly at Amiens, partly at Rouen, all which time it was my good hap to enjoy his company, and he passed us, all his schoolfellows, as well in matters of study as of piety; which I write, because in this book is only mentioned that he came to Rouen, and there dwelled one year and a half, whereas me thinketh that his abode there itself was two yeares; but this is no very material point.

"This is transcribed," says Father Grene, "from the autograph letter of the Earl, which is preserved in the above-named archives."

The following is a copy of a fragment of a prayer annexed to the MS. life of Edward Throgmorton, probably the prayer of the holy youth:

A prayer to your good angel to prepare one for death.

In the name of the Most Blessed Trinity I (H. P.), unfortunate and miserable sinner, protest in thy presence, O holy angel of God, that I have an absolute desire of dying in the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church, wherein all the saints have died who have been to this present time, and out of which there is no salvation; infuse into my soul these sentiments at the point of my death, and to all my associates. I protest, moreover, O my dear angel, that under your guardianship and protection I desire to pass out of this life, having a great confidence and full entire hope in the mercy of my God. Fight strongly against the enemies of my salvation, in that moment receive my soul at her separation from my body, and make my Jesus favourable to me after my departure. I protest likewise, my blessed angel, and I beg from the very bottom of my heart a particular [the rest is lost].

The following is translated from the original in Stonyhurst collection.

[9] Stonyhurst MS.

JESUS + MARY.

My very dear Father Alphonsus,—Exactly on the feast of St. Peter's chains, I left Rouen[10] and started for England, Paschal being well advanced towards his recovery. I have no little hope that He Who protected the Prince of the Apostles in his chains will mercifully defend us in all our miseries. Being on the point of departure, Reverend Father, because I cannot say much, in one word I recommend my heart and my soul and myself to you, as to a most loving parent. And because I know well with what eagerness your reverence seeks after docile young men, who are not less powerful in intellect than fervent in religious piety; lo, this Edward Throckmorton, the bearer of my letter, is of good family, and exceedingly well instructed in polite learning, and, as I have myself proved, very praiseworthy in the pursuit of virtue and holiness; wherefore I recommend him to your charity no less than myself. Whatever service you render him, consider that it is rendered to me, your most obedient son. And so farewell, my very holy Father, and remember sometimes your son Sherwin, who never forgets his Father Alphonsus in his prayers.

In haste, your most obedient son,

RALPH SHERWIN.

Rouen, August 1, 1580.

To the Reverend Father in Christ, Father Alphonsus Agazzari, Rector of the English College.

In connection with this letter of the blessed martyr Ralph Sherwin, is the following extract from Mr. Simpson's *Life of Campion*, page 120:

> Before the missioners departed for England [from Rome] the places of Bishop Goldwell [of St. Asaph in Mary's time] and Dr. Morton, who were obliged to stay behind, were filled up by two priests of Rheims, Dr. Ely and Mr. John Hart. They were also joined by Father Thomas Cottam, an English Jesuit, who had been long labouring in Poland, and who was only ordered to go to his native country for the recovery of his health. They wisely determined not to risk their whole adventure in one boat, but to divide themselves into small parties, and to reach England by different roads. Dr. Bromburg and Mr. Bruscoe went by Dieppe; Sherwin led his pupil Paschal round by Rouen, where he found young Edward Throgmorton, by whom he wrote an affectionate letter to his old master at Rome, begging Father Alphonsus to accept Throgmorton in his own place. It was a fair exchange. Sherwin died a martyr with Campion in England; Throgmorton died after two years and a quarter in the odour of sanctity at the English College in Rome.

[10] This town is printed by mistake Rotterdam in page 291, note.

Tenth Series.

Part I.

THE COLLEGE OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER

AND

THE DISTRICT OF SOUTH WALES.

THE COLLEGE OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER AND THE DISTRICT OF SOUTH WALES.

THIS was one of the earliest among the *quasi* Colleges or Districts established by Father Blount, the first Vice-Provincial, on the erection of the English Mission, S.J., into a Vice-Province, by our Very Reverend Father General Vitelleschi, in 1619. In November, 1622, Father Blount, after establishing the College of St. Ignatius, or the London District, proceeded to erect the Colleges of St. Aloysius, or the Lancashire District, and of St. Francis Xavier. As stated in our previous Series, in consideration of the rapid increase of members, the same Father General, by Letters Patent of January 21, 1623, erected England into a Province of the Society, and appointed Father Blount its first Provincial.

The original founder of the North and South Wales missions of the Society was probably Father Robert Jones, whose biography is given below. This we gather from a valuable manuscript once belonging to the archives of the Residence of St. Winefrid, Holywell, and now at the Catholic Presbytery, Hornby, near Lancaster.[1] It is signed by Father Humphrey Evans, *alias* Browne, then Superior, and is dated the 6th of August.[2] The following is an extract.

✠

"*A Relation concerning the missionants' moneys in North and South Wales, and by whose means the said annuities were procured, and by whom given.*

"FATHER ROBERT JONES, born in North Wales, near Chirck, in Denbighshire, was admitted at Rome into the

[1] This MS. and other important private papers belonging to the North Wales District of the English Province were removed from the Residence of St. Winefrid, Holywell (in the archives of which the rest of the same collection are still preserved), by Father Thomas West, the historian of Furness Abbey, &c., who was for some time a resident missioner at Holywell. At the time of the Suppression of the Society in 1773, he took them with him to Sisergh, where he died in 1778. Father West made a will appointing the Rev. Thomas Butler of Hornby his executor, who removed these papers, as part of the property of the deceased, to Hornby.

[2] The biography of Father Browne, who was a victim of Oates' plot, will be given in the series of *Records* embracing that period.

Society in the year 1582, and, having taught a course of philosophy in the Roman College, he came into England, and afterwards was made Superior of the whole Society in England, succeeding Father Holtby. He was a zealous *operarius* in North and South Wales, and having fortunately converted the Lady Frances of Llantarnam,[3] and by her assistance also converted the rest of her sisters, the daughters of Raglan: he gained so great an interest with the said lady that she was altogether, in the affairs of her soul, governed by him. And soon after her conversion, she reflecting that most of her husband's estate consisted of Church livings, dealt with him about making some satisfaction for the same. Both her husband and herself conceived well that missionants of the Society should be maintained in both parts of Wales to labour therein, and accordingly the lady made a will, her husband assenting and subscribing thereunto, and thereby ordered that two of the Society should be maintained in North and two in South Wales for that end and purpose, but the maintenance to be allowed when the estate came to their hands, viz., after the death of her husband's father; but before his decease, Father Jones died.

"Then FATHER THOMAS CONWAY, born in Flintshire, near Holywell,[4] succeeded in his place with the Lady Frances, by whom she was guided; then, also, she and her husband confirmed what had been done formerly in Father Jones his time, her eldest son, Sir Edward, being of full years, assenting and subscribing to the will, and thus the business continued until the death of her husband's father. But soon after his death (the Lady Frances being dead also), her husband began to put in execution his wife's will, and to allow maintenance accordingly; but he not living a full year after his father, could do no more but charge his son, Sir Edward, to perform the same; which he undertook, and did perform it during Mr. Conway's life. But after his death he became slack in his payments, and doubts were moved of his obligation thereto. Whereupon Mr. Charles Browne and Mr. Evans went to speak with Sir Edward about it, and he denied not but that all should be paid and performed according to his mother's will, but could not be brought to give any security at all; and so all continued

[3] This lady was the fourth daughter of Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester, who died 1627, by Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon. She married William Morgan, Esq., of Llantarnam, co. Monmouth, and their son, Edward Morgan of Llantarnam, was created a baronet in 1642. He married Mary, daughter of Sir Francis Englefield, Bart., of Wootton Bassett, Wilts. Lady Frances Somerset had several sisters.

[4] His real name was Thomas Pennant (English College Diary).

during Mr. Browne his life. After his death, Mr. Evans moved and laboured for security. After much and long solicitation, he brought Sir Edward to oblige himself in a bond of 1,200*li.* debt to a trustee nominated by Mr. Evans. And by his means, after Sir Edward's death, the 1,200*li.* was paid, Mr. Evans procuring the trustee to own the debt, which was done; and so the moneys were received. This is the estate of the missionants' moneys.

"*Concerning the state of the College itself, and the revenues thereof, and by whose means they were procured.*

"After the death of Father Jones, which was in the year 1615, FATHER JOHN SALISBURY, born in Merionethshire, in North Wales, succeeded in the government of the District, and the then Residence of South and North Wales, and resided with the Lady Worcester at Raglan. The alms that upon occasion he received from several persons, he added to what Father Jones had procured, and set it out for the benefit of the Residence. He took a lease of Upper Combe, with a small quantity of land pertaining thereunto, for the meeting of friends within the District; and thus affairs continued until the year 1622, by which time he had gathered alms in a considerable sum, that he conceived it fitting to move for a College, which was then granted by Father General, and the revenues and foundation were merely of alms that were gathered by him and Father Jones, without any other particular founder.

"Father Salisbury dying in the year 1625, FATHER CHARLES BROWNE, born in Carnarvonshire, in North Wales, succeeded him; who soon after purchased the inheritance of the lease of the Upper Combe, and withal the whole farm of the Lower Combe, valued 50*li.* per annum; also a farm called Langunvill, adjoining thereunto, valued at 25*li.* per annum.

"Two other farms were procured by Father Browne in South Wales, the one purchased and valued at 30*li.* per annum, the other upon a mortgage, valued above 20*li.* per annum. But the illness of the time after his death caused that they are gone from us, without benefit to the District. He left also in South Wales certain sums of money, settled in several places for the benefit of the District; with those moneys a farm near Monmouth was purchased, then set at 45*li.* per annum.

"*Concerning the maintenance of the Tablers* [*Alumni*].

"Moreover, Father Charles Browne procured maintenance for Welsh Tablers to be maintained beyond the seas; and,

after his death, sufficient means were left by him to maintain two Welsh Tablers, one whereof to be from South Wales, the other from North Wales. And these Tablers are, by a contract made after Mr. Browne's death with the then Rector of Flamstead [St. Omer's], to be there kept for 20*li.* per annum. The stock of moneys for that purpose is proportionately settled in North and South Wales, and to be managed by the Superior of both Wales; and the Tablers also are to be sent by the local Superiors of those places.

"*Concerning the Welsh scholars at Hilton* [*Rome*].

"An uncle of Father Charles Browne (with whom he lived), Mr. Hugh Morgan, dying at Hilton in the year 1619, left sufficient maintenance for a Welsh scholar for ever in the English Seminary, the particulars whereof are specified in his will made at that time. And it may do well that the Superior of Wales do inquire after it, and that a Welsh scholar be promoted accordingly.

"August 6, 1666. "HUMPHREY EVANS."

This College originally included South Wales, with the counties of Somerset, Monmouth, Hereford, and Gloucester. About the year 1670, the North Wales portion of the ancient North and South Wales mission was formed into a distinct Residence, with its own Superior, under the name and patronage of St. Winefrid, Holywell being the head Residence.

We trace the following places as having been served by the Fathers of this College.

At Mr. Bennett's.
Bath.
Bristol.
Beckford.
Cardiff.
Clytha.
Coleford.
Cherry Orchard.
Courtfield.
Glamorgan.
Glastonbury.
Hereford.
Holme Lacey.
Leighland.
Lydford.
Monmouth.
Morehampton.
Norton.
Painsley (Salop).
Penybont.
Peterschurch.
Pile near Margan.
Prybridge.
Raglan Castle.
Ross.
Rotherwas.
Shepton Mallett.
Sherrington.
Snaresfield.
Stone Eaton.
Swansea.
Usk.
Wells.

The average number of Fathers serving in the District from 1635 to 1677, the period to which this history extends, was about eighteen or twenty each year, as far as the very incomplete data will allow us to speak. As to the number of converts made each year to the Catholic faith, the annual reports enable us to form but a very loose calculation; they appear to range between eighty and ninety persons.

Extract from a Catalogue of the English Province for the year 1655, giving the names of the missionary Fathers in this College or District.

Nomen.	*Patria.*	*Ætas.*	*Temp. in Societate.*	*Gradus.*
Guliel. Campianus (Superior)	Hereford.	56	31	Prof. Aug. 20, 1640.
Thomas Coldfordus	Londin.	66	41	Prof. Aug. 5, 1625.
Franciscus Nevillus	Hampt.	60	39	Prof. Sept. 28, 1631.
Humph. Brownus	Wallus.	58	30	Prof. Aug. 6, 1637.
Joannes Parkerus, jun.	Stafford.	44	25	Prof. Dec. 18, 1645.
Thomas Pickfordus	Cornubr.	49	26	Prof. Dec. 21, 1642.
Carolus Harrisius	Wallus.	43	23	Prof. Nov. 11, 1646.
Georgius Bamfildus	Varvicens.	66	42	Prof. Mar. 7, 1634.
Joannes Throgmortonus	Wallus.	43	22	Prof. Sept. 30, 1650.
Georgius Duckettus	Ebor.	65	38	Prof. Dec. 8, 1630.
Thomas Harrisius	Wallus.	60	36	Form. Sept. 25, 1631.
Thomas Webbus	Gloster.	83	35	Form. Sept. 2, 1631.
Joannes Floydus	Wallus.	49	30	Form. Maii 11, 1636.
Ignatius Pricius	Wallus.	45	21	Form. Dec. 2, 1647.
Franciscus Dayus	Sussex.	53	30	Form. Maii 11, 1636.
Carolus Bakerus	Wallus.	39	11	Prof. Maii 20, 1655.
Joannes Hugonis	Wallus.	40	7	

The following passages connected with the district of St. Francis Xavier's College, are extracted from "An Ancient Editor's Note-Book."[5] Their date is probably in the latter part of the sixteenth century. They serve to illustrate the temper of the times.

". . . In Herefordshire, prisoners, seven gentlemen, three priests, four poor men, and three gentlewomen.

"In the same shire, four other gentlemen, miserably persecuted but not apprehended, whereof one, Mr. William Minors, had his house searched on New Year's Day by seven score men in arms; but not finding him, they indicted him for felony for receiving Seminary priests.

"In Monmouthshire, prisoners in all eight, whereof two, John Thomas and Roger Price, were whipped at the Assizes,

[5] The original MS. is preserved at St. Mary's College, Oscott. It is printed by Father Morris in *Troubles*, series iii.

which they took so patiently that they endured it with silence, whereat the Justices marvelling said, 'If we whip rogues we shall hear them cry all over the town, but these make no noise.'

"Out of that country were sent to London, prisoners, Mr. Jetter and Mr. David Jones, servants to the Earl of Worcester, and there died in prison.

"Five were imprisoned for burying a Catholic without a minister.

"In Carmarthenshire three, whereof one dying was buried in an old chapel uncovered; his fellow-prisoner having but one little nag, gave it to a tiler to cover the chapel. At the next assizes, this informed [of] was thought a very heinous deed, and the man the more troubled.

"Gloucestershire. A gentleman of good account, but a younger brother, and his living consisting most of leases, to the end they might make him forfeit all, secretly indicted him, and thereupon outlawed him.

"Another gentleman there of like account, a prisoner, hath all his living and goods taken away, so that both himself and many, his little children, live now only of such a poor pension as he that begged his living will allow.

"One Dubberly, a minister, with other pursuivants, about the Forest of Deane in Gloucestershire, brought by the parson of the town to a Catholic house, finding none at home but a poor, lame, blind woodman,[6] the doctor and pursuivants beat at the doors barred against them, and while this battery continued the said minister found a weak window which he brake, and so crept into the house and opened the door to his companions, who ransacked every part of the house. At last found 26s. 8d. in a chest of the poor woman's, which was her brother's money, a poor serving-man. This they took, and away they went, out of hand, as having found that they sought for; and the serving-man was ever without remedy, notwithstanding that he sought all means, especially to the parson of the town, a doctor of divinity and the Queen's chaplain, that set them on work and was with them; unto whom bringing a worshipful man's letter from the Court, he answered the pursuivants were gone that had the money, and it was not reason that he should now pay it of his own purse. Marry, in respect of his master and his other worshipful friend that had written him the letter, he licensed the serving-man to come to his house at any time, promising that he would vouchsafe to admit him to his presence

[6] ? Woman.

and to hear him in any suits he had to him. And so with a cup of beer, and a waft with his velvet bonnet, dismissed him.

"The younger sons of justices, and the under-sheriffs, are commonly assistant to pursuivants and such fellows, duly in hope of part of the prey. They are ever accustomed, where they find no money, to take and drive away kine, cattle and such like.

"Henry Dingley the younger, some time a Catholic, now an apostate or atheist, outlawed, being bankrupt and in every man's debt, never daring to show his face but when he heareth of any pursuivants in the country; and then, armed with sword and dagger, a pistol by his side and a javelin in his hand, he goeth or rideth unto them, and then, protected by these his Prince's affairs, he forbeareth not to trouble his own father and mother, his sister and friends, and all other Catholics, without any further authority, using them in most strange manner, pinioning their hands, binding their legs under the horse's belly, and so carrying them to the gaol.

"One Badam, an old, worn-out minister of Gloucestershire, deprived of all living by the Superintendent of Hereford[7] for his lewd conversation, and among the rest for making of ministers for money, without his lordship's knowledge or condescension (a thing peculiar only and commonly practised by his lordship), is now become a follower of the pursuivants, assisting them in all their actions, naming himself Mr. Berrington, a justice of that county, and so plays his part not unlike to pursuivants, and as their agent.

"When men and their wives are imprisoned by such companions, first spoiled by them, then come other malicious neighbours and take what they have left; and being by the honester sort reprehended, they answer that the owners care not for the world, nor anything in the same, and therefore as well they as others may take what they can.

"1587.[8] Mr. Holford, a priest, apprehended in Gloucester-

[7] "John Scory, made Bishop of Rochester and of Chichester by Edward VI., and by Queen Elizabeth placed at Hereford, where he died June 26, 1585" (Note by Father Morris).

[8] According to Bishop Challoner (*Memoirs*), who quotes a "MS. relation by the Rev. Mr. Davis," it appears that the Rev. Thomas Holford, *alias* Acton, was taken in London, and executed at Clerkenwell, August 28, 1588. We insert the Ancient Editor's note for the deeply interesting information it contains, subsequent to the condemnation of the martyr, leaving the reader to decide as to the real place of capture, trial, and execution. The parties may be identical, though it is possible they may be distinct persons, for as will be seen further on, in the account of the martyr Rouseham, pointed allusion is made to the savage treatment of Mr. Holford at his execution at Gloucester.

shire, was there arraigned, condemned, and executed for coming into the realm. The man that was cause of his apprehension, after his condemnation came into the prison, and on his knees with weeping tears asked him forgiveness. He continued most zealously in doing his function unto his very death. That very day he suffered, having offered the Most Divine Sacrifice, and made a very fervent and forcible exhortation to many Catholics there present in secret, for their perseverance in the Catholic faith, as he was at his nine-hour [that is, saying None] or thereabouts, word was brought him that the executioners stayed for him at the prison gate; he desiring their patience a little, ended his service, blessed and embraced the company, and so departed to his martyrdom, wherein he abode such inhuman, cruel butchery that the adversary preachers exclaimed in their sermons against it.

"Anno 1588. In the same country was taken and imprisoned Mr. Stephen Rowsome,[9] priest, arraigned, condemned, and executed for the same cause. This man had been banished and was returned. A man of singular perfection, he had in his lifetime many heavenly visions, as great lights in windows and places where he was alone, and sometimes with others. His crown of martyrdom [was] showed him most gloriously, being yet a minister, and in schism. Afterwards a priest and in prison, God the Father, Christ our Saviour, our Blessed Lady, glorious souls of saints, full often appeared unto him, leaving behind them such odoriferous smells, and sometimes lasting many hours with him, that for the space of one day and a half he thought himself in Heaven, his joys were so great and strange. This heavenly company had divers speeches with him in their several appearances to him, which he would not utter, neither did he reveal this but a little before his martyrdom to a dear worshipful friend, after a long suit to him. This martyr, standing among the common prisoners at his arraignment, even before the judges' bench and whole multitude, did not cease to persuade divers there, prisoners, and thereby gained divers of them to God, some dying with him at the same time for their faults in the same faith, and others then

[9] The Rev. Stephen Rousham was hanged for the faith at Gloucester, in March or July, 1587. He is briefly alluded to in the "Life of Thomas Pounde, *Records*, vol. iii. p. 596, where a letter from him, written to Pounde and signed Stephanus Captivus, is given. Bishop Challoner in his *Memoirs*, gives a brief account of the glorious martyr, taken from the Douay Journals, Rishton's Diary, &c. The Ancient Editor's note will form an interesting addition to these authorities.

quit and since delivered, still continuing constant Catholics. He celebrated daily in prison, even on the day he died; and, as it happened before to Mr. Holford, so he had not made a full end of his Mass when the tormentors came to have him to his death. Many were confessed and communicated by him that day, and still were present with him to receive his benediction and kiss of peace at his departure; which done, he went to the executioners that expected his coming. Then was he laid on the draw, and by that he came to the place of execution. He had wholly unbraced and untrussed himself, thinking they would have used him as savagely as they had his predecessor there, viz., cut him down by-and-by alive, and so by untying his clothes after, to bowel and quarter him, to suffer him wholly to revive, and thereby pass with the more extremity of pain; but the dean and preachers there, both then and before, with such vehemency had exclaimed against that inhuman dealing, that they friendly suffered him to hang until he was dead, which martyrdom he endured with great mildness, saying that he should forthwith conquer the world, the flesh, and the devil. After his judgment, as he came to the prison, his persecutors had provided many boys and placed them on a dunghill to annoy the blessed martyr by throwing filth on him as he came by; by doing and performing whereof they showed the filth of their minds.

"1589. At the same time was arraigned, condemned, and executed a poor man, by occupation a glover,[10] for persuading some of his kin to the Catholic religion, one only being witness against him, that had before imprisoned his own wife for her conscience, and so indebted as not daring to show his face, but that he was only for that time and purpose protected by Judge Manwood, who, after he had condemned him, seemed unwilling that he should die, and therefore made him that offer that if he would but say he would go to church he should have his pardon. Besides, he appointed his friends and kindred, the officers and preachers, to persuade with him but to promise so much, which when they could not obtain of him, when he was ready to go to execution they caused the passing bell to go for him, thinking that with the terror thereof he would be moved to grant so much. Again and again at the place of execution they made the same offer, but all in vain; with fervent constancy he most willingly yielded himself to those their torments,

[10] "Probably William Lampley, of whom Bishop Challoner only says that he suffered at Gloucester in 1588" (Note in *Troubles*, series iii. p. 43).

and therefore they ended him as butcherly and bloodily as ever they did any."

This College was fruitful in martyrs, confessors of the faith, and distinguished members of the Province, among whom we find—

Father Robert Parsons, who states in his manuscript notes, "All the summer [1580] we [Father Edmund Campian and himself] passed over in preaching. My lot was the shires of Northampton, Derby, Worcester, Gloucester, and Hereford. Mr. Gilbert was my companion." Father Parsons died Rector of the English College, Rome, in the year 1610, and was buried in the church of the College.

George Gilbert, the companion and chief supporter of Fathers Parsons and Campian, and then a secular gentleman of family and fortune, was eventually received into the Society upon his death-bed in the English College, Rome, where he died on October 6, 1583, and was buried at St. Andrea, the Novitiate of the Society in Rome.[11]

Father Alexander Briant, the fellow-sufferer with Father Edmund Campian at Tyburn, on the 1st of December, 1581, at the early age of twenty-eight. In the following pages we give a life of this martyr, compiled from various scattered sources.

[11] See his Life, *Records*, vol. iii. series viii.



FATHER ALEXANDER BRYANT, S.J.

MARTYR FOR THE FAITH.

Suffered Dec. 1. 1581.

FATHER ALEXANDER (*or* JOHN) BRIANT (*or* BRIAN).

THIS martyr for the faith was a native of Somersetshire,[1] where, says Dodd,[2] quoting Wood's *Athen. Oxon.*, being well grounded in his rudiments, he was sent to Oxford, and entered as student at Hart Hall in the year 1574, then aged seventeen years. Philip Roundell, the head of that house, being a great favourer of all that adhered to the old religion, took every opportunity to give those under his charge favourable impressions that way; and Mr. Briant, who never had any aversion to it, was easily induced to observe the hints that were given, which at last effected his conversion to the Catholic faith.

Father Henry More[3] mentions that "Father Richard Holtby, then tutor at Hart Hall, was his preceptor, who being a Catholic at heart, exhorted his pupils to that faith." The following is an extract from Mr. Wood's *Oxoniensis Script.*[4]

"Alexander Briant received his first breath in Somersetshire; was admitted a student of Hart Hall about Lent Term, $157\frac{3}{4}$, aged seventeen or more, where being trained up under a tutor sufficiently addicted to Popery, left the University and went to Rheims, and afterwards to Douay; at the last of which places taking the priesthood on him, he returned to his own country, anno 1579, and settling for a time in Somersetshire, converted the father of Robert Parsons, the Jesuit, to the Roman Catholic religion. On the 18th of April, 1581, he was taken in the night-time in his lodgings by one Norton, who took away three pounds in money from him, besides clothes, and conducting him to a magistrate, was, after examination, committed close prisoner to the Counter in London, where enduring great misery till the morrow after the Ascension, was removed to the Tower of London, and there, as it is reported (Cardinal Allen's modest defence), he was *tormented with needles thrust under his nails, racked also otherwise in cruel sort, and specially by two whole days and nights with famine,*

[1] Bishop Challoner in his *Memoirs*, states that the was born in Dorsetshire; but the weight of evidence is on the other side.

[2] *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 115.

[3] *Hist. Prov. Angl.* lib. iii. n. xxxiii. p. 104.

[4] Vol. i. p. 210.

which they did attribute to obstinacy, but indeed, sustained in Christ's quarrel, it was most honourable constancy. While he was in prison he wrote *Litteræ ad reverend. Patres S.J. in Anglia degentes.* The beginning of which is 'Quoties mecum cogito, reverendi Patres,' &c. They were written purposely that they might be pleased to receive him into the Order of Jesus before he died, which accordingly they did, to his great comfort. Several letters to his friends and afflicted Catholics; whether extant I know not.

"At length, being found guilty of high treason at a sessions in London, he was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburne, December 1, 1581; whereupon his quarters were hanged up for a time in public places. He had for his tutor at Hart Hall (after he had continued there for some time) one Richard Holtbye, born at Fraiton in Yorkshire, educated for a time in Cambridge, and afterwards going to Oxford settled in the said Hall, 1574, aged twenty-one and more, but departing without any degree in this University."

Father Briant's name occurs in several entries in the First and Second Douay Diaries, edited by the Fathers of the Oratory (*Records of English Catholics*). Among other items we find:

P. 128. "Aug. 11, 1577. Arrived from England, Mr. Briant and two Bennetts of high family: all were admitted to our community."

P. 8. "Ordained March 29, 1578, Alexander Briant, Diocese of Exeter, M." [with twelve others, among whom were John Hart, John Bennett, and Richard Holtby, who subsequently became Jesuits].

P. 138. "April 8, 1578. Came to Rheims with six others, Mr. Briant."

P. 154. "August 3, 1579. Proceeded to England five priests, Appletree, Barnes, Kirkman, Briant, Norrice, and with them Warmington, Swinburn, and Rishton."

P. 26. "1579," [Sent to England this year with twenty other priests, of whom four were martys], "Alexander Briant, Exonian."

P. 181. In the Second Diary is a short memorandum that news had been received from a priest in England that Mr. Briant, a young priest, had been most cruelly racked to the dislocation of all his limbs, which, according to nature would have occasioned the most grievous and exquisite pain, but that by a miracle, God so disposing it, he had been insensible to

the pain. It also mentions the torture of the needles thrust under the nails; the cause of which severe punishment was his having been known several times to converse with Father Robert [Parsons] the Jesuit.

P. 184. Is a short memorandum of the martyrdom of Fathers Campian and Briant, and Mr. Sherwin.

Father Briant is described as a man of angelical beauty both of body and soul. We read in a eulogium of the martyr, in the Public Record Office, Brussels.[5] "As the Douay people, when the distinguised martyr, Robert Southwell, S.J., was making his humanity studies at the English College there, named him the beautiful English youth, so did the Oxonians justly style this glorious martyr the beautiful Oxford youth, for both in soul and body he was truly so, of an excellent stature of body, his limbs all well set and adapted for every function as well of vigour as of grace. His countenance beamed forth a serenity, innocency, and amiability almost angelic, and this not only during youth, but even at the moment of death, nay, even after he had courageously and gloriously sustained the most inhuman and horrible tortures in the Tower of London, being at that time a young man of twenty-seven years of age. His disposition also was so excellent and fitted for the reception of Divine grace, that he was able to say with the Prophet, *Servus tuus timet Dominum ab infantia sua*,[6] and with holy Job, *Miseratio de utero matris meæ egressa est* (*mecum*); for he advanced in wisdom and age and favour with God and man. In his early youth he so assiduously applied himself to his lower studies, that in a short time he was fit for his philosophy, which science he was not slow in acquiring at Oxford." Another eulogium of the Father in the same Collection,[7] after giving a description of his person very similar to the above, adds, that he was "an excellent priest, well read in Sacred literature and illustrious in the splendour of many virtues, who while carrying in his breast a certain Divine emulation, strengthened by incredible patience, constancy, and submission of soul, poured itself forth by a gentle and sweetly flowing speech into the hearts of his hearers. An invincible hero, and a worthy soldier of Christ, of whose admirable fortitude amidst his savage torments we will relate some passages."

[5] *Collectio Cardwelli Varia S.J.* in Arch. Brussels, *Vitæ Martyr.*, vol. i. p. 52, Stonyhurst Collection.

[6] 3 Kings xviii. 12; Job xxxi. 18.

[7] *Vitæ Martyr.*, vol. ii. p. 161.

After studying for some years at Oxford, he left his College for conscience' sake, bade adieu to the University, and in the cause of the Catholic faith joyfully exiled himself from his sorely afflicted country in 1576[7]. He went first to Douay, and afterwards removed with his College to Rheims, where with great keenness and assiduity he applied himself to the study of theology. After a short time (in 1578) he was ordained priest, on account of his singular learning and virtue, although he was then but a very young man, and under the canonical age. Being now sufficiently instructed, especially in regard to the needs and requirements of England, he left his companions on the 3rd of August, 1579, and was sent by Dr. Allen, the President of his College, to England, by order of His Holiness Pope Gregory XIII., to labour in the vineyard of our Lord by gaining souls to God, and converting them from heresy and schism to the holy Catholic religion. His residence at first was in his own county of Somerset. He was very intimate with Father Robert Parsons, who with Father Edmund Campion had arrived in England in the middle of the year 1580, and Father Briant had the happiness of reconciling the aged father of the former to the true Church. Father Parsons says: "He was my disciple and my pupil at Oxford, and ever inclined to virtue; afterwards a priest at Rheims of the greatest zeal. Just before he came into England he wrote to Father Richard Gibbon to ask whether he might visit his mother. He reconciled my father, and while he was in England he never willingly left my side." After spending two years in labouring for the salvation of souls with abundant fruit, he was apprehended by Thomas Wilks (as Bombinus says, or by Norton according to others), a pursuivant, about the 28th of April, 1581, under the following circumstances, which indicate a striking dispensation of Providence in his behalf. He was not the party sought for, as the pursuivant was at the time armed with a warrant for the apprehension of Father Robert Parsons, who had only a very short time before left the house in which he had hired lodgings, and kept all his stock of pious articles which he had brought from Rome to excite the devotion of the Catholics, such as beads medals, pictures, crucifixes, &c., also a quantity of his books. Mr. Roland Jenks, a staunch Catholic, known as having lost one of his ears for professing the Catholic faith, frequently worked here in binding Father Parsons' books. He unfortunately allowed a certain servant, whom he had brought to

assist him, to enter his *sanctum.* This man, being very hostile to Jenks, maintained that it was unlawful to work for Catholics, and threatened him with the law; nor did he long delay putting his threats into execution. The Council upon his information sent Wilks with a detachment of one hundred armed soldiers, seized upon the room in the dead of the night, and carried everything away. It came by chance, or rather we should say by the Providence of God, into the pursuivant's mind to enter and search a neighbouring house, if peradventure he might discover any priest there. Probably he knew it to be a Catholic house, and was therefore suspicious. He may also have hoped to find Father Parsons there, having discovered such traces of his recent presence. So said, so done; they found a young man of respectability there, and taking him prisoner carried him away on suspicion of being a priest. This turned out to be indeed Father Alexander himself.[8] Father Bartoli says that this house was on the bank of the Thames and belonged to a Protestant bookseller, a point of considerable advantage; because, being the house of a Protestant, it would never be suspected to be a place of resort of priests and Catholics. A great prize it would indeed have been, had it not pleased God to remove Father Parsons in time, because the pursuivant was not aware of its being that Father's abode, otherwise than by conjecture; and great was his wrath when from the captured articles he found it was the Father's very nest indeed.

This was one among the many marvellous and truly providential escapes of Father Parsons, and he himself regarding this event says in his MS. Life of Father Edmund Campian: "While we were together in a house in a wood, one night Hartley said to me casually that he had been at Oxford, and had heard that Roland Jenks' servant, who had just before been employed by me at my house in London to bind some books, had gone over and had given evidence against his master. I at once saw the danger, and the first thing in the morning I sent to London, and found that Wilks, the Secretary of the Privy Council, with Norton and some of the Queen's guards, had that very night searched my chamber, and carried off all he found there, and had apprehended Briant in a neighbouring house."

"Father Briant's chamber was rifled," states the account by an eye-witness of the martyr's death, "three pounds in money

[3] *Vide* Eulog. *Collectio Cardwelli*, vol. ii. p. 161.

were taken from him, *for that is a principal verb in all apprehensions of Catholics*, his apparel and other things, especially a trunk wherein was a silver chalice, and much other good stuff which was not his, but committed to his keeping, was also taken away, and he himself sent close prisoner to the Counter prison, with commandment to stop all that asked for him, and that he should have neither meat nor drink, who in such order continued till he was almost famished. At last, by friendship, or by what means I know not, he got a penny-worth of hard cheese, and a little broken bread with a pint of strong beer, which brought him into such an extreme thirst, that he essayed to catch with his hat the drops of rain from the prison eaves, but could not reach them."[9] Father Bartoli observes upon this point that, seeing the constancy of the martyr, they tried to conquer him by the pangs both of hunger and thirst, with such inhumanity that he could not stand upon his feet; for their malicious object was to reduce the priests whom they seized to such an extreme point of weakness as to render them physically unable to endure the horrible torments which were to follow.

"The morrow after the Ascension Day he was removed from the Counter to the Tower, where he verily thought he would have been utterly famished, and therefore had carried with him a little piece of his hard cheese, which his keeper in searching found about him, but the martyr humbly entreated him not to take it from him."[10] A severer contest however was in preparation, wherein he was more gloriously to triumph; and for supporting him under this they allowed a larger supply of food, with a double portion of drink for his dinner and supper. Within two days after coming to the Tower he was brought before the Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir Owen Hopton, Kt.; Dr. Hammond, and Norton who examined him after their common manner, first tendering him an oath to answer to all, &c. The following is a copy of a paper of interrogatories drawn up with great care by the Privy Council to be submitted to the sufferer.

State Papers, Public Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cxlvii. n. 97.

I. What was the principal cause why you were sent into this realm by the Pope, or by some chief minister of his?

II. To whom were you specially directed to repair unto within this realm?

III. What hopes before your departure were you put in of somewhat to be attempted both against Ireland and England?

[9] See Challoner's *Memoirs*. [10] *Ibid.*

IV. Why had the Bishop of St. Asaph, Dr. Morton, and others come from Rome to Paris?

V. What relief have you received since you were committed to prison, and from whom and by whom came the same relief?

VI. Whether was there not some relief demanded by you as sent from the Scottish Queen, and to whom was the same delivered?

VII. How many have you reconciled to the Church of Rome since your imprisonment, and what are their names?

VIII. How many have you heard of late to have been reconciled to the Church of Rome by others? What are their names and by whom were they reconciled?

IX. What conference have you had with [Campian or Parsons] since his coming over, or what letters or messages have you received from him?

X. Where do you know or have you heard that Father [Campian or Parsons] is?

XI. Whether have you not heard of some catalogues of names of the principal favourers of the Romish religion within this realm have been delivered to the priests, and what principal persons do you remember to have been contained in the said catalogue?

XII. What acquaintance have you had with the Bishop of Ross, and what letters or messages have you received from him since your return into this realm?

XIII. What letters or messages have you received from Dr. Saunders in Ireland? What principal persons in Ireland are noted to be favourers of the rebellion there, and have given their promise to join with such forces as should be sent from thence?

The following is from Howell's *State Trials*.[11]

Short extract from Briant's confession.

He is content to affirm that the Queen is his sovereign lady; but he will not affirm that she is so lawfully, and ought to be so, and to be obeyed by him as her subject if the Pope declare or command the contrary. And he saith that this question is too high and dangerous for him to answer. The 6th of May, 1581. Before

OWEN HOPTON, Kt.
JOHN HAMMOND.
THOS. NORTON.

Whether the Pope hath authority to withdraw from obedience to her Majesty, he knoweth not.

ALEXANDER BRIANT.

The 7th of May, 1581.

"Because the martyr would not confess where he had seen Father Parsons, how he was maintained, where he had said Mass, and whose confessions he had heard, they caused needles to be thrust under his nails; whereat the martyr was not moved at all but with a constant mind, and pleasant countenance recited the Psalm *Miserere*, begging God to forgive his

[11] Also in Bishop Kennett's Collection, British Museum, *Lansdowne MSS.* vol. xlviii. 982.

tormentors, at which Dr. Hammond stamped and stared as a man half beside himself, saying, 'What a thing is this! if a man were not settled in his religion, this were enough to convert him.'"[12] Father Bartoli again observes that the Doctor stamping with rage exclaimed: "This is an evident miracle, but, it is a miracle of indomitable pertinacity in this Popish priest; otherwise from the very pain of the torture he was bound to confess not only facts, but cognizance of them, nay, even his very inmost thoughts." On going away, the same Reverend Doctor remarked: "I would not on any account that any one were here present who was not well and solidly grounded in our faith," as much as to say that, seeing the patience, the fidelity, and constancy of that most courageous priest, he would have become a Catholic on the spot.

"After this he was, even to the disjointing of his body, rent and torn upon the rack, because he would not confess where Father Parsons was, where his printing press was, what books he had sold."[13] The martyr even laughed at them, calling them lazy, saying, "Is this all you are able to do? If your racks are nothing more than this, come on with a hundred others for the sake of this cause; for I am able to endure far severer torments for the sake of the Catholic religion." Certain it is, that amidst these torments he was wonderfully favoured with the consolations of the Holy Ghost, as appears from his letter written from his cell to the Fathers of the Society in England, and which is given below.

The next day, notwithstanding the great debility and soreness of his whole body, his very senses being deadened and his blood congealed, he was brought to the torture again, and racked with greater severity than before, insomuch that being convinced they had the intention of tearing him in pieces, he armed himself with a determined patience and resolution to die rather than disclose what could hurt a single person living, raising his mind to God in steadfast contemplation of Christ's bitter Passion. During this racking he fainted away, so that his torturers were obliged to sprinkle cold water upon his face to revive him again; yet they remitted no part of his pain.[14] Indeed, Norton boasted in savage jest that he would stretch the martyr a foot longer than God had made him. His victim appeared in the meantime so proof against pain, that his executioners affirmed he was

[12] Challoner's *Memoirs*. [13] *Ibid*.
[14] *Ibid*.

assisted by the evil one. Thus did impious men mock at the constancy of the saints.

"And here Norton, because they could extract nothing from him, asked him whether the Queen was supreme head of the Church of England, or not? To this he replied: 'I am a Catholic, and I believe in this as a Catholic should do.' 'Why,' said Norton, 'they say the Pope is.' 'And so say I,' replied Father Briant. Here also the Lieutenant of the Tower, using railing and reviling words, flapped him on the cheeks after an uncharitable manner. And all the Commissioners rose up and went away, giving commandment to leave him on the rack all the night; at which when they saw he was nothing moved, they gave orders that he should be taken down from the torment, and sent him again to *Walesboure*."[15] In this terrible pit he lay for fifteen days without any power to use his racked limbs, in the extremity of pain, and with a very scanty allowance of clothing. Father Briant was also subjected to the horrible instrument of suffering called the "Scavenger's Daughter." This was one of the racks employed in the Tower for the torture of Catholics; it was a broad iron hoop, consisting of two parts fastened together by a hinge. The prisoner was made to kneel on the pavement, and to contract himself into as small a compass as possible. Then the executioner forcing down his shoulders, and introducing the hoop under his legs, compressed the victim close together, until he was able to fasten the extremities of the hoop over the small of the back. The time allotted to this kind of torture was one hour and a half, during which time it commonly happened, that from excess of compression the blood started from the nostrils, and sometimes, indeed, from the extremities of the hands and feet. Father Thomas Cottam and the Reverend Luke Kirkby suffered this fearful torture for longer than an hour on the 10th of December, 1580; the former bleeding profusely from the nose.[16]

[15] Challoner, as above. Walesbourne was an underground prison so called, and a place "of horrid aspect."

[16] The "Scavenger's daughter." See mention of this terrible instrument of torture in *Records*, vol. i. p. 360, and vol. ii. p. 159. An antiquarian friend writes to the Editor—"Regarding the 'Scavenger's Daughter,' the gyves or kind of pillory now shown in the Tower, with the same (I think) wooden painted inscription over it which used to be over the original, is *not* the 'Scavenger's Daughter,' nor anything like her. I think she must have disappeared during the alterations for making the new staircase and entrance from the end of the armoury into the council-chamber, where the block is, with other fetters, &c., and where Queen

There can be little doubt but that the chief motive for the excessive torturing of Father Briant was the discovery of so close a companion of Father Parsons, coupled with the narrow escape of that Father, whom beyond all others it was the utmost desire of the Privy Council to seize. His extraordinary zeal, his great industry, and the controversial talent displayed in his recent publications, more especially in his *Censure of Charke and Hanmer*, had set them beside themselves; and they hoped to extract information of his whereabouts from Father Briant.

His fellow prisoner, the Reverend Edward Rishton, thus briefly notices the martyr's sufferings in his Diary: "March 27. Alexander Briant, a priest, was brought from another prison where he had almost perished with thirst, and loaded with the heaviest shackles. Then needles were thrust under his nails, with the hope of forcing him to disclose the place in which he had seen Father Parsons; but he resolutely refused to reveal it. April 6. The same Briant was cast into the pit; and eight days later was led forth to the rack, on which he was immediately stretched with the greatest cruelty. The next day again he was twice subjected to the same torture; yet from his own lips, only a little before his martyrdom, I afterwards heard the declaration that when his body was extended to the utmost, and his tormentors were ferociously endeavouring to increase the intensity of his sufferings, he was actually insensible of pain."

Norton, one of the Privy Council's Commissioners, was afterwards called to account by his masters for such excessive cruelty. In the Public Record Office, State Papers *Dom. Eliz.*

Elizabeth on horseback was, and I believe again is. The woodcut in Andrew's review of Fox's *Martyrs* is correct. I remember all but the screw for bringing the ends together, which I doubt about. I remember distinctly that they were fastened by a catch of the shape of the letter T, which fell into a groove or kind of fork at the opposite end of the ring. Catholic parents used to take their children to venerate the relic, and I was so taken by my father about the year 1819-20, and saw it often afterwards. I told Mr. H. when I once met him, that the present thing shown in the Tower is not the genuine article, but he would not believe me, and I afterwards took pains to find old Catholics who remembered it. I have read somewhere that this frightful instrument of torture was originally invented by Sir R. Skiffington or Skevington, a governor in Ireland, who after diverting himself with it there became an official in the Tower, where he introduced it under the name of Skeffington's irons, which was soon converted into the more familiar name of the Scavenger's Daughter. The torturers of those days had their jokes, and were fond of giving funny names to their cruelties, of which there are several examples."

March 27, 158½,[17] is an extract of a letter he wrote to Walsingham, who had sent him a copy of Father Parson's celebrated defence of his censure on Charke and Hanmer, published in Rouen, 1582: "I find in the whole book only one place touching myself, fol. ult. p. 2. 'One (meaning Briant) whom Mr. Norton the Rack-master (if he be not misreported) vaunted in the court to have pulled one good foot longer than ever God make him, and yet in the midst of all he seemed to care nothing, and therefore out of doubt, said he, he had a devil within him.' Surely I never said in that form, but thus: When speech was of the courage of Campian and some other, I said truly that there appeared more courage of a man's heart in Briant than in Campian, and therefore I lament that the devil had possessed poor unlearned Briant in so naughty a cause, for being threatened by those that had commission (to the intent he might be moved to tell truth without torment) that if he would not for his duty to God and the Queen tell truth, he should be made a foot longer than God made him, he was therewith nothing moved. And being, for his apparent obstinacy in matters that he well knew, racked more than any of the rest, yet he stood still with express refusal that he would not tell the truth. When he setteth out a miracle that Briant was preserved from feeling of pain, it is most untrue, for no man of them all after his torture made so grievous complaining, and showed so open sign of pain as he." Upon this Mr. Simpson remarks that Norton carefully avoids denying what the martyr asserted, viz., that he felt no pain whilst he was being racked; he simply asserts that *after* the torture Briant exhibited great signs of pain, which he himself also confessed in his own letter to Father Parsons, &c., where he tells not only of his freedom from pains while on the rack, but of the agonies he suffered afterwards.

In the second volume of *Records*, "Life of Father Thomas Cottam," we have given a full translation of a letter in the State Paper Office,[18] written by a priest in the Tower to other Catholics in different prisons, detailing the trials to which they were subjected. As Father Briant was one of the principal sufferers named in this letter, the following extract will illustrate our subject.

They lately threatened Mr. Sherwin a priest, with renewed tortures, and then to execute him and his companions; but he

[17] Quoted also by Mr. Simpson, in his *Life of Campion*, p. 202.
[18] State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cxlix. n. 61, 1581.

preferring a present death to longer life, was not at all dismayed at their threats. We shall, I hope, very shortly learn what our fate will be. We all of us, indeed, greatly long to pay the debt of nature at once rather than to languish on by a daily death. However, there is no one here who does not earnestly pray our Lord Christ to grant us His aid, whereby to render us worthy to suffer for His glory all torments and tortures, nay, even death itself, otherwise so bitter to nature, rather than to offend the Divine Majesty in the least degree contrary to each one's conscience. It is, I think, patent and a known fact to many that some of our afflicted ones have endured the most terrible tortures, than which, on account of their excessive torments, death itself is far preferable, constantly and willingly ere they would consent to the most abominable crime [apostasy]. Of all which matters there are certain living witnesses, especially Luke Kirby and Thomas Cottam, two venerable priests, who were subjected to a certain iron instrument of torture, called in English "The Scavenger's Daughter," enduring this most bitter torture for an entire hour or more. Others, viz., the Reverend Mr. Skinner and Mr. Briant twice, Mr. Johnson indeed but once, were cruelly tortured upon the rack, attended with the most exquisite sufferings. Mr. Alart lay stretched upon it for three hours in torture, but beyond this or at least more severely for that time he was not tortured. And in the same manner they dealt with a portion of the rest of his companions, nor without great efforts to bring them to some compliance being attempted. Some were thrust down into a certain underground dungeon, very deep, and being inclosed on every side, involved in the densest darkness.[19] Among these were Johnson, Bristow, and Briant, all of them priests, some of whom spent two entire months in this chamber of horrors. . . .

Mr. Briant, of whom I spoke before, was for some days worn out, and well nigh killed with hunger. At length, for the greater increase of his pain, he was most atrociously tortured by needles being violently thrust under his nails.

By these things which are written, most dear brothers in Christ, it is well known what, and what kind of tortures the sons of God and true servants of Christ patiently endure for their firm defence of the orthodox faith, and should it be required of them, they are ready and willing to undergo still greater. This only thing we implore of His mercy, that He will of His goodness grant us patience and perseverance even to the end. Which that we the more speedily obtain, we earnestly implore your prayers for us, and the more so as we are not without some apprehension, seeing that the Prefect of the Tower yesterday, and again to-day, was summoned to the court, in order that, as we believe he might be informed with certainty what is decided upon about us. Farewell.

The eye-witness quoted by Bishop Challoner says: "These torments and the martyr's invincible constancy are comparable truly to the sufferings of the renowned martyrs of the primitive Church, which he never could have borne by human strength if God had not afforded him His singular and supernatural

[19] This was no doubt the horrible dungeon known as the Pit and Walesboure.

grace. Himself confessed that, by a vow he had made of entering the Society of Jesus and other spiritual exercises, he had great consolation in all these vexations, as will appear by his own letter to the Fathers of the Society in England." In fact, Father Briant had two years previously conceived the desire of entering the Society, but had deferred giving effect to it that he might not unseasonably break off his labours for the good of souls, in which he was then so actively engaged. But being now by the will of God in chains he made a vow of applying for admission to the Society within one year after he should be liberated from prison. From this vow he derived so much strength under his various tortures that when for the third time they most inhumanly racked him, and put forth all their strength to the work, he felt, as we have seen, no sense of pain, no perturbation of soul, only he fancied that the palm of his left hand was torn and bled, which acute feeling Divine Providence may perhaps have permitted, that he might have some sense of suffering, though experiencing so little in the rest of his body. But this stage of his history the martyr himself details with great modesty in his letter. Having now been thrice racked, he lay shut up in his cell, precluded from all society of his friends, furnished with no means of writing, whereby he could give any news of himself, when, behold, the Divine Goodness put into his mind a means and instrument of writing. For at the time that Father Edmund Campian was contending with the enemies of the faith in disputation within the same prison, some among the concourse of people made their way unobserved to Father Briant and the other champions of Christ for their own personal consolation, and that they might venerate such glorious confessors of the faith. One of these, who had probably furnished the martyr with the materials for writing, carried away with him a letter hastily composed, and addressed to the Fathers of the Society then in England, most probably through his dear friend Father Robert Parsons. We subjoin a translation from a copy preserved in the Public Record Office, Brussels :[20]

Reverend Fathers in Christ,—

Pax Christi.

Whenever I reflect, Rev. Fathers, how ardently and by what manifold ways our good and great God seeks our salvation, desires our love and the possession of our hearts, and yearns

[20] See Collectio Cardwelli, *Vitæ Mart.* vol. i. p. 61.

to reign within us, I am confounded with amazement, that we wretched men, neither moved by His benefits nor allured by His rewards, nor even compelled by fear of His judgments, serve Him not with all our strength as living sacrifices and perfect holocausts. For besides His immense benefits towards us, viz., creation, redemption, conservation, justification, and that glorification we hope for, besides these and infinite others, He exhorts us with sweetest words, and draws us to Himself. *Ego* (inquit) *diligentes me diligo, et qui mane vigilat ad me, inveniet me*—"I love those that love me; he that watcheth for me in the morning shall find me."[21] *Beatus homo qui audit me, et qui vigilat ad fores meas quotidie, et observat ad postes ostii mei. Qui me invenerit, inveniet vitam, et hauriet salutem a Domino*—"Blessed is the man who hears me, and who watcheth daily at my gates, and waits at the posts of my doors. Who findeth me findeth life, and shall receive salvation from the Lord." But where he is to be sought our Lord shows in these words: *Ubi duo aut tres congregati sunt in nomine Meo, ibi Ego sum in medio eorum*—"Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them."[22] Christ is there indeed, where many united by charity are agreed to honour God, desire Him alone, keep His laws, and propagate His glorious kingdom. He who shall hear this shall learn the truth, and shall not walk in darkness, nor in the mists of errors, but shall securely attain to the fountain of waters. In such congregations, consecrated to God, a straight road to Heaven is pointed out, not beset with brambles, but well worn by the footsteps of the saints: not garnished with the flowers of this bitter world, nor flowing with its delights and blandishments, but fortified by most holy laws and rules, so that the simple shall not err therein, nor any one deviate from it, except such as shall entirely neglect their own salvation. For here all things are aptly disposed by weight and measure, so that wisdom may truly be said to dwell there, so wonderfully are all its works ordained. Here flourishes a certain heavenly fraternal correction, here prevails a gentle chastisement of the ill-doers, and a mutual encouragement of ineffable charity.

For these and similar reasons, more than two years ago, I resolved, if it were the will of God, to embrace this mode of life. And I asked my then director, a learned and pious man, whether being then an exile from my native land for a just cause, if I should return from foreign parts I might hope that the Fathers of the Society would admit me to holy obedience. And when, in answer, he assured me that he had not the least doubt of it, my hope and courage increased, and for these two years, during which I have lived in England, I have very frequently renewed my resolution. But because I hoped that my labour and industry in the harvest of our Lord would not be altogether useless, I have deferred making the proposal. But now, since by the Divine disposal I am deprived of my liberty, and can no longer spend my labour usefully, the desire has revived, and my soul is again inflamed by it, so that I may at length "vow a vow to the Lord my God;" and this, I hope, not rashly, but in the fear of God, nor for any other end than that I may more holily and gratefully render service to God, *ad majorem Dei gloriam*, be more secured of my salvation, and of a more glorious triumph over my spiritual enemy. I made a vow indeed, that should it one day please God to deliver me from prison, I would within the space of a year

[21] Prov. viii. 17. [22] St. Matt. xviii. 20.

resign myself entirely to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, and if God inspired them to receive me, would freely and with extreme joy, deliver up my whole will, unreservedly and for ever, to the service of God and their obedience. This vow was my greatest joy and consolation in the extremity of my sufferings and tribulations, and I was thus enabled to approach with greater confidence the throne of the Divine Majesty, to implore courage and patience, relying upon the patronage of the Blessed Mary ever Virgin, and of all the saints. And this, I trust, will be accomplished by God, because the vow was made by me in time of meditation on heavenly things. For thus it happened.

The first day that I was tortured upon the rack, before I came to the torture-chamber, giving myself up to prayer, and commending myself and all that was mine to our Lord, I was filled and replenished with a supernatural sweetness of spirit, and even while I was calling upon the Most Holy Name of Jesus, and upon the Blessed Virgin Mary (for I was saying my Rosary) my mind was cheerfully disposed, well comforted, and readily inclined and prepared to suffer and endure those torments, even at the moment when I most certainly expected them. At length the resolution I have spoken of occurred to my mind, and at the same moment a suggestion to confirm my former vow. Having ended my prayers, and reflected upon these things, it seemed to me good to embrace the suggestion, and I thereupon willingly renewed the vow with the same condition. It seemed to me that God was pleased instantly to approve this act, for in all my sufferings and torments, by His infinite bounty, He was mercifully present to me, consoling me in my extreme need, and freeing my soul from the wicked lips and the deceitful tongue, and from the roaring lions ready for their prey.

Whether what I am relating be miraculous or no, God knoweth, but true it is, and thereof my conscience is a witness before God. And this I say that in the end of the torture, though my hands and feet were violently stretched and racked, and my adversaries fulfilled their wicked desire in practising their cruel tyranny upon my body, yet, notwithstanding, I was without sense and feeling well nigh of all grief and pain ; and not only so, but as it were comforted, eased, and refreshed of the grief of the past torture. I continued still with perfect and present senses, in quietness of heart and tranquillity of mind. Which thing, when the Commissioners did see, they departed, and in going forth of the door, they gave orders to rack me again the next day following after the same sort. Now, when I heard them say so, it gave me in my mind [courage] by and by, and I did verily believe and trust that with the help of God I should be able to bear and suffer it patiently. In the meantime, as well as I could, I did muse and meditate upon the most bitter Passion of our Saviour, and how full of innumerable pains it was. And whilst I was thus occupied, methought that my left hand was wounded in the palm, and that I felt the blood run out. But in very deed there was no such thing, nor any other pain than that which seemed to be in my hand.

Now, therefore, that my petition and postulation may be made known to you, since no hope remains of obtaining my former liberty, I address your paternities as though present (because what the future may bring forth is known to no mortal) ; in the meantime I humbly submit myself to you, earnestly begging that you will do for me, and by me, what may seem advisable to your

prudence ; that if it can be done, being absent, I may be able to be enrolled and received into your Society. I demand it with a suppliant mind, and with my whole heart, that thus I may think humbly with the humble, resound the praises of God with the devout, may return continual thanks to Him for His benefits, and that I may also be the more assisted by suffrages to run with greater safety the course of the appointed combat. I am not ignorant that the snares of the malignant enemy are infinite, since the subtle serpent wonderfully endeavours to delude by his craftiness the souls of the simple, who have no faithful guide, transforming himself into an angel of light, so that it is not without reason that we admonish to try the spirit whether it be of God. To you therefore, as being spiritual men, and accustomed to this conflict, I commit the whole of this affair, begging by the bowels of the mercy of God that you will condescend to rule me by your counsel and wisdom, and should it seem useful in your eyes, for the greater honour and glory of God, the good of the Church, and the eternal salvation of my soul, that I should be promoted to this Society of the Most Holy Name of Jesus, I now promise obedience before God, *in foro conscientiæ meæ*, to all and every the Superiors appointed and to be appointed ; also to all the rules and regulations of this Society, according to the utmost of my power, and so far as God may help me. May this day, and this writing under my hand, be my witnesses at the Day of Judgment. There is no cause for hesitation on account of my health, because I have now, by the goodness of God, nearly regained my former vigour and strength, and I continue to improve daily. As to the rest, commending myself to your prayers, I bid you farewell in the Lord, anxiously expecting what may be your decision regarding me. Farewell.

The Superiors of the Society had been previously well acquainted with the virtue and learning of Father Briant. They had now full evidence of his fervour and constancy as expressed in the above letter, written by his own mangled hands. Considering also that he had made the best utterance of his vows of religion that the circumstances of his case permitted, it seemed good to all of them to admit him to the Society as a fellow soldier, both to satisfy his ardent desire and to add the lustre of religion to the crown of martyrdom.

In the meantime the 16th of November arrived,[23] on which day, with six other priests, viz., the Revs. Shert, Collington, Hart, Richardson, Ford, and Filbie, Father Briant was brought up from the Tower to the Court of Queen's Bench, Westminster, to plead to the capital charge of high treason. On this occasion, being merely arraigned, he was only permitted to answer to the usual question, "What say you, Alexander Briant, are you guilty or not guilty?" As he strenuously denied the odious charge, he was remanded with the rest for

[23] More probably the 15th. Father Campian with his companions were arraigned the day before (the 14th November) at Westminster.

some days, in order to allow the Attorney-General time to prepare himself. The following is an extract from the indictment,[24] which is given at greater length in *Records*, vol. ii. series ii. pp. 165, 166.

"The jury present in behalf of the Queen that William Allen, D.D. [and the rest] being traitors against the Queen, not having the fear of God in their hearts, nor weighing their due allegiance, but led astray by the devil, intending altogether to withdraw, blot out, and extinguish the hearty love and true and due obedience which true and faithful subjects should bear and are bound to bear towards the Queen, did on the last day of March, anno 22 (1580), at Rome in Italy, in parts beyond the sea, and on the last day of April in the same year at Rheims in Champagne, and on divers other days and occasions before and after, both at Rome and Rheims, and in divers other places in parts beyond the seas, falsely, maliciously, and traitorously conspire, imagine, contrive, and compass, not only to deprive, cast down, and disinherit the said Queen from her royal state, title, power, and rule of her realm of England, but also to bring and put the same Queen to death and final destruction, and to excite, raise, and make sedition in the said realm, and also to beget and cause miserable slaughter among the subjects of the said Queen throughout the said realm, and to procure and set up insurrection and rebellion against the said Queen, their supreme and natural lady, and to change and alter according to their will and pleasure the government of the said realm, and the pure religion there rightly and religiously established, and totally to subvert and destroy the state of the whole commonwealth of the realm, and to invite, procure, and induce divers strangers and aliens, not being subjects of the said Queen, to invade the realm, and to raise, carry on, and make war against the said Queen; and in order to bring to pass the said wicked and traitorous designs, the said Allen, Morton, Parsons, and Campion did, &c." [The indictment then goes on specially to charge these four, and those added in the margin, with conspiring on certain days named in it, at Rheims and Rome, against the State and the religion established by law, &c.]

[24] See *Lansdowne MSS.* art. 65. The first intention was to arraign only Doctors Allen and Morton, with Fathers Parsons and Campian. The names of Fathers Bosgrave, Briant, and Cottam, and of the secular priests Filbie, Ford, Richardson, Collington, Sherwin, Kirkby, Johnson, Rishton, and Shert, with Mr. Henry Orton, a layman, were afterwards added in the margin.

In vain Father Campian, the great spokesman for all the rest, protested against the joint indictment, claiming a separate trial for each, and asserting that some of them had never before met or known one another until that day at the bar; he was overruled. An account of his trial is given in Bridgewater's *Concertatio.* Father Campian and his companions were tried on the 20th of November; the next day the remaining priests, among whom was Father Briant, were similarly tried and condemned. There is no detailed account of their trial, but it was probably nearly a repetition of the great one of the previous day, wanting only the telling eloquence and talent displayed by Father Campian. In regard to the Reverend Mr. Collington, a fellow prisoner of Father Briant, one Mr. Lancaster gave evidence, after the verdict had been delivered, that he was in company with him in Gray's Inn the very day that he was charged with plotting at Rheims, where indeed he had never been in his life, having been sent from Douay. He was reprieved and banished. Amongst the spectators in court was a priest named Nicholson, who, seeing the success of Mr. Lancaster's testimony about Mr. Collington, and being able to give similar evidence in favour of the Reverend Mr. Ford, offered to do so; but he was arrested by the judge's order, and sent to prison, where he was nearly starved to death.[25] Father Robert Parsons thus comments on these trials in his letter to Father Agazzari, December 21, 1581[26]—

"The chief charge was that they had conspired with the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Florence, to invade England; their chief accusers were three young men who had been some time at Rome—Munday, Sledd, and Caddy—whose age and condition were such as would have been an effectual bar against any such communication being made to them, if it had been true. But the answers of the prisoners, their deeds, and the event itself proved that no such action was thought of, and the three men acted exactly as false witnesses do, confining themselves to generalities or to things which had no reference to the accusation; for instance, that the Pope had favoured them, that some of them had had conversations with certain Cardinals, and the like. All this showed that it was either for fear or for money that they appeared as witnesses. It seemed, however, a predetermined matter that all were to be condemned, and so no defence could avail; but after some

[25] Simpson's *Life of Campion*, p. 309.
[26] *Hist. Prov. Angl.* lib. iii. n. 35, quoted by Mr. Simpson, p. 309.

hours of altercation sentence of death was passed upon all of them." This was worded according to the usual form. "You must go back to the place from whence you came, there to remain until ye shall be drawn through the open City of London upon hurdles to the place of execution, and there be hanged, and cut down alive, dismembered, and disembowelled, and your entrails burnt in your sight; then your heads to be cut off, and your bodies to be divided into four parts, to be disposed of at her Majesty's pleasure. And God have mercy on your souls."

On being remanded to the Tower after the arraignment, and, according to another account, when passing from thence to Westminster Hall to receive sentence of death, on November 22, Father Briant with a courageous heart placed himself at the head of the others, like a standard-bearer, carrying in his hand an upraised cross which he had made out of a piece of wood that he had taken with him into the Tower, and upon which he had sketched a figure of our crucified Saviour with a bit of charcoal he had used by way of a pencil. When he was rebuked for his audacity by a certain Protestant minister, and ordered to cast it away, he exclaimed, "Never will I do so, for I am a soldier of the Cross, nor will I henceforth desert this standard until death." He said to another who was endeavouring by main force to wrest the cross out of his hands, "Thou art able to tear this cross from my hands, but from my heart thou canst by no means pluck it, until I shall shed my blood for Him Who for my sake poured out His upon the Cross of Calvary." He also contrived to shave his crown, because he wished to signify to those ministers who at his apprehension had scoffed and mocked him, and had accused him of being ashamed of his vocation, that he neither felt disgraced by his holy orders, nor blushed to own his religion.

From Bishop Kennett's Collection,[27] called "Some additions to Mr. Wood's account of Alexander Briant a Jesuit, executed at Tyburn, December 1, 1581," we take the following:

"Ralph Sherwin seemed a man of better judgment [than Campian], more learned and more obedient. He said the Lord's Prayer in English, believing in God that made him, in Christ His Son that saved him, and in the Holy Ghost that sanctified him.

"On the next day after the trial of Campian, being Tuesday

[27] British Museum, *Lansdowne MSS.* 982, 1581.

the 21st of November, there was brought to the said bar these persons following: John Hart, Thomas Ford, William Filbie, Lawrence Richardson, John Shert, Alexander Briant, and John Collington.

"Alexander Briant, he had shaved his crown himself and made him a cross of a piece of a trencher, which he held in his hand openly, and prayed to, which, when he was rebuked for, he boldly and stoutly made answer that his crown was of his shaving, and he had good hope to do it again. They were found guilty of treason as the others were before them, except John Collington: he was quit of the former high treason by the jury."

Having thus received at the hands of an unjust tribunal the barbarous sentence of death which the law of England pronounces against traitors, the martyr solemnly and meekly censured the iniquity of the court, and appealing to God, the Supreme Judge, adopted the words of the Royal Prophet: "*Judica me Deus, et discerne causam meam de gente non sancta.*"

Being remanded again to the Tower, and loaded with chains and iron fetters on his legs, he remained there until the last and triumphant day dawned. This day, the 1st of December, 1581, added fresh joy to his overflowing cup of gladness. Having already devoted himself to the Society of Jesus, he was now to become the fellow martyr of Father Edmund Campian. On their meeting, before being dragged to the place of execution, Father Campian affectionately embraced him as the companion of his glorious combat, incited him to the palm awaiting him, and to the joys of Heaven.

"Outside the prison walls," says Mr. Simpson, "there were various conjectures how the affair would end. Most men thought that the Duke of Anjou, the accepted suitor of Queen Elizabeth, who was then at Court, and whom she did not wish to disgust by this exhibition of fury against the ministers of his own religion, would intercede, and that the prisoners' lives would be spared; others, with more knowledge of the man, said that the Duke was occupied with quite different affairs." [Various arguments *pro* and *con.* are then detailed, ending in the determination to carry out the sentence upon Father Campian and his companions.] "When the Council had settled upon the execution, there still remained the question of time. Some were for putting it off until the Duke had gone away, for fear

of the offence the French King might take at the manifest insult to his brother; others thought just the contrary, and that the execution would afford a public profession that the marriage would bring in no change of the religious policy of the Government. Besides, they said, any delay will give time for the most influential of the English nobles and gentry, and for the foreign Courts, to intercede for the lives of the prisoners, and the Queen would never resist their united prayers. Moreover, it was an excellent occasion of striking terror into the seditious Catholics, who fancied themselves secure under the protection either of Spain or of France. Such were the reasons alleged: the secret reason was that all the Puritanical part of the Council, together with Sir C. Hatton, who himself aspired to Duke Anjou's place, wished to put an insult upon the French Duke, and by some means or other to stop the marriage for which they pretended to be so anxious. Burghley therefore again carried the Council with him when he fixed on the following Saturday, the 25th of November, for the execution of Father Campion. In order to make the lesson more complete, he selected two other victims from the condemned priests: Sherwin, to represent the English Seminary at Rheims, and Briant, to represent the English College, Rome. . . .

"The uncertainty of the Council was once more exhibited in deferring the execution till the next Wednesday. When this decision was announced to the prisoners they congratulated each other that they were to die on the vigil of the feast of St. Andrew the Apostle, and they comforted one another with the Apostle's salutation to his Cross—*O bone crux!* When this came to the ears of the Council, they once more changed the day, and fixed Friday, the 1st of December, for the execution. . . .

"In the meantime, the Catholics had been busy with the Duke of Anjou, imploring him to use his influence with the Queen to stay the execution of the sentence. He willingly promised everything, and is supposed to have made some attempts at performance. When the day was at last fixed the Catholics again besieged his doors. He was just about to begin a game at tennis. His confessor, a French abbé, came out to speak with the petitioners. They exposed their case: the martyrs would only suffer in body, but the Duke's fame and honour would be lost if he permitted this foul tragedy to proceed. The abbé went to the Duke, and delivered his message. The Duke stood hesitating, like a man just

awakened from a deep sleep, stroking his face with his left hand. After a while he raised his right hand with the racket in it, and said to his companion, 'Play!' That was all the answer the petitioners could get from him.[28]

"In the splash and mud of a rainy December morning Father Campion was led forth from his cell, clad in the same gown of Irish frieze which he had worn at his trial, and was taken to the Coldharbour tower, where he found Mr. Sherwin and Father Briant waiting for him. Here they had some respite for spiritual conversation; for Hopton, wishing to throw as much ridicule and disgrace upon Father Campion as was possible, caused search to be made for the buff jerkin which had been objected to Campion at his trial as a military and highly unbecoming disguise, and which was stowed away somewhere in the Tower. Much time was spent in the fruitless search, and the morning was wearing away, when Hopton determined that he should go as he was, so the three were brought out to be tied on the hurdles. Outside the Tower a vast crowd was already collected. Father Campion, nothing daunted, looked cheerfully around and saluted them: 'God save you all, gentlemen! God bless you, and make you all good Catholics!' Then he knelt down and prayed with his face to the east, concluding with the words, 'In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum.' There were two hurdles in waiting, each fastened to two horses. On one Father Briant and Mr. Sherwin were stretched upon their backs and fast bound. As they were dragged through the gutters and mud each hurdle was followed by a rabble of ministers and fanatics, vexing their last moments by persuading them to apostacy. Charke, as a conqueror,[29] followed Campion 'with big looks, stern countenance, proud words, and merciless behaviour; fierce and violent upon God's saints in death and torments, and pompous in gait and speech unto the people for gathering or retaining some credit to his cause.' But even Charke's vigour was not proof against the mud and the rain and the pace of the horses. There were intervals during which sundry Catholics spoke to Campion of matters of conscience, and received comfort. One gentleman, like Veronica in the *Via dolorosa* of our Lord, either for pity or affection, most cour-

[28] Bombinus, S.J., *Vita et Martyr. Edm. Campiani*, quoted by Mr Simpson, pp. 315, seq.

[29] Parson's *Defence of the Censure*, p. 2, quoted by Mr. Simpson, as above.

teously wiped his face, all spattered with mire and dirt, as he was drawn most miserably through thick and thin; 'for which charity,' says the priest who saw it done,[30] 'or haply some sudden moved affection, God reward and bless him!'

"The procession took the usual route by Cheapside and Holborn. A crowd of men followed it, and women stood at their doors to see it pass. . . . A little farther, and the hurdles were dragged under the arch of Newgate, which crossed the street where the prison now stands. In a niche over the gateway stood an image of the Blessed Virgin, yet untouched with the axes and hammers of iconoclasts. Father Campion (and we may suppose the other martyrs also), as he passed beneath, with a great effort raised himself upon his hurdle and saluted the Queen of Heaven, whom he so soon hoped to see. The Reverend Christopher Issam, a priest who saw the martyrs on their way, always declared that they had a smile on their faces, and as they drew near Tyburn actually laughed. There was a cry raised among the people, 'But they laugh; they don't care for death.'[31]

"There was throng on Tower-hill; there was throng through all the streets; but the throng at the place of execution at Tyburn exceeded all that any one could remember.[32] They had been gathering all the morning, in spite of the rain and wind. Now, when the hurdles were driven up, the clouds divided, and the sun shone out brightly. There were present many good Catholic gentlemen desirous to be eye-witnesses of anything notable in the speech, demeanour, and passage of those rare patterns of piety, virtue, and innocency. Amongst them was a Catholic priest, who pressed in to observe and mark that bloody spectacle, with mind upon occasion to relate sincerely and truly (to his power) this tragedy, with such accidents as should happen in the manner, course, and end thereof. He got up very near to the gallows, hard by Sir Francis Knowles, Lord Howard, Sir Henry Lee, and other gentlemen who were officially present." . . .

"After the speeches (constantly interrupted) of Father Campion and Mr. Sherwin and their executioners it was Father Briant's turn, who was ordered up into the cart.

[30] Probably the eye-witness who wrote the narrative of his death, published in 1582, and quoted by Bishop Challoner.

[31] Bombinus, MS. additions to p. 289, quoted by Simpson, as above.

[32] The reader is referred to *Records*, vol. ii. p. 170, for a foot note on the subject of Tyburn, the Coliseum of London, with its "triple tree," in those and more modern scenes of martyrdom.

"Being there prepared for death," says the same eye-witness, "he began first to declare his being brought up in the Catholic faith and religion, and his having been a student of Oxford; upon which word he was cut short by one, saying, 'What have we to do with Oxford? Come to the purpose, and confess thy treason;' whereupon he answered with great animation, 'I am not guilty of any such thing, nor am I deserving of this kind of death. I was never at Rome nor at Rheims at that time when Dr. Saunders came into Ireland' (the time of the pretended conspiracy). To this end he spoke and protested, as he would answer before God.

"He spoke not much, but being urged more than the other two to speak what he thought of the Bull of Pope Pius V., he said he did believe of it as all Catholics did, and the Catholic faith doth.[33] And hereupon professing himself to die a true Catholic, he did so with an expression of such profound joy, and with his naturally innocent and angelic face, that he attracted the eyes and hearts of all upon himself, and confessed aloud that the cause of his exuberant joy was that God had been pleased to choose him to give his life in defence of the Catholic faith, and that this joy was wonderfully increased because he died with Edmund Campion, who professed the same faith with him, and whom he revered with all his heart. And indeed it was only his intimacy with the Fathers Campion and Parsons, and his refusal, amidst the most exquisite tortures, to reveal anything about them, that was the real cause of his death.[34] Then as he was saying the Psalm, *Miserere mei Deus*, the cart was withdrawn, and he was left suspended with more pain by the negligence of the hangman than either of the others; who, after his beheading, being dismembered and his heart and bowels burned, to the great amazement of some, being laid upon the block, his stomach downwards, lifted up his whole body then remaining from the ground, and stood erect upon his feet. This," says the same eye-witness, "I add upon the report of others, not from my own sight."

Hilarion de Cosse states that some authors, and amongst them Florimundus Remundus, relate the above incident.

Father Tanner, in his *Vita et mors Jesuitarum*, &c.,[35] says, regarding the negligence of the hangman, and the subsequent extraordinary retention of life by the blessed martyr, that the

[33] Bishop Challoner, as above.
[34] Challoner and Simpson, as above. [35] P. 17.

pain of his death was prolonged by the neglect of the executioner, who had not properly adjusted the rope to the Father's throat, so that, slipping from its place, it suspended him for some time by the chin alone; hence, when cut down he was still living, and made great efforts to raise himself upon his feet; he was nevertheless violently thrown down by the officers, disembowelled and quartered, while yet alive and conscious. He then confirms the account of the mangled body rising on its feet from a prostrate position, to the great astonishment of the bystanders.

Father Alexander Briant was but twenty-eight years of age when he suffered. The above-mentioned eye-witness gives his character in these brief words: "He was a man not unlearned; of a very sweet grace in preaching, and of an exceeding great zeal, patience, constancy, and humility."

The authors who have written upon Father Briant are—Sanderus de Schism. lib. iii. et Rishton. in diario quod addidit Sandero; Concertatio Ecclæ. in Angl. p. 72, et passim. pp. 209, 223, 266, 307, 407; Libellus de persecut. Anglicana impressus Rom. et Ingolst. 1582; Rob. Turnerus in Martyr. Campiani et Bombinus in ejus vita, capp. xxxii. liii. lv. lvii. lix.; Florimundus Remundus de ortu hæresum lib. vi. c. xii. n. 4, et cap. xiii. n. 4; Vita ejus Italicè impressa Neap. 1584 in lib. inscript. hist. Martyrii. 16 Sacerd. in Anglia; Didacus Yepes de Persecut. Anglicana lib. iv. cap. x., Hispanicè; Hieron. Possinus. Hist. persec. Anglicanæ, lib. iv. cap. xxxiv. Italicè; Andreas Philopater in responso ad edictum Reginæ, cap. iv. n. 281; Andreas Eudæmon Joannes in Apol. pro. Hen. Garneto, p. 164; Petrus Ribadeneira in centuria Martyrum S.J.; Catalog. eorumdem Martyr. impressus Cracov. et Tabula eorumdem Romæ. incisa. Menolog. (S.J.) MS.; Tabulæ pictæ Rom. Ang. Coll.; Petrus Oultremon in tabulis virorum illust. S.J. Gallicè; Nieremberg tom. i. virorum illust. S.J. Hispanicè; Ludovicus Granatensis in compendio introductionis ad Symbolum fidei lib. ii. cap. xxiii.; Tho. Bozius de signis Ecclæ. sig. xxvii. xliii. lvii.; Arnoldus Raystius de Hierogazophylacio a Belgico, p. 1609; Hilarion de Cosse, Hist. Cath. lib. iii. in Edm. Campion, Gallicè; Bartoli, S.J. Inghilterra; More, S.J. Hist. Prov. Angliæ; Tanner, S.J., Vita et mors Jesuitarum, pro fide interfectorum; Nadasi, S.J., Annus dierum memorabilium; Wood, Athen. Oxon. (Hist. Script. Oxonii.) vol. p. 210.

FATHER ROBERT JONES,

alias HOLLAND, DRAPER, and ANGELINUS.

FATHER JONES is said by some to have been a native of Shropshire. The manuscript "Relation," of which an extract is given above,[1] calls his native place Chirk, in Denbighshire. He was born in the year 1564, and on November 6, 1582, was admitted an alumnus of the English College, Rome, for his higher studies, at the age of eighteen, having made his earlier course likewise under the Society.[2] He entered the Society in Rome, and after his noviceship completed his higher course of studies there. Father More[3] describes him as "a man addicted rather to the contemplative life of Mary than the active life of Martha." We hear of him in England as early as 1595. Having been appointed to succeed Father Holtby as Superior of the English Mission in 1609, he confided the chief direction of affairs to Father Richard Blount as his administrator. He wrote a circular letter to his brethren in England, which gives evidence of great experience in spiritual matters; a copy of it is given in full by Father More. He also wrote a letter to the Very Reverend Father General Aquaviva, dated London, November 3, 1613, under the assumed name of "Robertus Hilarius," in which, after describing the difficulties and miseries of this country, he recommends that none be appointed to the English Mission except men who are solid, discreet, mortified, humble, and prepared to endure labour and privations.[4]

Father Jones appears to have laboured more especially in Herefordshire, and in 1610 we trace him at Leominster, the scene of the martyrdom of the Reverend Roger Cadwallador,

[1] P. 333.

[2] The Diary of the English College states—"1582. Robert Jones, of the diocese of St. Asaph, æt. 18, was admitted among the alumni November 6, 1582. Before taking the college oath he entered the Order of the Jesuits, in the month of July, 1583, and is now [1595] in England." We find him mentioned in the second Douay Diary, edited by the Fathers of the Oratory (*Records of the English Catholics*, p. 180). "August 20, 1581. Arrived from England three young men, viz., Richard Edwardes, Francis Edwardes, Robert Jones, and William Cox, a boy." "September 3, 1582. Sent to the English Seminary, Rome, seven, viz. (among others), Robert Jones."

[3] *Hist. Prov. Angl.*

[4] This letter will be found further on.

on August 27, 1610. Of that event Father Jones wrote a very interesting narrative.[5]

Father Jones' name occurs in the following extract from the State Papers in the Public Record Office.

Dom. James I. vol. xiii. n. 52 A, 1603–8. Before Justice Yelverton and Justice Williams. "Counties of Oxford, Berks, Gloucester, Monmouth, Hereford, Worcester, Salop, Stafford. Recusants indicted . . . 165."

. . . It is likewise informed that in a place called Darren, in the confines of the Counties of Hereford and Monmouth, Masse is weekly said by two Jesuits, viz., Jones and Powell, with great resort unto them of persons of good qualityes.

One William Howell Thomas, a recusant, was buried on a Sunday in the daytime in the church yard of Carellion,[6] in Monmouthshire, being brought thither by many recusants carrying wax candles burning before the corpse, and no minister was present at the same burial. Hereupon one Morgan ap John, having some speeches with one Sander and William Jones, a recusant, touchinge that burial, he, the sayd Sander, said: We shall have Masse, and that very shortlye, or else they shall see many bloody swords. And this is testified and affirmed by the said Morgan ap Jones.

In a report from the High Sheriff of Herefordshire to the Privy Council in 1605 Father Jones' name frequently occurs.[7] He is called the "Firebrand of all." In 1603 we find his name mentioned in a document in the Public Record Office.

Dom. James I. vol. vii. n. 50, a list of "The names of the Jesuits in England, with the chief places of their abode."

"Mr. Jones with Mr. Lacon and Mr. Draycott of Painsley in Shropshire."

This paper is endorsed by Cecil, "A note of the Jesuits that lurk in England."

Besides various aliases already given, Father Jones also went by the name of Hilarius or Hay; he appears in the Apostate Gee's Lists, in one of which he is called "Huy."[8] He is named also in the report of Adam Kinge,[9] a government

[5] See the translation from an Italian copy in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Westminster, also given further on.

[6] Caer-leon (Castra Legionis) on Uske, one of the three ancient British Sees whose Bishops were present at the Council of Arles, A.D. 314. The Bishops were, Eborius of York, Restitutus of London, and Adelphius of Colonia Londonia (? Legionia) or Caer-leon. Afterwards, in the fifth century, St. Dubricius was made Bishop of Caer-leon by St. Germanus, who came over from Gaul to crush the Pelagian heresy in Britain.

[7] See next page.

[8] See *Records*, vol. i. Appendix.

[9] State Papers, *Dom. James I.* vol. lxi. n. 13, 1611 [?].

spy. "Memorandum of such Jesuites, seminaries, and friars I knew in Roome and about Roome at my first abode in Roome, from Ann. Dom. 1589 untill 1595." Among others, "Father Jones, a Welshman, and reader of the logic lecture in the Roman College. Jesuit."

The following report of the High Sheriff of Herefordshire is referred to on the previous page. State Papers, *Dom. James I.* vol. xiv. n. 40, 1605. Endorsed, "A relacon of the Jesuites' proceedings." "Herefordshire and thereaboute."

Hee saith that except good order be taken in tyme the recusants by the Jesuites persuasions will take up armes against the Kinge. Jones, *alias* Holland, Lister, *alias* Butler, and Oldcorne, *alias* Hall, are the chief that labour with the people in those parts to that effect. There are other persons likewise that are the Jesuites' instruments, and priests by their calling, who at the Jesuites' assignment do very much hurt that waye. Their names are Parry and Williams, James Morreys *alias* Jones, Eton *alias* North, Davis, and divers others.

All these persons have nothing in their mouths but "the sworde," "the sworde," and warres. They say there is now no further hope for Catholics; being leapt out of the frying pan into the fier, nor other course to be taken for them but only by force to free themselves. And the rather to move the people they bragg much that they shall have assistance from the Kings of France and Spaine. In respect of which persuasion many Catholics in Wales are in great fear, and do wish the Jesuites with all their adherents out of the land.

The lay gentlemen that run this course with the Jesuites are as followeth. Mr. Abington, the elder, and Mr. A. the younger, with whom Lister and Oldcorne the Jesuites do remaine.

Mr. Lacon, the father, and Sir Thomas Lacon, his sonne, with whom Jones the Jesuite for the most parte abideth.

Mr. Morgan, the younger, of Lanternham, with whom the said Jones the Jesuite is very often, sometimes for a moneth together.

Mr. William Griffiths, of the Coombe, within two miles of Monmouth, with whom Richard Griffiths, *alias* Flemming, *alias* Watson, a Jesuite, remaineth. Thither also repaireth very often Morreys, *als.* Jones.[10]

Dr. Griffiths, a physician, is a man that goeth much abroad to gentlemen's howses.

Ambrose Griffith, a lawyer, dwelling in Hereford, though hee goeth to the church, yet hee runneth the Jesuite's courses most violentlye.

Mr. Michael Vaughan, of Hereford, is also of that crew, and

Mr. Elie, a prisoner there, and an old priest, is a setter forward of their desperate designs with all his might, having such liberty as that he rideth up and down the country as he listes.[11]

[10] The ancient residence of the College of St. Francis Xavier was at Coomb (or Come) in this parish.

[11] The Rev. W. Ely, an old Marian Priest, long at Hereford. See Hereford.

Mr. Richard Clarke, and Edward Clarke, his brother, both Wellington, four miles from Hereford, with whom remaine Paul Spence, *als.* Peters, an old priest, as hott for the Jesuites as any.

Mr. Thomas Bridge, of Suggers [Sugeras], three miles from Hereford, who though he goeth sometimes to the church, yet is he Jesuite in high degree. His wife is a recusant, and the said Paul Spence the priest doth often resort to his howse.

Mr. Edward Haward and Mr. Gregory Haward, of Hereford, are most hott for the Jesuites, especially Gregory; these two resort altogether to Wellington aforesaide, and confer much with the said Mr. Ely.

Mr. Poynes [Pointz], dwelling in the Forest of Dean, and the brother of Sir John Poynes, who keepeth in his house two Jesuite priests, and is himself altogether Jesuited.

Mr. George Kemble, of Londgrove, who hath with him one Stamp, a Jesuite priest.

Mr. Bonner, of Llanrothell, to whose howse the said Stampe resorteth much. Hee is himself most stiffly Jesuited.

Dr. Harly, a civil lawyer, remaining in Hereford, is exceedingly hott for the Jesuites. When the Queen was dead, North the priest came out of Monmouthshire in all haste into Herefordshire, signifying that the Catholics were upp in armes there, and styrred as earnestly as he could the Cath[s] of Herefordshire to do the like. And Lister the Jesuit with his companions were as busy in Worcestershire, telling them that the Catholics in Herefordshire were in armes.

And whereas the said Mr. Morgan, the younger, was busy about armour presently after the Queen's death, though the matter be made up, yet it is thought, and so muttered, that his meaning was to have indeed taken up armes. And Jones, the Jesuit, the firebrand of all, was then in his company.

We subjoin three interesting letters from Father Jones; the first two were written before he was appointed Superior of the English Mission, and the last, addressed to Cardinal Bellarmine, was written soon after his appointment.

Among the heaviest afflictions to good Catholics in those times was a sort of semi-conformity which led many Catholics, driven to desperation by the cruelty of their persecutors, to attend Protestant churches while sermons were preached, though they would not otherwise join in the service. This practice was strenuously opposed by the Jesuits as fatal to religion, and the following letters refer to it.

Father Robert Jones, to Father Robert Parsons (as Sig. Ingelberte, Venice). Endorsed, "Against the Oath Takers."[12]

October 2, 1606.

Pax Christi.

Good Sir,—I received yours of the 8th of July, and another from Sign. Claude [F. General] of the same date, in answer of both

[12] Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vol. iii. n. 66.

mine, whereat I was right glad, not only because mine came safely to your hands, but also in seeing and considering God's sweet providence in ordering and disposing of our affairs here according to my heart's desire, making no doubt but that God Almighty will be greatly glorified thereby; so that concerning our private and domestical affairs I have nothing to say at this present, but that we expect joyful and good events concerning the estate of the common cause and Catholics in general, and consequently concerning ourselves in that respect. It is scarce credible what difficulty we have to keep up and underprop poor afflicted souls from ruin, and falling into errors and disorders, and all by reason of these late cruel laws. But amongst all our troubles and crosses for Christ, the most bitter and intolerable, and most dangerous, is the doctrine of Thomas Wright, who alloweth and forcibly persuadeth men to go to the church, there forsooth, not to hear service, but to hear sermons, and so seemeth to found a new sect, which may be called the sect of "Sermontinants," or "Sermonists," and because sermons are not commonly but at service-time, it cometh to pass that infinite multitudes run to service and sermons, liking well of this doctrine, tending to liberty and terrene humours. He groundeth his opinion upon Azor, who doubtless giveth him great scope and occasion to work this new Tower of Babylon. He vaunteth and braggeth that he will defend it before the Pope, and would fain be summoned to that bar to show what he can say for himself, and in my simple opinion it were very fit that either he were called to that bar to answer for many doctrinal points that may be laid to his charge, and sound not well, or that some censure or forcible remedy should be sent here to stop the creeping of such dangerous cankers. And truly for this new fangle of going to church to hear sermons, the honour of God (in my opinion) and the good of souls, and the credit of our cause formerly defended, should move our Superiors to seek some remedy, and to send some authentical declaration in this matter, and the like of that nature, for want thereof, as I have heard with my own ears, many Catholics will not stick to say that there is no more care had of them *there with you* for directions in such *weighty matters* than of dogs. Which, although it be rashly spoken, yet it argueth that some directions and declarations were necessary in those points. And to speak nothing of the particular grounds for the which grave and learned divines have judged it unlawful to go to church and sermons here in England, which may be seen at large in divers authors; yet I cannot chose but by your means bring our friends there with you in remembrance how dishonourable it was to our cause, and what great advantage to our adversaries to see by a private man's foolish idle invention so firm and undoubted position infringed, that long before was authorized by declaration of so many learned Fathers in the Council of Trent, confirmed by so many pious and learned books, and sealed with so many good Catholics' blood, who if they had gone to church, even at their death, they had saved life, lands, and goods; and so by this new fangle, their martyrdom shall be called in question, and consequently the glory of our English Church obscured and defaced, which yet was held in admiration of all other Christian countries for the beauty and perfection thereof. Pardon me, good sir, if I am somewhat vehement in this behalf, for truly I conceived no otherwise of it than I write, and that is as of a great important point that concerns greatly the glory of God; and to the same

effect, when some fit remedy shall have been applied to Thomas Wright, it were necessary that some reformation or declaration were had of Azor's doctrine, upon which this new building is grounded; and truly I cannot see but that Azor's reasons about civil obedience, and redeeming unjust relaxation, may take place in Paganism and Turkism, although the means be never so unlawful, and so if Dioclesian would have bidden holy Pope Marcellinus to offer incense to the idol only for civil obedience, that external act if Marcellinus had abhorred it in his heart as an act of religion, and would have made protestation thereof, should seem lawful by Azor's reason, which yet no man will say, as I think. And as for Mr. Wright's particular reasons about going to church, I doubt not but that my good father-in-law will send you. This is all I have to say at this time, but that I cannot omit to commend our afflictions and woes to your cares, prayers, and holy sacrifices, and my humble duty to Sign. Claudius; and lastly, my commendations in the best manner to good Father Pietro Antonio Spinelli, P. Mutius Vitelleschi, P. Paul Valle, P. Nicolo Boldelli, P. Thomas Magucii, and all good friends, to whose prayers and sacrifices I commend myself this 2 of October, 1606.

Your assured poor friend,

ROB. ANGELINUS.

Same vol. iii. n. 68. Father Jones (as Rob. Draper) to Father Richard Blount (*alias* Randall). Address, "To my assured friend Mr. Richard Mildmay [Blount], in Fleet Street, give these."

Oct. 20, 1606.

Good Sir,—I have written here before both to my grandfather [Father Robert Parsons] and to yourself about the same point, that now also I must bring you to remembrance of, because I have not heard from you whether you satisfied my request in it. That which I requested was that whereas our Brother James, the Scotishman of Tower Hill, at my being at London, told me that John Grisold was also dead by torture, as well as Little John, whereof I certified Mark [F. Gen.] in my letter, and afterwards that proved otherwise, I entreated my grandfather to signify so much to Mark, and the cause of mistaking, for fear that should be printed by Mark, and so breed great discredit. My request now is to know what is done in it, and if it be not done, that it may be prevented with all speed by sending to Mark, and that you will signify to Mark the mistaking of our Scottish brother, for fear of the said inconvenience; for it is very like that Mark will have something in print about that tragedy, and truly it is a matter of great importance, and therefore I pray you have special care of it, for it concerns the credit of the whole matter whereof I have written to Mark at that time. Wright's also sermonizing doctrine and going to church should be looked into and remedied by Paul [the Pope], for truly it beginneth to breed infinite scandals, for first it maketh many weak simple consciences to stagger in faith in many points, by reason of this only point which was so constantly held of all, and yet called in question; second, the declaration of the Fathers of the Council of Trent about that matter is infringed, and with no less scandal seeing the most part of the common people do not distinguish the declaration of those R. Fathers, and the definition

of the whole Council, and so indirectly infringe the authority of the Church itself with those that are simple. And truly the heretics do insult and brag of it already, not only in respect of the Council of Trent, but in respect of the Pope himself, saying that he hath dispensed with going to church, for refusal whereof he had so many martyrs before, and so maketh martyrs and points of faith as pleaseth himself. Whereby you may see what advantage this revived doctrine of the apostate Bell giveth to the enemies of God's Church. Nay, besides, of my own knowledge and hearing, many poor simple Catholics have asked me whether the Pope hath dispensed with it, and many of them are told that he hath dispensed with it. And so many fall *Væ illi per quem scandalum istud venit.* And if all this will not serve the turn, as you know, and more wicked laws are like to be made by the occasion of this new fangle, and Wright himself giveth out that had it not been for fear of new laws in the next Session of Parliament he had printed a book on this matter, and this I heard of one that heard it from his own mouth, and if new laws be made they that swallow going to church will swallow bigger morsels, as already some that are Wright's followers have swallowed the supremacy without scruple; and although these moral reasons are not those that we should rely upon about going to church, but true rules of divinity, and the practice of God's Church that many learned men have set down in respect of our case in England, yet it may be that these and such like moral reasons in *Curia Romana* may take place if they were notified to Mark and to Paul; and I pray you tell this much to my grandfather from me, to whom I have written a word or two of this matter, and therefore at this time I will not multiply letters. Wright maketh profession to discredit of Hald[13] (*sic*) where he heareth his name, and the Society covertly and indirectly. I pray you get me a copy of a letter of his that he hath written to Father Whalley [Garnett], wherein he confessed and protested that what goodness he had any way forth, he had it from the Society, and I pray you let this letter be found out, or at the least let me have the substance of it that may be justified by them that saw the letter, for it may be that I shall have occasion to do great good with it. There should also some consideration be had of Azor's doctrine that now sounds in every man's mouth about going to church. If the Parliament hold I will see you, God willing, about Advent. In the mean time I commend myself, my actions, and all my good friends to *amicorum amicissimo* . . . this 20th of October. Comfort us with some good news as your custom is. Sweet Jesus keep you and protect you.

Your unfeigned friend,

ROB. DRAPER.

Letter of Father Jones to his Eminence Cardinal Robert Bellarmine (from the Latin).[14]

London, December 9, 1612.

Many reasons compel me at length, illustrious Cardinal, to address you, notwithstanding the important affairs of religion which engross your attention.

[13] Father Hall (Oldcorne).

[14] Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vol. iii. n. 122.

First of all, lest I should seem to be stained with the blot of ingratitude towards you, to whom I ever remember to have been most indebted in so many ways; and very especially at the commencement, and through the course of that life in religion which by God's will has been my lot.

But beyond this especial obligation towards you, the deepest expression of gratitude both in my own name and that of all my religious brethren is justly due to you, who have so often administered timely succour to us in the difficult struggle wherein we are engaged. Indeed if this most welcome aid has hitherto never failed in our necessities, much more is it needed, and we must entreat it, now that the iniquities of the Amorrheans are so portentiously increased and multiplied, and are not yet even filled up. Such new and unwonted tribulations do they employ with the utmost severity to afflict those who walk worthy of God, that they are forced to have recourse to the champions of the Catholic faith, and to cry out with the Apostle: If there is any consolation in Christ, any comfort of charity, any fellowship of the spirit, any bowels of commiseration in them (or rather in them in whom these are never wanting), that now when the plots of the wicked are coming to a head, they may solace by their help, advice, and other offices of Christian kindness, the faithful who are placed in the midst of so great difficulties.

These are the chief annoyances which the true worshippers of God have to bear at the present time:

(1) It is no slight affliction to all good men that the impious efforts and deceits, the snares laid against our ancestral and apostolic faith are having such success among foreigners. Hence, credence is given to the barefaced imposture, and most abandoned hirelings of the heretics, who have assumed the name of Catholics to impugn the truth of the Catholic cause, and to dim the glory of those who are warring the warfare of justice. Many therefore will not believe these tempests in England, the terrors of the prisons, the grievousness of the fines, the profanation of holy things, the plunder of the goods, the contempt for St. Peter's Chair, the spurning of the means of eternal salvation, the ruin of all holiness, the shedding of innocent blood, the most iniquitous slaughter of venerable priests. Men deem that this inhuman and utterly Vandal persecution is rekindled, and has attained its present severity, not on grounds of religion but of rebellion; though it is evidently certain that these woes result from, and are endured for no treason, but for the defence of the cause of Christ. Others, though they do not deny that the Babylonian furnace for the destruction of Catholics has been heated sevenfold (a thing plain to be seen), still imagine it is not done by the will of the King, but at the instigation of his Council and of other magistrates; and hence the powerful, and those in high places, deluded by these liars, are brought to hope that the King will soon come to wiser measures. God in His goodness grant that this hope may neither deceive nor confound them.

Certainly if we regard the mercies of our God, Who, as the Prophet says, is kind and merciful, patient and of much pity, and *præstabilis super malitia*, we must not despair about his Highness our King James. His Catholic subjects whom he so straitens and afflicts, with tears and prayers ever implore their most merciful Lord that the King may choose the path of truth, and may not forfeit the crown of heavenly vocation.

But if we weigh those necessary conditions, which, next to a Divine vocation and impulse are needed to the conversion of adults, it is astonishing how the hope of so desirable a result has arisen, since it is clear that facts regarding any necessary preparations show the contrary, and destroy any hope of that great benefit. What is more, they clearly indicate that it is not the senators who have urged on the Prince of the senate (as the political emissaries suggest), but the King himself who castigates the senators, presidents, judges, and other time-servers ; urging them not to leave anything undone which can destroy the true faith and set up the heresy of Calvin. This being so, it is easy to see that these reports about the royal clemency have no real foundation, but are spread abroad by our enemies to the very great harm of this mission. For there are some (I am still speaking of foreigners), who used to assist the persecuted English, but who now, deceived by these falsehoods, have ceased to show their Christian charity in word or deed, lest, as they say, the conversion of the King be delayed, though no preparatory tendency to it has ever been discovered. So great a monarch (they allege) is not to be angered, as though his power were formidable ; whereas, by the just judgment of God, as is well known, he is poor, wretched, miserable, timid, cowardly, and a subject of fear to none but his down-trodden plundered and despoiled subjects. Far be it from them, notwithstanding how stricken and outwearied soever they may be, either to throw aside patience, or to refuse to obey their sovereign in civil matters, when it is lawful, without offence of God.

But most true is that saying of the Saviour, that "the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light," for by the deceits of these children [of this world] who are raging here, it comes to pass, that, because their iniquity abounds, the charity of many abroad grows cold, who are trembling with fear when there is no fear. But men must beware lest they put too much trust in princes so alien, lest while they try to curry human favour, they despise the Divine law of charity. A certain tried, learned, and Catholic old man, while treating with me on these and the like topics, urged by a sudden, and I think a not blameworthy warmth, broke out into these words : "Where, O Lord, are Thy ancient mercies? Where is now to be found that pious zeal which Louis the King of France showed at the single death of Blessed Thomas the Archbishop of Canterbury?" And with these words he drew from his breast a paper, copied with his own hands from the Chronicles of England against Henry II. the murderer of St. Thomas of Canterbury. The paper was as follows : "To our Lord and Father His Holiness Alexander, by the grace of God Sovereign Pontiff, Louis, King of the Franks, health and due reverence. The son who dishonours his mother abandons the natural law of duty ; and he forgets the goodness of his Creator, who is not saddened by the degradation of the Holy See. But we have special motives for sorrow, and this new and unheard-of savageness excites a grief not felt before, when wickedness arises to wreak itself upon the holy one of God, plunges its sword into the apple of Christ's eye, and slays cruelly and basely the light of the Church of Canterbury. Let some special justice arise, let the sword be unsheathed to revenge the Martyr of Canterbury, for his blood cries out to the whole Church," &c.

I do not quote this with the design of intimating what is to be done, but to show the heroism and unshaken courage of the faithful

even though they are burning in the flames of persecution. But besides these evils which come from without, there are many distresses arising at home.

The first, and no inconsiderable one, is the danger from false brethren, of whom there is an immense multitude, and not lay-men only but even priests. These men, after having openly apostatized, live by robbery, a conduct which is condoned to them, if only their plunder is taken from Catholics. Others there are, still more dangerous, who desire to be reputed among the household of the faith. Some of them, to keep up appearances, are confined in gaol, but manifest their treachery by their deeds. For privately they are in close correspondence with the enemies of the faith, and the pseudo-bishops; they can visit them and their own acquaintances at will; they betray the houses, the means, the projects, every secret of the good. Some of these masqueraders are chosen to go round to the various Courts of Christian princes, nay even—as hath been lately discovered—they are designed for the sacred citadel of the Roman faith. Others are told off to raise up and to foment discord between the Catholic clergy and people. Others again are deputed to break down the solid and received truth, and lessen the authority of the Apostolic See by their publications. Of these last is the author of the work against Cardinal Bellarmine published under the name of Witherington? Which was not written by Witherington, but another masked person, with his approval, and backed up by the very Superintendent[15] of Canterbury himself. Such grounds for exultation has that work given heretics, that it has forced every Papist, so they say, to be silent.

Another evil, too, exists here, and is a serious impediment to God's glory and the salvation of souls; the great carelessness of some to whom the chief charge of the Lord's flock is committed, who never lay before the faithful the Apostolic precepts about the profane oath, and other like regulations for the preservation of the purity of the faith and the reform of morals; but pass them over with a diplomatic silence. Hence it is that so many come to take the unlawful oath, numbers go to the churches of the malignant, and swallow the Calvinist bread. But, notwithstanding the negligence of these leaders in what appertains to God's service, it can scarcely be believed how anxious they are about mitres and dignities and other like perferments; a thing which savours of the corruption of the world, and greatly displeases all rightly thinking Catholics. The contentious spirit evinced in their conduct causes these men to be well looked upon by the sectaries, in comparison of all those Regulars and Seculars who, by carrying out their Superiors' orders, preserve ecclesiastical discipline and are therefore pursued by their adversaries with the greatest hate. These last ought to feel the words of our Saviour to be of the greatest comfort: "If the world hate you, know that it has first hated Me."

I will conclude this lengthy recital of our miseries with the death of our Prince Henry. I know not whether it be an event of good or of ill. Every one knows that he was most hostile to Catholics, and shortly before his death he said like another Roboam, and in the presence of a number of people, that his father had scourged as with whips, but that he would scourge as with scorpions. And he added: "The Pope and Bellarmine have greatly insulted my father; but if ever I wield the sceptre, then,

[15] Pseudo-Archbishop.

with the aid of my brother (the Palatine of the Rhine, who is going to marry his sister), I shall revenge myself upon them, not with the pen but with the sword." The Almighty, however, a few days after, closed the mouth of him who spoke impiously, and who was proudly sounding his trumpet before victory; though, had he lived, there was not much to fear from an effeminate and unwarlike tyro. His surviving brother, a boy of twelve, is not thought likely to live long, for he is very feeble, delicate, and almost consumptive. It is horrible for a Christian to know, and for Christian ears to hear, what is daily spread about in libels concerning the King, the Queen, their children and their intimate friends; weighed together with the sudden death of the Prince, they presage in the minds of the thoughtful some most severe judgment of God on this kingdom.

Behold, illustrious Cardinal, how deformed is the face of things in England. Though I am aware that it is perfectly well known to His Holiness Pope Paul and to yourself, still with the plea of these new events, I thought I might put them before you again; that this perpetuation of the memory of our trials might make you commend them, first to God and His saints who reign in Heaven, then to our friends, patrons, and protectors on earth, and especially to His Holiness Paul V., so good a friend to us.

Your Excellency's most attached servant in Christ,

ROBERT JONES.

When I had finished my letter, a certain learned and venerable priest, named John Almond, formerly a scholar of the English College at Rome, has been suddenly delivered up to judgment; most unjustly condemned for profession of the faith, ignominiously dragged to execution, most cruelly slaughtered by the executioner, all which he bore with the greatest constancy and courage.[16]

The following are extracts from the circular letter which, as Superior, Father Jones wrote in 1612 to his brethren in England:

This is now the third year of my bearing the burden of an office far beyond my strength. I therefore deem it not foreign to the duties of that office that I should endeavour at length to make some amends for my neglect in fulfilling it, as far as I am able. Pondering the best means of doing this, it seemed to me most opportune, from the experience I have had in this harvest, to set before you again some religious maxims of our Institute, and pious admonitions of Superiors; that they may be more zealously followed and carefully observed both by myself and my fellow-soldiers under the sacred standard. I am more bent on carrying out this resolution, from seeing our daily increasing numbers dispersed and separated from each other by long tracts of country, while the intensity of the persecution is also revived and increases. Hence (alas) we are now cut off, by the calamity of the times, from that frequent access to Superiors, aad those customary exhortations and conferences by which Superiors and subjects in former times frequently proved a mutual aid to one another. During the present storm,

[16] The Rev. John Almond, *alias* Latherne and Molyneux, suffered at Tyburn December 5, 1612, aged forty-five. See his life in Challoner's *Memoirs*.

we cannot do what heretofore the fewness of our labourers permitted, and the efforts of the enemy did not so greatly retard. For, although by the great care for us of our very Reverend Father General, Spiritual Fathers are appointed here and there, according to convenience of place, and no one is denied the necessary private intercourse with the Superior; yet, since by the present disturbed condition of things, surrounded as we are by dangers, we are reduced to great straits, and deprived of many supports, it is most necessary that each one should watch over himself with that degree of anxiety and vigilance which becomes an experienced censor of his own duties, and a just judge of his own actions before God. For thus with his mental vision purified, he will more readily address himself to the course he has begun; more aptly provide himself for the discharge of his duties, and more earnestly yearn after the gaining of the highest rewards. But that this most desirable scrutiny of our ministrations may be rightly performed, it is necessary to lay down directions as to our mode of living. This, together with the observance of the rules of our Institute, and performance of the orders of Superiors, is so clearly understood amongst us, that it would be needless to confirm it by any reasons.

Therefore, that each one may enter upon the most approved method for himself, and ascertain the best course for his own proceeding, it will suffice that he studiously revolve in his mind and carefully examine the letters of exhortation of our Father General, written to us in the time of my predecessor in office; for, seeing that they have a special reference to the good of this mission, and most aptly lay down rules for the avoiding of all dangers within and without, we may truly see in them, as in a mirror, both what we are, and what we ought to be. But that we may apply ourselves with the greater confidence, alacrity, and hope of good success to the right consideration and efficacious performance of what is immediately required to virtue, and is therefore laid down for us, I have subjoined the following few observations, which I have proved by experience.

First, as to what belongs to charity and zeal of souls, I have invariably found a certain special providence of God over those in whom He discovers that these virtues flourish with genuine fervour and a spirit undefiled, void of any mixture of earthly corruption or taint of worldly atmosphere. Many straitened and afflicted Catholics also are accustomed to ask for Fathers, and to maintain and nourish them in the midst of trials and the highest dangers. By the industry of these Fathers, or rather by means of alms bestowed beyond all hope, and most unexpectedly, and as though coming from Heaven itself, they are enabled to relieve the wants of many and to strengthen their confidence in God. This is especially the case with many who have the care of poor Catholics. These acting with a single view to the Divine work, and not seeking their own convenience, cut off all superfluities and are indifferent concerning food and raiment, to which thing the lovers of the world are slaves; and thus, according to the Apostle, become patterns to the flock everywhere and in all things, accommodating themselves to the necessity of those whose care is committed to them by Christ. By thus becoming all things to all men that they may save all, they accomplish the most Divine of all Divine works, which is (according to St. Dionysius), to co-operate with God in the salvation of souls. This was the work and this the

labour of the Son of God upon earth; this He now thirsts for reigning in Heaven. This is the merchandise to purchase which He stooped the height of His majesty to the abyss of this prison of our mortality. It is no wonder, then, that they who draw nearer to their General and Leader by the imitation of these most excellent virtues, should render themselves agreeable to all, please all, offend none and be favoured with many proofs of the Divine bounty not granted to others who are perhaps too careless herein and too remiss. But these Heavenly favours are often withheld from such as languidly follow in the footsteps of Christ and His saints: and so, being always discontented with their lot, they make themselves agreeable to few, a trouble to many, a burden to themselves and a source of difficulty to others. So, declining by degrees to exterior things, and seeking the trivial consolations of the present life (that can give no rest to the soul), it becomes an arduous task for Superiors to dispose of them. As regards the facilities whether of mode or place of carrying on the work, I do not deny that the stress of these times, the poverty of Catholics, the continual harass suffered by all the faithful, and the machinations of the adversary, are special hindrances to accomplishing the just desires of some even strenuous labourers in the Lord's vineyard. But this is to be attributed to the Divine goodness, to heap on them additional reward for their patience, and give them more assured and safe protection in their combats. For they are neither deterred by these adversities, nor so alarmed at the duties they have undertaken, as to sink into lethargy, but conforming themselves in all events to the Divine will they labour to gain interest upon the talents intrusted to them by God. Hence, they in whom this flame of Christian charity is kindled, possess the singular prerogative of conciliating the hearts of men, not only those of brethren dwelling in the same household, and friends, but of others too, and such as are adverse to the olive branch of peace; whose better feelings they so dexterously engage as to recall many to a holier course of life, and to a sincere friendship towards ourselves. To deem this worth the while, is in entire harmony with the spirit of our Society and Constitutions, which prescribe that all, especially those who are appointed to the mission, should gain the goodwill even of our enemies, as much as in them lies, and thus make them aid in their endeavours.

For, in the first place, we may thus open the way, as we are earnestly desirous, for gaining many to Christ; and next comes a proximate disposition to embrace that universal charity, which our holy Father St. Ignatius admonishes us is always to be preferred to charity towards an individual. Lastly, from this dilation of heart, and this general love for all who have been redeemed by the Blood of Christ, that mutual love and union among ourselves is consolidated, which is so highly enjoined upon us, and without which our Society can be neither governed nor preserved. To this purport listen to our Blessed Father Ignatius, saying: The main chain that binds the members to the head, is the love of God. For if by His Divine and supreme goodness the Superiors and subjects are closely united, common life amongst ourselves will be a very easy thing; it will be produced by this same love of God, which coming down from Himself, will extend to all our neighbours, and in an especial manner to the body of the Society. But even as this Divine love greatly tends to union, so on the other hand the love of self (as the same Blessed Father affirms) is a most grievous enemy

to this union and to all good. How marked a thing is this canker-worm to union, and how much to be avoided by all, may be gathered from the great harm it causes to our neighbour, whose eternal salvation, next to our own perfection and salvation, is the end proposed to us—a thing most difficult to effect without charity and perfect concord among us all. Not to remark how frequently this point is inculcated in our rules and instructions I will briefly mention what daily experience proves. I know many Catholics, and well-judging ones, and many also not as yet gathered into the fold of Christ, yet not averse to the Catholic faith and to piety, who acknowledge that they prefer to treat with our Fathers chiefly on account of that unity and a certain sweet harmony in counsel among us; and thus deem themselves safer under such direction. There are Protestants, men of judgment, who are induced by the same reasons to declare that should they ever become Papists, they would follow the same course. Many who, through the grace of God, have been converted by ours, have confirmed and fulfilled this in their own case. But this, too, is especially remarked, that men of our Society are distinguished by many Catholics quite strangers to them and without any previous acquaintance, by the exterior experience alone, viz., for modesty of gait, religious conversation, seasonable discourse, by their uniform celebration of the most Holy Sacrifice, and similar marks; insomuch that that saying of our Blessed Father Ignatius is most true, viz., that conformity both in interior and exterior things is very necessary for us.

We may not conceal from ourselves how truly the exhortation of St. Paul to Timothy should penetrate and possess our minds, where he admonishes him to embrace with all his strength the faithful saying, and "the sound word that cannot be blamed." Certainly, if I judge aright, this *verbum irreprehensibile* was not so needful for St. Timothy, such a disciple of such a master, and taught by the Spirit of God, as for ourselves labouring here, where the light of truth is obscured by thick darkness, lest, as the same Apostle declares, "We be like children tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine by the wickedness of men, by cunning craftiness, by which they lie in wait to deceive." You must know how many novelties, suspicions, follies, errors, and stumbling blocks some spread abroad regarding attendance at the Protestant churches, and hearing their sermons; also regarding the impious oath of supremacy; with what boldness others endeavour to stain the consciences of some of our members with one or other of these defilements, so that the victims of such attacks, find the greatest difficulty in extricating themselves. And indeed certain similar surmises were bruited about some of our own family; that they had acted in regard to that oath from an inordinate or rather a precipitate regard for friends, and a pity for the despoiling of their goods, and had even uttered some incautious expressions capable of being misunderstood and distorted. But God forbid that we should seek rather to please men than to show forth the honour of Jesus Christ, and the invincible truth, "If I seek to please men," says the Apostle, "I shall not be the servant of Christ." Wherefore, very dear Fathers and Brothers, since this most afflicted country abounds with innumerable corruptions, and divers snares are spread to catch us, and the eyes and ears of all are particularly directed towards us, so (especially in preserving the integrity of sound doctrine) let us in all things exhibit ourselves as the ministers of God, that a straight path to

eternal salvation may be prepared for all, a spur may be given to friends to enter upon that path with alacrity, and an avoidance of all stumbling blocks to adversaries. That we may the more easily carry out what appertains to doctrine, I will add a few things lest any diversity of opinion steal in amongst us, to destroy fraternal union and diminish that subjection which is due. I beseech you, therefore, and by virtue of that authority which has been confided to me so unworthy I admonish you, with fraternal affection, that you keep whole and entire the things which have been established, and enjoined upon us who labour in this vineyard, whether by the Holy See, or by our Very Reverend Father General. No one of ours is at liberty to plead this or that prescription in alteration of their true and legitimate sense, to any sense foreign or unfavourable. But the greatest caution is to be exercised regarding other strange and new doctrines of a more important class, savouring of novelty, and in these depraved times more than ever widely spread. No contact with these is to be allowed, except maturely to weigh and test them with three or more (if it may be conveniently done) of the graver and more learned of the Fathers. By this union of affection and concurrence of opinions, our efforts, from however small beginnings, yet made fruitful by God, may be extended (let us hope) for His greater glory, and increase beyond measure for the future; and this, by His blessing upon our pious endeavours, and by our adhering to a harmony of action, so agreeable to God and to our Institute.

Every one clearly understands how needful for us is the ardent and sedulous practice of prayer; engaged as we are in a contest, glorious indeed, yet perilous. By prayer we clearly discern the necessities, the miseries and defects of human weakness; and learn confidence also, in the mercy of God, ever ready to aid us. In prayer we consult His Divine wisdom in the conduct of affairs Who never fails us. We implore His help Who stretches forth His right hand in answer to our petitions. In prayer we seek communion with Him, from Whom proceed all holy desires, right counsels and just works. Lastly, by prayer we are the sooner inflamed with His love; from which, as from a most copious fountain, flow forth all good things, and of which St. Gregory says that it is *singulare mandatum, quia quidquid præcipitur in sola caritate solidatur, nec habet aliquid viriditatis ramus boni operis, si non maneat in radice caritatis.* What need I add further? Seeing that we are tossed about by such great billows, hemmed in by so many straits, weakened by so many distractions; and since the corruptible body oppresses the soul, how eagerly should we not make for the tranquil harbour of prayer *in qua* (says St. Leo) *ad animam corporis rectricem spectat, interiori judicio ab incon-venientibus exteriora frænare; ut a corporis cupiditatibus sæpius libera in aulâ mentis possit divinæ vacare sapientiæ; ubi omni strepitu terrenarum silente curarum in meditationibus sanctis et in deliciis lætetur æternis.* I candidly acknowledge that I myself, in common with others, growing languid in this holy exercise, have sometimes swerved from a right course of action. Therefore, let us watch and pray, according to our Lord's injunction, that we enter not into temptation; not that we can be exempt from all, but from such as are above our strength, such as are generally permitted on account of our great ingratitude to our most merciful Lord, and our too great vacillation in His service; and which often so increase, *ut stellæ, quæ ad primi instantis motum non moventur, de*

cælo quandoque cadunt. You know the meaning of those words, you know it also by an example more to be dreaded than any words, by which we are experimentally taught, that a star falling from Heaven among the refuse of the earth, is accounted by all as the refuse of all. St. Basil shows it to be the origin of so many calamities, and of such great ruin, when he says: *a religionis instituto quidam fere deficiunt; causæ sunt istæ—vitiorum intemperantia, laborandi fuga (ad quam reducitur orationis neglectus), judicii corruptela, cordis instabilitas*, to omit other things, any avoidance of labour by us, appointed as we are to this field of labour, is much to be dreaded. Our Institute demands great labour. Idleness is the mother of luxury, the nurse of vices, the step-mother of heroic virtues; the hindrance of religious discipline, the destroyer of fervour, the prime mover of every evil. Therefore, let us not slumber, nor move about hither and thither without reason. Let us add to prayer the work demanded of us: let us not omit the most useful of good things, especially the study of sacred literature, lest we become enveloped, and deservedly, in the darkness of culpable ignorance. Let us not separate Mary from Martha, that we may prepare a fit lodging for the Lord.

As to the vow of Poverty little need be said, since our holy Father declares the sum and substance of the whole religious life to consist therein: and all of us understand of how great importance this is. He is not evangelically poor, as St. Jerome testifies, who after leaving his riches does not follow his Saviour: that is, who leaving evil things does not perform good things. For, says he, *facilius sacculus contemnitur quam voluptas.* We know the manifold enticements of earthly pleasures. But let us hear the same of St. Jerome, when he is repelling from himself transitory pleasures. "Oh, what blessedness it is," says he, "to receive great things for small ones, things eternal for those that last but a little while; everlasting life for death; and to have God Himself for our Debtor!" Let us, then, frequently call to mind, what we all know very well: that he is not truly poor who possesses nothing, but he who desires to possess nothing. For, as St. Gregory teaches us: *Quisquis pro Dei gloria temporalia veraciter contemnit, et hic perfectionem mentis recipit ut jam ea non appetat quae contemnit, et in sequenti seculo ad æternæ vitæ gloriam pervenit; et sic centies recipit quod dedit, qui perfectionis spiritum accipiens terrenis non indiget, etsi hæc non habet: Ille autem pauper est qui eget eo quod non habet: nam, qui et non habens habere non appetit, dives est. Paupertas quippe in inopia mentis est, non in quantitate possessionis.*

These things I mention, in order to preclude that greatest of evils, the spirit of private possession. If our Lord has hitherto of His mercy preserved us from it, yet must we still keep on our guard, lest by reason of the many and special difficulties of this place this canker should gradually increase, and come to infect the servants of God. There are instances, though not among ourselves, of this commercial spirit in the Apostolic life, which savour of a very unworthy kind of monopoly and of regard for temporal gain. Let us crush the head of this serpent who whispers into our ear a temptation to regard with displeasure others doing right, and perhaps even our own brethren, when they approach near to our work, and we fear lest any other should interfere with our influence, lessen our authority, or rob us of our reward, as though the goods imparted to us, that is the fruit of souls, did not belong to Christ but to ourselves. If, which God forbid, we once listen to such absurd

suggestions, for mere human motives, then will this terrible serpent rush upon us to make us his prey. As St. Basil points out, it is the destruction of discipline, and denotes a distrust in the Providence of God, to Whom a Religious commits himself. It is a disposition and preparation of one meditating to separate from the community, and therefore injures the soul, as it did in the case of Judas, who loathing community life, *obolis privatis* incurred the loss of his soul. What concerns the dress of ours as suitable to the circumstances of place and persons is sufficiently laid down by our Very Reverend Father General. I will add that ours ought to be very careful lest by adopting any special dress, however suitable in itself, we may be thought by Catholics to be affected, or to ape the elegant and polite. Believe me, we are more criticised in small than in great things. I never heard that a rigorous practice of poverty, within the bounds of discretion, offended any; but rather the contrary. Whereas, any excess in food and dress, though such as to constitute a minor offence, I have known to afford a handle to the enemy.

As to the observance of the angelical virtue of Chastity in all its purity, I greatly desire that all should ponder over and over again, and carefully practise the particular rules laid down regarding it, and prescribed so much to the purpose, in the letters of our Very Reverend Father General. In truth, if in this noble struggle and that other fight akin to it against the flesh, the world, and the devil, we desire to come off victorious, it is our part to avoid all occasions, even the most trivial, of any kind of levity; not to presume upon our own strength, but to rely entirely upon the Divine grace, with which we are required to co-operate. Cassian says admirably, on this subject. *Certos nos esse convenit, quod licet omnem continentiæ districtionem, famem scilicet ac sitim, vigilias quoque et operis jugitatem, atque incessabile subeamus studium lectionis, perpetuam tamen castimoniæ puritatem horum laborum merito contingere nequeamus, nisi in his jugiter desudantes experientiæ magisterio doceamur, incorruptionem ejus Divinæ gratiæ largitate concedi. Ob hoc sanè solummodò se unusquisque infatigabiliter perdurare debere cognoscat, ut per illorum afflictionem misericordiam Domini consecutus de impugnatione carnis ac dominatione præpotentium vitiorum Divino mereatur munere liberari.*

Of Obedience, which is of such certain efficacy, it is sufficient to lay down with our holy Father, that this virtue alone sows all other virtues in the soul, and preserves them when sown: and St. Augustine: *Obedientia commendata est in præcepto: quæ virtus in creatura rationali mater quodammodo est, omniumque custos virtutum.* And St. Bernard: *Virtutem nempe obedientiæ supplere vices discretionis, quæ mater (inquit), virtutum est, et consummatio perfectionis.* But how needful for us is this discretion is most manifest; since without it it would be out of our power to disregard so many vanities and insane falsehoods that come before our eyes. St. Thomas, that angelical master, lays down this matter for us all usefully and briefly and this may suffice for the present: and as he obtained the petition for himself so do I desire that we also may be partakers of the salutary result. "Give me," says he, "O Lord my God, a most watchful heart which no thoughts of curiosity may lead away from Thee; give me a noble heart, which no unworthy affection shall draw back from Thee; give me an upright heart, which no crooked intention shall turn aside from Thee; give me an invincible heart, which

no tribulation shall break; give me a heart at liberty, which no perverse or vehement affection may claim for itself." Observe that all pernicious singularity is rejected by the watchful heart, and all such curious inquiry as tends to the ruin of the soul, whether in intellect or in affection: *ut nec sapiamus plus quam oportet, sed usque ad sobrietatem.* Neither let us wish for anything on this earth except *prout voluntas fuerit in cœlis.* A noble heart creeps not upon the ground, nor falls back; it tends upwards: *quæ sursum sunt quærit, ubi Christus est in dextera Dei sedens.* It does not love the world, nor the things that are in the world, *quoniam omne quod est in mundo, concupiscentia carnis est, concupiscentia oculorum, et superbia vitæ.* That affection therefore which, forsaking Heavenly things, merges itself in the things of the world that pass away with the concupiscence thereof is beneath a noble heart. But that this watchful and noble heart may not miss the reward to be merited, no deformity or obliquity of purpose should come in to degenerate its nobility and excellence.

Great generosity of soul is also needed, that is not to be overcome by any adversity, and free from the slavery of sin, *ea libertate quâ Christus nos donavit, et liberavit a servitute corruptionis in libertatem gloriæ filiorum Dei;* against which no perverse affection nor violent temptation can prevail. This is to be hoped for by all, *propter eum qui dilexit nos Christus Jesus;* to Whose sweetest Name and holy service we have entirely devoted ourselves and our lives, that He will give us this magnanimity of heart and perfect liberty, and minister strength from above for the accomplishing of all those things which may enable us to merit His glory, and attain to His most blessed kingdom, and many others with us. *Quod optat*

Omnium in Xto. Servus,
ROBERTUS JONES.

The following letter was written by Father Jones to the Rev. Father General, as intimated above.[17]

Very Reverend Father in Christ,—
Pax Christi.

As the close of the year is now approaching, I send, according to custom, our annual catalogue. Another hand will convey separately some brief informations, to which corresponding numbers will be found in the catalogue.

But besides the points specially noticed in the informations a few other facts, regarding the state of our affairs generally, have been mentioned. With respect to the concerns of the family, nearly all its members, in spite of the greatest difficulties, apply themselves cheerfully to their appointed work with courageous alacrity. No small number of them, however, suffer from want of fixed residences and appliances for their work: hence, they have no regular workshops, which were much desired, but they labour up and down through various localities with good results, like missioners from place to place.

The malicious spirit of the present time creates a state of things unknown in former days. Since the good old Catholics, who possessed a primitive zeal, and whose houses, like sacred edifices, were open to all faithful men, have either died off or are reduced to almost

[17] Original letter, Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* n. 2.

utter ruin, their successors, by reason of the great increase of troubles, miseries, and ills of all kind which now threaten them, are seized with such alarm that very few are found who courageously follow in their ancestors' footsteps. Hence, each missioner is fain to be content if he can keep his own flock firm in the faith, and from his own station carries on his spiritual ministrations, where he can do so, without incurring the greatest inconvenience. He was truly wise Who said: *quia abundat iniquitas, refrigescet charitas multorum.* Yet some there are among those of the present generation who have recovered from their weakness, and are become strong in battle. Our hopes, therefore, are not dashed but raised up to God, Whom we constantly implore to prevent us with His mercy, that we fall not too low. As regards the present state of the persecution, the malice of the persecutors does not abate, but on the contrary so greatly increases, that they are not content to destroy poor England's religion, but must needs bring Ireland also to the same pitch of calamity. To accomplish this a general assembly is appointed in Ireland, and of the leading Irish Catholics some are brought into peril, and some cast into prison. Would that this bow of the wicked, now so stoutly bent, were broken by the Divine will. It is wonderful how severely the combatants for the Catholic faith suffer at the hands of false brethren, of whom the number, both lay and ecclesiastic, is great. From these infatuated persons, who are intimately acquainted with every practice of the orthodox, the adversaries are chiefly guided in their proceedings against them.

The choice of labourers to be sent to this mission should indeed be most mature and special: they should be men truly discreet, prudent, mortified, humble, and patient in enduring toil. I greatly desire that your Paternity would recommend this caution in the choice of those of ours to be sent here, to the Head Prefect of the mission; that as he has hitherto taken great care in this charge, so he may for the future increase his caution.

As regards other matters here, your Paternity (whom may Christ our Lord long preserve to us in safety) may learn them from the same Prefect.

I commend myself and my companions to your Paternity's holy SS. and prayers,

Your Paternity's most devoted Servant in Christ,

ROBERTUS HILARIUS.

London, November 3, 1613.

Report of the same Father in vol. vi. Stonyhurst MSS. *Anglia*, dated November 7, 1614, and endorsed, "Annals of Father Jones, London."

The following instances of Catholic heroism occur to me as chiefly deserving record beyond the ordinary edifying notices and fruits of my labours (if any, they are God's gifts) over and above the fact of a great frequentation by many of the Divine mysteries, in unquiet places, and a fresh plantation in the field of our Lord of about twenty souls.

A certain aged man of high birth, venerable in years, now approaching seventy, whom I added many years ago to the flock of Christ, after frequent plundering of his goods, and suffering many vexations for the faith, being lately again arrested by the

magistrates, was brought up before the judges in public court, to answer concerning the perfidious oath (that of allegiance and supremacy). As the scene in court was conducted in the form of a dialogue between the confessor and the judges, I will observe the same method, and relate it as I had it from his own lips, confirmed also by many who were present :

"I have heard," said one of the judges, "that for a long time thou hast been an obstinate Papist, and now, worse than all, I hear that the oath of allegiance and supremacy, which is due to our sovereign, displeases you. What leads you to this opinion?" The good old man simply replied, without artifice or deceit, yet boldly, like another Eleazar Machabeus, "The reason why this new oath offends me is a regard for my soul, which I wish to save within the Catholic Church, outside of which there is no salvation ; for the authority of this Church, by the definition of its Head, that is, of the Supreme Pontiff, forbids the oath to be taken." "Is there," replied the judge, "any authority in the Church which can forbid this?" "The Church has a greater authority for prohibiting this than that by which thou art sitting in this court : for that is derived from Christ, this from the King, who is subject to Christ." "But," said the judge, "thou art bound to obey the King." "I confess it," said he, "so long as lawful commands are given." "These," said the judges, "are empty words, and unless you take this oath of allegiance and supremacy to the King, thou wilt be immediately condemned and punished according to the penalty of the law of *præmunire*, that is, confiscation of all property present and future, besides imprisonment for life." "Thou findest in me," he replied, "no other cause for such a condemnation than that I serve my God according to the prescribed formula of the ancient and Catholic religion ; and, indeed, as to my temporal goods, the King already possesses them, and the residue, if any, he may have also. Moreover, this body is in custody also at the King's pleasure ; but neither his Majesty nor thou shall have my soul, by the help of Divine grace, but only Christ, Who redeemed me." The whole court, even the judges themselves, were in admiration of such great courage in the breast of an old man, so that the greater part compassionated him. But, notwithstanding, the Chief Justice passed this severe sentence against him for not obeying an iniquitous law. Having received the sentence, the aged confessor exclaimed : "Blessed be the name of the Lord," and "God save the King." A little while after, in the presence of the Bench, perceiving that his own name, by a mistake of the Clerk of Arraigns, was inserted in the calendar as one of those condemned to be hung for murder and robbery, he smiled and playfully said : "What! am I also deputed with the thieves to the gallows?" Which the judge observing, replied ironically ; "Thou seemest to pant after martyrdom, in which, though without reason, Papists greatly glory." "Would," said the confessor, "that I were found worthy of so great a reward, and the sooner the better, as I am fast approaching the grave." But the mistake being discovered, he was separated from the robbers and murderers, and was taken off to prison according to the form of sentence pronounced, where he persevered with constancy to the great increase of the Divine glory and of the Catholic cause.

Another memorable case also occurred at this assizes, that of a Catholic who was tried in the same court before the same judges, committed to the same prison, and was greatly assisted in

his urgent needs by the same noble confessor. I also, to the best of my power, assisted and counselled him. A minister of the new Protestant doctrines, weary of heresy and of his past life, had together with his wife been received into the bosom of the Catholic Church. He came into those parts to visit some friends, and took up his quarters at a certain inn, where, in the dead of the night, when everything was quiet, and he thought himself safe from all danger in saying his prayers, behold, whilst upon his knees, intent in prayer, he was observed through an opening in the wall by a woman-servant, a perverse heretic, who merely because of his piety and manner of praying, suspected him to be either a priest, or at least some Papist of note, and betrayed him to some villains who were lodging at the same inn. The following day he was apprehended, and taken before a magistrate. Confessing himself to be a Catholic, though unworthy of the priesthood, and refusing to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, which was insisted on by the magistrate, he was committed to prison to await his trial and the sentence of the judges. He was detained a long time before the assizes, and bore with patience and long-suffering, many trials and bitter vexations for Christ's sake. At length the assizes came round, and he was summoned to the bar before the judges, where he was interrogated regarding the said oath, and many other things relating to the profession of his holy faith. To all these he made answer, not only with courage, learning, and solid sense, but with piety and modesty, and in a way to show clearly his eagerness for martyrdom. But his answers, however pious and solid, did not avail him, for both himself and his wife, a pious and devout lady (who in order to visit and console her husband, had taken a long journey on foot, and was detained prisoner, and arraigned at the bar with him), were condemned by public sentence to perpetual imprisonment and the confiscation of whatever property they possessed. Both of them were therefore dragged away, and placed in the closest confinement, where they were so broken down by their iron manacles, by the filth of the prison, by want and other miseries that our merciful Lord was pleased to shorten their tribulations, and to mature the fruit of their eternal recompense. For at one and the same time they both fell sick. The husband died first, fortified with a remarkable degree of devotion and confidence in God. On the same day, a few hours afterwards, the wife died, supported by an equal sense of piety and trust in God. Both were carried on the same bier to the grave, and interred in the same vault by the help and exertions of that good and noble confessor whom we mentioned before, and who was both eye and an ear-witness of all these things. But we must not omit what occurred at this funeral. The only place for their interment was an adjoining Protestant graveyard, served by an old grave-digger, who duly prepared a grave. The Protestant minister, observing this, ordered him to fill it up again, saying that it was unbecoming to bury cursed and excommunicated Papists in a public churchyard amongst Protestants. Hence of necessity the coffins were detained in the prison until nightfall, that under cover of the darkness another grave might be prepared in a retired part of the churchyard, where in the same night, by the united exertions of some pious Catholics, the bodies were interred, awaiting, without doubt, a glorious resurrection. Behold, very Reverend Father, how mightily the rage of this wicked heretic prevailed! Behold, on the

other hand, how greatly the fervour of Divine consolation and love of the Catholic religion prevails. The Divine goodness also causes the hearts of the erring to taste them, and by means of this example of constancy in a lawful contest, daily more and more to raise their minds to heavenly desires, the accomplishment of which will, I trust, be all the more hastened if your Paternity will recommend the same to God in your daily prayers and Holy Sacrifices.

London, November 7, 1614.

Postscript.—It is worthy of remark that the foregoing person, who, with his wife, made so pious an end, was the son of a certain schoolmaster, under whom our Father Parsons, of pious memory, formerly learnt his humanities.

From the Italian of a MS. in the collection of the Archdiocese of Westminister (Douay I. M. n. 197).

A Narrative of the Martyrdom of the Priest Roger Cadwallador, written by Father Robert Jones, Superior of the Society of Jesus in England, September 20, 1610.

We have here, on the confines of Wales, a new and very glorious martyr, of the name of Cadwallador. He was martyred on the 15th day of ——[18] in Lempster [Leominster], in the county of Hereford. He was seized on Easter Day and taken before the pseudo-bishop of that diocese, by whose procurement and malice he was handed over to justice. He conducted himself with much applause, and to the satisfaction of the entire Bench. He disputed with the sham bishop, whom he convicted and put to open shame, pronouncing him to be no priest, and a bishop only in name.[19] The pseudo-prelate confined him among thieves, with whom he lay until the time of his martyrdom, being very badly treated and always kept heavily ironed, which much weakened him and brought on serious illness. During all that time he was without the consolation of the sacraments, for none of the secular clergy durst visit him, and on account of his having been formerly opposed to the members of the Society of Jesus, he had but little acquaintance and intercourse with them. It chanced that the very day he was sentenced to death a certain priest of the Society passed through the town where he was confined, and learning how things stood, and that a priest was in confinement there, he found means of penetrating to his cell, where he consoled him and heard his confession, affording him the highest happiness, especially when he discovered that he was a priest of the Society, remembering in how little esteem he had formerly held that Order. His opinions were so completely changed, that he recommended himself with all humility to the Father's prayers in the conflict he was about to undergo, entreating, moreover, that whatever he or any of his brethren might have said or done against the Fathers should be buried in oblivion with all religious charity. In proof of his gratitude he made a present of his library to the Society, which was all he possessed in this world. The Father stayed a long time with him, animating him to face with courage and constancy the torments and death he was about to endure, and so finally took his leave.

[18] The account does not give the month. Bishop Challoner, in his *Missionary Priests*, says it was on the 27th of August.

[19] Challoner gives his name as Robert Bennet.

On the following day I passed through the town, and stopped at a house. Being ignorant of what had so recently happened I sent a man to visit him, and give him a share of the little that I had about me. Moreover, I wrote him a letter, recommending myself to the merits of his present chains and future crown, begging him to send me a narrative of what he had suffered, and how he was, and offering, even at the peril of my life, to come in person to console him should he deem it expedient. My letter and the message gave him the highest contentment, and greatly confirmed him in the opinion he had already formed of the charity of the Society, especially as he saw that I was entirely ignorant of the visit of the other Father. He thanked me much, but was unwilling that I should expose myself to the great danger of visiting him, a danger all the greater because my age and frequent visits there rendered me the more liable to suspicion, besides which he had only the day before received all that he desired. So we parted for that time; but on the day on which he received sentence of death I returned again, and by means of a friend I managed to visit him. He expressed many thanks, saying that he felt quite certain of being condemned to death, for when on his trial he demanded the benefit of the proclamation, which ordered that all priests should be banished, it was denied him. And so it turned out, for in a few hours afterwards, being called up for judgment, they sentenced him to death by virtue of the Act of Parliament making it high treason that a priest should have returned into the realm. However, the sentence was respited for a month, in the hope that meanwhile they could get him to go to the Protestant church, or to take the oath of supremacy against the Pope's authority. But as he remained firm, a death-warrant was issued, and so being dragged upon a hurdle at the horse's tail to the place of execution he there made a most holy end.

Two enormous fires were burning at the place of execution, with cauldrons of boiling water, wherein to boil his quarters, and between these were laid down all the instruments of execution. The sheriff led up the priest and showed him all these things, saying that the King was merciful, and would yet pardon him if he decided on conforming to his established religion, otherwise he would have to undergo all these torments. And at the same time he presented him with the oath of allegiance and supremacy, and a promise of pardon if he would take it. The priest replied that he hoped for pardon rather at the hands of God than of the King; but that he would never accept it upon such terms as these. He, moreover, prayed for the pseudo-bishop, who had been the cause of his condemnation, begging God to forgive him, as he did from his heart, and to make him a partaker in that glory which he hoped in a brief moment to enjoy. Again he was offered the oath, and promised life if he would take it. He again refused with a like constancy. Moreover, when mounting the ladder, it was for the third time presented to him, and he with greater animation than ever refused it. They could find no one to undertake the duty of hangman, until at last by dint of a good sum of money they bribed two paupers to undertake it, who, being inexperienced in the dreadful art, executed the martyr in such a manner that the whole multitude cried out shame upon such barbarity. He was hung in his dress, and when cut down and disembowelled he had the perfect use of all his senses, and they performed these operations so slowly and clumsily, as to cause the most intense agony

to the servant of God, who during the whole time retained his presence of mind, and, as though he felt nothing, did not even change colour. They gave many strokes before they were able to despatch him.[20]

When he arrived at the place of execution he had retired in order to pray, but the Protestant preachers interrupted him by asking him to say the *Pater Noster* in English, and offering to pray with him, but he replied that he would say that and his other prayers conformable to the rites of the Catholic Church, and he begged these ministers not to annoy him, but invited the Catholics who were present to accompany him in his prayers, which they did aloud before all the multitude. Thus did this servant of God render up his soul into the hands of his Creator.

It should be added that on page 101 of the same vol. of MS. in the collection of the Archdiocese of Westminster, a letter is inserted concerning this martyr, bearing neither date of year nor address, but signed "Dentor, 22nd May," and written in Latin, with certain parts repeated in Italian. It contains a severe criticism upon the above narrative of Father Jones, and denies the fact of the martyr's having given his books to the Society.

The following letter seems to be a fragment, and is copied from the valuable collection of MSS. in the archives of the Old Clergy Chapter, London; it fully confirms the account we have already given of the suffering of Catholics at that period.

You may easily perceive what a plunge he is put unto, for first on the one side [he is] daily crying for the money, and wolves on the other gaping to devour him. Our miseries are daily multiplied, we expect every hour dissolution. Our friends abroad are spoiled to their skin: what by the pursuivants, and what robberies they suffer by the under-sheriff and his followers it is long to tell you—neither pot, nor pan, nor bedding, nor ring, nor jewels, nor anything whatsoever escapeth their hands. The oath is offered by the justices even at their pleasure, yet some of them cannot but in their hearts detest the injury. Divers priests have been banished of late, and now more are apprehended and like to be banished; no forbearance to them that will not take the oath, which, God be thanked, is refused hitherto of all, both secular and religious, save only Mr. Blackwell, and three or four that persist with him in his old vein. We hope for all this that God will give us patience to bear these afflictions, and strength to pass through such terrible wars. Your old friend Mr. George Napper lieth in Oxford gaol, condemned but reprieved, and might have escaped for taking the oath. It is thought he shall be banished.[21] Mr. Cadwallador, a priest, was executed the 23rd of August at Hereford [Leominster]. The Bishop's malice was his overthow, because

[20] For a further account of this dreadful butchery, see Bishop Challoner's *Memoirs*.

[21] The Rev. George Nappier was a native of Oxford, and suffered death there on November 9, 1610 (See Bishop Challoner's *Missionary Priests*). In the "History of the Residence of St. Mary's, or the Oxford District," we give an extract from the account in Challoner of this martyr.

he averred him to be no bishop, but an usurper. He showed himself most stout and constant, being eight times (as the report goeth) taken from the gallows, and offered the oath, which he still denying was executed and made a glorious martyr. Mrs. Wyes and her sister Katherine hath been these five weeks in physic at Oxford. We are so much distracted with terrors and fearful news, that we cannot pray either for our friends or ourselves. We are therefore forced to commend us unto your devotions there which I hope will procure us great help in this heat of our conflict, and desiring you to communicate this little news to Mr. More,[22] if you may be permitted. I wish you all happy progress in your labours, this November 2, 1610.

Yours ever assured,

GEORGE LAMBTON.

Father Jones, died in the year 1615, æt. 51. Father Michael Walpole appears to have succeeded as Superior of the English Mission.

FATHER JOHN SALISBURY, a native of Merionethshire, was born in 1575. He joined the Society in 1605, whilst a missioner in North Wales, and was made a professed Father in London, in 1618. Upon the death of Father Robert Jones, Father Salisbury succeeded as Superior of the District (which at that time included North and South Wales), and resided at Raglan Castle. He founded, as we have already said, the College of St. Francis Xavier and South-Wales District in 1622, and died Superior of the College in 1625, æt. 50. He translated Cardinal Bellarmine's Catechism into Welsh, which was printed at St. Omer's College Press in 1618, *tacito nomine.* He also composed some other works of piety.[23]

FATHER ANTHONY HOSKINS was a native of Herefordshire, born 1568. Having made his studies abroad he joined the Society in Spain in 1593, at the age of twenty-five. Being sent thence into England, he laboured in that severe mission with indefatigable zeal for some years, and was solemnly professed of the four vows in London, in 1609. On coming to the English Mission, Father John Gerard provided him with a situation as chaplain in a family of rank, the lady of the family being a recent convert of Father Gerard, and the husband was a well-disposed Protestant. They were relatives of Father Roger Lee, who happened to be staying in the house

[22] The Rev. Thomas More, the agent in Rome for the clergy. He usually signed his letters "George West."

[23] See Southwell's *Biblio. Script. S.J.*

when Father Gerard was introduced *incognito.* This house being most convenient as a station for priests, Father Gerard advised the lady to allot certain rooms and a chapel for the purpose. "The lady," he says, "readily fell in with my suggestion of having a priest in her house, so I brought thither Father Anthony Hoskins, a man of great ability, who had lately come over from Spain (1603), where he had spent ten years in the Society, with remarkable success in studies. Being placed there he did a great deal of good on all sides, and remained with them almost up to the present time, when, at length, he has been removed, and put to greater things. He did not, however, stay constantly at home, for he is a man whom, when once known, many would wish to confer with, so that he was forced to go about at times."[24] Father Gerard also names him again when he speaks of having hired another house in London, before his leaving England, which he intended should be in common between Father Hoskins and himself.[25] In a letter of Father Gerard to Father Parsons dated July 15, 1606 (written under the *alias* of Harrison), he again names Father Hoskins: "Most of my other spiritual friends I commended [on leaving England] partly to Father Anthony and partly to Father Percy, both of whom are most grateful to all my friends and acquaintances, and, indeed, I know not any two there that in my simple opinion better deserve it."[26] He left England 1609, and was appointed Vice-Prefect of the English Mission in Belgium. In 1611 he was at Brussels. He was soon afterwards made Vice-Prefect of the English Mission in Spain, and so continued until his death.

Father Hoskins died at Valladolid, deeply regretted, on September 10, 1615, at the age of forty-seven. He was a man of great piety and prudence. Under the signature of "H. I." he published "A brief and clear declaration of sundry points absolutely disliked in the lately enacted oath of allegiance proposed to the Catholics of England; together with a recapitulation of the whole work, newly written by a learned divine, concerning the same subject." 12mo. 1611, 56 pp. He translated the *Imitation of Christ* from Latin into English, under the initials "F. B." and the abridgment of *Christian Perfection*, 1612; also the Apologies of Henry IV. and Louis XIII.

[24] See Father Gerard's Narrative, *Condition of Catholics*, p. cxlix.
[25] *Ibid.* p. clxxx.
[26] *Ibid.* p. cclx.

in favour of the Society, at Paris, 4to, 1612, St. Omer. In Stonyhurst MSS. *Ang.* vol. iv. n. 37, is a letter, dated Madrid, April 12, 1615, from Father Hoskins to Father Thomas Owen, Head Prefect in Rome of the English Mission, written three days before the death of Father Weston, the Rector of the College, S.J. Valladolid. He says: "The comfort we received in the government of Valladolid under Father Weston's care is soon at an end; they write that he lieth at the point of death, without any hope of recovery, nor that his life can be prolonged two days. I haste me thither again to see who may succeed him." He then speaks of the difficulty in finding a fit successor to that admirable Superior.

FATHER FRANCIS HANMER was born in Leicestershire in the year 1593. He appears to have been a missioner in Herefordshire, as may be gathered from two letters of the Protestant Bishop of Hereford, given below. Father Hanmer entered the Society of Jesus in the year 1610, and became a professed Father on August 7, 1633. He was cousin to Lady Warner, wife of Sir John Warner of Parham, Baronet. She was before marriage Miss Trevor Hanmer, whose father, Sir Thomas Hanmer, of Hanmer Hall, Flintshire, had been created a baronet by James I. on July 8, 1620. This devout pair separated by mutual consent soon after their marriage, Sir John entering the Society of Jesus, under the assumed name of Clare, whilst Lady Warner became herself a Poor Clare, and after her saintly death her two daughters entered the Order of St. Benedict.[27] We read in page 8 of *The Life of Lady Warner*,[28] that when she was yet quite a girl, and not a Catholic, "having gained her father's consent to become a nun, she made application to some of her Catholic friends to beg their assistance in finding a priest who might direct her to some monastery. Providence so ordained, that the person to whom upon this occasion she was recommended was one of her own family, namely, Father Hanmer, of the Society of Jesus, who took to heart her concern, and advised her to go to Paris, and enter there a

[27] See *Records*, vol. i. series iv. part i. Catherine Warner, in religion called Dame Mary Agnes, the eldest daughter, was born 1660, professed 1679, and died at Dunkirk 1696, æt. 36. Susan Warner, in religion Dame Ignatia, was born 1662, professed 1685, and died at Dunkirk 1711, æt. 49.

[28] By a Catholic Gentleman. London, 1692.

monastery of the Benedictine Order, to which he would recommend her, and giving her the rules of St. Benet, told her what portion was required for her admission, which her father, Sir Thomas Hanmer, of Hanmer Hall, Flintshire, Baronet, was content to give her; and, moreover, he undertook to be her conductor there, and the very day was appointed on which they were to start. Her pious designs, however, were subsequently defeated."

Mention is again made of Father Hanmer in the same work, he having been the main cause (under God) of Lady and Sir John Warner's conversions to the Catholic faith. In chapter vi. is detailed "The first beginning and occasion of her conversion." "Almighty God, Who disposes all things no less effectually than sweetly, would no longer permit one who had lived up so strictly to the light of nature and education, to live without the light of grace." She had been greatly disturbed in mind by a conversation with some relations, who stated that the Established Church of England maintained in its liturgy the doctrine of the Real Presence, which she denied, as being at variance with the Protestant practice in which she had been brought up. However, she would not discuss the point with them, but determined to reserve her judgment until she arrived in London, whither she was about to go with her husband and two infant daughters. Once there, she determined to inform herself fully upon so important a matter.

She was no sooner in London than her brother, Sir John Hanmer, came to visit her, and told her that her uncle Hanmer (a title the Welsh give to such as are cousins when one much exceeds the other in age) was in town, and would be very glad to see her. This was that Father above mentioned, with whom she had treated about becoming a religious. She was not a little concerned about what he would think of her for having embraced a state of life so contrary to what she had proposed to him; but his good manners and kindness of heart removed all her fears, for at his coming he congratulated her upon her happy marriage with Sir John Warner, but did not neglect the occasion of speaking to her of religion, of being in the true Church; that there was but one that could be true, there being but one faith as there was but one God, and one baptism, and he desired her no less for her own, than for his sake to take the pains only of examining impartially the tenets of both Churches, whereby she would soon find which was the true one. She

received his kindness with civility, which gave him hopes that a second visit might not be unwelcome, and that he might be able to do permanent good to a soul so well disposed to hear reason, free from passion and prejudice, two of the greatest impediments to embracing the truth.

In his second visit Father Hanmer took occasion to discourse on the particular tenets of the Roman Catholic religion, having in the first only touched upon them in general. He spoke especially of the Real Presence. His arguments did not at first do more than quicken her resolution of making herself better informed upon the point. Her courtesy at this second visit aroused the fears of a relation who was present, and knew Father Hanmer to be a priest, lest his arguments might have made some impression upon her judgment. These fears she expressed, but Lady Warner assured her that she was as firm a Protestant as ever, and that her civility was but a due return for his kind visits and the zeal he showed for her eternal welfare. Her friend, however, was not satisfied until Lady Warner had promised to accompany her to a Protestant divine, who would convince her of the falsity of all that this priest had told her. On condition of going *incognita*, that she might the more freely propose her doubts, and hoping to be enlightened upon the point of the Real Presence, she consented, and as Father Hanmer had laid down that there was but one religion in which a soul can be saved, she sought for some test whereby to distinguish it. She was accordingly introduced to Dr. Buck, Chaplain in Ordinary to King Charles II.

We must refer our readers to the life itself, pages 35–6, for the singular arguments used by this Protestant divine. Lady Warner was doubly perplexed, and her friend being no less troubled than herself, remarked: "Madam, you were the occasion that I heard a priest, and I am so unfortunate as to have brought you to discourse with a *Jesuit*," for the doctor had boldly asserted that there was no fundamental difference between the Protestant and Catholic Churches.

Lady Warner was forced by her great disquiet of mind again to send to Father Hanmer. On his arrival, she told him what had passed between herself and Dr. Buck, and the miserable state she was in, doubting whether she was of any religion at all, and fearing to die in that state. She added that she was about to return immediately to Parham, and begged him to send thither some friend of his to whom she

might propose her difficulties, and by his assistance regain the repose of mind she had before possessed. Father Hanmer promised to send one to her, and desired her not to disturb herself in the mean time; that God had occasioned this tempest in her soul for her advantage, and would shortly calm the storm He had raised if she had recourse to Him with a filial love and unshaken confidence, and that His wisdom would help and direct her wavering judgment into the right way. He desired her to take great care lest passion or interest should interpose and hinder or divert His Divine operations in her soul. A fortnight after her return to Parham Father Hanmer failed not to perform his promise, and sent Father John Travers, with a letter of introduction to Lady Warner. This ended in the conversion first of herself, and soon after of her husband, and also of the friend who had been present with Lady Warner at her conversations with Father Hanmer, and who had introduced her to Dr. Buck. This was Miss Elizabeth Warner, sister to Sir John.[29]

Father Hanmer had the reputation of being an excellent scholar, and, by the Catalogue of the Province for the year 1642, he appears to have taught philosophy at Ghent, as well as being confessor of the house. According to the Catalogue of 1655, he was a missioner in the College of St. Ignatius, London, where he died, December 2, 1666, æt. 73.

The following is the copy of a letter or warrant from the Privy Council to the Bishop of Hereford to search for and apprehend two Romish priests, "lurking near Hereford." The original is preserved in the Philip's MSS. at St. Michael's Priory, Belmont, near Hereford.[30] In the course of search we constantly meet with these prelates lowering themselves to the unenviable office of pursuivants.

After our very hearty commendations to your lordship (of Hereford) we are given to understand of two Romish priests[31]

[29] Miss Elizabeth Warner became a nun of the Order of Poor Clares at Gravelines, and was professed about the year 1667, and died a holy death in 1681.

[30] The Editor is indebted to the Very Rev. Prior Raynal for the above copy.

[31] The two Romish priests were Fathers George Berington, O.S.B., and Francis Hanmer, S.J. Regarding Father Berington, the Rev. G. Dolan, of Downside College, Bath, in a letter to the Very Rev. Canon Dolman of Hereford, dated September 8, 1877, says: "Father George Berington, of whom you speak, was a member of the Berington family, formerly living near Dinmore, Herefordshire (now represented by C. M. Berington, Esq., of Little Malvern Court). Father Berington became a

who do lurk near Hereford, and do very much harm in those parts, the one named George Berrington, the other Hanmer. We have thought fit to pray and require your lordship to use your best diligence to have them be searched by force and committed to the gaol, and to advertise us thereof, that such further order shall be taken with them as shall be requisite. And so we bid your lordship very heartily farewell. From Whitehall, the 9th of August, 1626. Your lordship's very loving friends,

H. COVENTRY, C.S.
E. DORSET.
KELLY.
GRANDISON.
T. EDMONDS.
T. SUCKLING.
R. NAUNTON.
J. COKE.
R. WESTON.
J. CÆSAR.
HEN. MAY.

The following are copies of two letters from the Protestant Bishop of Hereford before alluded to.[32]

It is so, that I have lately received letters from the Lords of his Majesty's Council, whereof the copy I send you inclosed. The parties I am commanded to apprehend are but few, whereas it is well enough known that many other priests do lurk about our country. Wherefore I do assure myself there is some extraordinary matter against them, and that they shall do a very acceptable service that shall be means of their apprehension. For one of them I have laid all the gins I can think of (that is George Berrington), and as soon as I can learn certainly where he is, I will by God's grace travel speedily to the place and make search for him. To do anything sooner were but to give him warning to hide himself. The other (Hanmer) converseth for the most part (as I am told) in your neighbourhood at my Lady Bodenham's, or else at her sons. If you can catch him there, you may do a very good deed, and that for which I would account myself much beholden unto you. It will be yet a fortnight before I can be at Hereford. If nothing can be effected in that behalf before that time, I will then be ready in person to attend the service. In the meantime, with many hearty salutations I commend you to God,

Your very assured and much bounden,

Whitbourne, September 30, 1626. H. HEREFORD.

To the right worthy, my very worthy good friend, Sir John Scudamore, Kt. and Bart. [of Hom Lacey].

Benedictine at Montserrat, laboured on the mission in Herefordshire, and died at Hereford, blind, at the age of eighty-eight, on Ascension Day, May 19, 1664. Weldon has an allusion to Father Berington, in cap. liii., saying that 'he was a laborious missioner, and brother to the Rev. Father Bernard Berington, the continual Vice-President of France.' The name of Father George Berington appears in a genealogical table of the Berington family in the Philips' Library, Belmont Monastery, Hereford."

[32] Original in British Museum, Additional MSS. 11,055, n. 108. Endorsed, "September 30, 1626. A letter from the Bishop of Hereford to me concerning Romish priests."

May it please your good lordship to be advertised that whereas I received a letter from your lordship and the rest of the Lords of his Majesty's most honorable Privy Council, dated 9th August last, concerning the apprehending of George Berrington and one Hanmer, two Romish priests, which letter was delivered by an unknown person to one of my people upon the way, and that opened, no less than seven weeks after the date thereof. I presently took my horse notwithstanding, using all the best and most secret means I could for performing of your lordships' commandments, but hitherto have not been able. I shall not fail to do my best diligence in this or any other service it may please you to command of me. Hereof I thought it my duty to certify your lordships. So humbly taking my leave,

Your lordships to command,

H. HEREFORD.

Whitbourne, Hereford, September 8, 1627.[33]

FATHER JOHN GRIMSTON (otherwise LANE) appears to have served this district for many years. The Annual Letters of the English Province for 1649 mentions his death in the Welsh district. "On September 27, 1649, died Father John Lane (otherwise Grimstone) æt. 73. He had been a camp missioner in Belgium for two years, and was twenty-five years on the English Mission. Beside being remarkable for the exact observance of the rules of his Institute, he possessed the gift of speaking on spiritual matters in a very winning, and at the same time impressive manner, and of readily leading the conversation to a spiritual subject. When past the age of seventy he continued to make his usual extensive circuit, visiting the Catholic houses on foot. His pious death corresponded with his religious life. In his last illness his countenance seemed to brighten, as death approached, and it retained the same expression even after death."

FATHER CHARLES GWYNNE, *alias* BROWN, was a native of Carnarvonshire, born in the year 1582. He entered the English College, Rome, for his higher studies, under the assumed name of Bodwell or Gwynne, in the year 1610, aged twenty-eight. He there gave the following account of himself in reply to the usual interrogatories:

"My name is Charles Gwynne; since my entering England I have assumed the name of Bodwell. I am twenty-eight years of age, and my native place is the county of Carnarvon, Wales, where I was brought up and learned grammar; from

[33] State Papers, P.R.O., *Dom. Charles I.* 1627, vol. lix. n. 89. Endorsed by Sir John Cook, Secretary, "Bishop of Hereford to the Lord Keeper. Berrington and Hanmer, priests."

thence I entered the service of a noble family in another county of England, where I remained for about seven years. My father, who was of the higher class, is dead; my mother, a Protestant, is yet alive. I have two brothers, neither of them Catholic; also two sisters, one a Catholic, the other a Protestant, and have no Catholic relatives except one maternal aunt. I have studied humanities for three years and a half at Tournay and Douay. I was brought up in heresy until my twentieth year. Then, going to visit my uncle in Brussels, I was converted by the efforts of the Reverend Mr. John Chambers, the confessor of the English nuns there. My great desire is to become a priest and to procure by this means the conversion of my relations, friends, and others from heresy."

Father Gwynne took the usual college oath on May 1, 1611, and was ordained priest in Rome December 21, 1613. A status of the English College, dated 1613,[34] says that he was then aged thirty-one, nephew of Mr. Hughes, of an ancient British family. In 1625, he succeeded Father Salisbury as Superior of this College or District. He is probably the "Father Brown, a Jesuit, lodging in St. Martin's Lane," mentioned in Gee's list.[35]

Father Gwynne, *alias* Browne, is referred to in the *Relation*, pages 333 seq., as having purchased the residence of the College or District of St. Francis Xavier at Coombe. He died on April 5, 1647, æt. 65.

He wrote the following letter, as Superior of the District, to Father General Vitelleschi.[36]

Very Reverend Father in Christ,—

P.C.

I have omitted my duty of writing to your Paternity for some months, on account of the difficulty of transmitting letters from hence to Rome; and although, as I opine, this letter will not reach you without risk, since war is now raging in almost every part of the Continent, yet I prefer exposing it to these risks, rather than any longer to be failing in my duty.

All the members of our College earnestly apply themselves to the usual ministrations of the Society, nor whilst labouring for the salvation of their neighbours do they neglect their own spiritual perfection. The usual exercises of the Society are by no means interrupted; and although the duties of the Fathers here are greatly increased of late, yet, as we hope, their zeal of souls and fervour of devotion have also simultaneously gone on increasing,

[34] Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vol. iv. n. 4.
[35] See *Records*, vol. i. series v. Appendix.
[36] Taken from the original, Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vol. iv. n. 99.

which is evidenced by each one performing his duty cheerfully and religiously. Among the rest, a certain octogenarian Father, who, though unable, by reason of the infirmities of old age, to stir out of doors, has happily brought this year thirty or thereabouts from the mists of heresy to the salutary light of our Holy Mother the Church. Nor do we doubt but that he and all the rest will daily bring forth rich fruit, if only your Paternity will deign to impart to us all your benediction. In our humble prayers we beg the Divine Goodness long to preserve you in safety.

Your Very Reverend Paternity's humble servant and son in Christ,

CHARLES BROWN.

From the College of St. Francis Xavier, July 24, 1635.

Of FATHER JOHN CLARE, Dr. Oliver in his *Collectanea S.J.* observes, that "according to Wood and his copyists, Harris and Dodd, he was an Irishman; but this is obviously incorrect. Had they but turned to the conclusion of his admirable work of *The Converted Jew*, where he so forcibly addresses the members of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, they would have found that he expressly styles himself an 'English priest.' Probably the mistake arose from confounding him with Father Edward Clare, his contemporary, and the Superior of the Jesuits at Waterford. Father John Clare was probably a native of London. It was certainly there that Father Gerard became acquainted with him in his youth, and after duly satisfying himself of his capacity sent him abroad for education. When that zealous and charitable Father wrote his autobiography, about the year 1608, or 1609, he thinks that this young Jesuit, and his other *protégé*, Father Thomas Silvester, were then stationed at the College of the Society at Valladolid. 'Alii sunt patres ex Societate, et nunc, ut opinor, Vallisolati manent in Seminario, viz., P. Sylvester et P. Clarus.'

"On July 4, 1618, the signature of Father John Clare occurs in conjunction with Fathers Edward Knott and Edward Coffin, to a memorial addressed to Father Thomas Owen, Rector of the English College, Rome, then in a declining state of health, recommending him to name Father Richard Blount as his coadjutor and successor in the office of Prefect of the English Mission.

"Returning to his native country," continues Dr. Oliver, "Father Clare appears to have laboured with zeal and discretion until his death: the date of which I have sought for in vain. How this eminent writer should have escaped the notice of the sagacious Father Nathaniel Southwell is truly unaccountable. His work above mentioned must make him

ever to be considered as one of the brightest luminaries of the English Province, as a man of prodigious reading and information, and not less candid than learned. As the work is rare we may state that it is a 4to volume, printed in 1630, with the name of the author: *Mr. John Clare, a Catholic priest of the Society of Jesus*, and dedicated to the two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The work is divided into three dialogues. The speakers in the first are Michæas, a Jewish Rabbi, Cardinal Bellarmine, and Dr. Whittaker. Its object is to prove that the Roman Catholic Church has suffered no intrinsic change in faith and religion since it was first planted by the Apostles. This dialogue contains 124 pages.

"The second introduces Michæas, the former converted Jew, Ochinus, who first planted Protestantism in England in Edward VI.'s reign, Dr. Reynolds of Oxford, and Adam Neutserus, Chief Pastor of Heidelburgh in the Palatinate, and it shows that the Protestant Church had no existence before Luther's apostacy. There is an appendix containing a full answer to a pamphlet entitled, 'A Treatise of the visibility and succession of the True Church in all ages,' which had been printed in 1624. This second dialogue comprises 155 pages.

"In the third we find the said Michæas, and the Lord Chief Justice of England, and the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford discoursing together, and it is proved that Protestants are more chargeable in principle and practice with disloyalty to their legitimate governors than Catholics are. This contains 141 pages. The address of three pages to the members of the two Universities, concludes the whole."

Dr. Oliver remarks upon the careless printing of the book, and considers "that a new edition of the valuable work duly revised and corrected is truly a desideratum."

The following extract from the summary of the deceased S.J. gives us some of the information which Dr. Oliver wanted:

"John Clare. A native of Wilts, æt. 51; in religion twenty-three; professed of the four vows. Being seized with apoplexy caught from cold at night, after various medical remedies tried in vain, whilst he was returning from the baths, he died on his journey here in England June 4, 1628. He was at that time Rector of the College of St. Francis Xavier. He had also been Prefect of Studies at Louvain, and the English College, Rome; also Professor of Sacred Scripture for some years at Louvain; also Spiritual Father and Confessor there; he had prepared for the press a con-

troversial work against our [English] heretics, but sickness and death prevented its being printed; the book, however, entitled the *Converted Jew*, although published in his name, is not his work." This may explain why Father Southwell omits to notice it.

Wood[37] mentions Father Clare in his notice of Christopher Davenport (Father Santa Clara the Friar): "Under the head of this learned person may be mentioned another of his own persuasion, viz., John Clare, an Irishman born, who was an Hospes for some time here, Oxon, and afterwards going to Rome became a Catholic priest, a member of the Society of Jesus, and *repetitor physicus* in the English College there, about the time when Thomas Owen, a Welshman, succeeded Father Parsons in the Rectory of the said College, ann. 1610, and afterwards was sent into the mission. This John Clare, who was esteemed among those of his own persuasion for his learning and piety, hath written the *Converted Jew*, &c., 1630. What other things he hath written I know not, nor anything else of him, only that he is omitted in the *Biblio. Soc. Jesu.*"

Among the State Papers in the Public Record Office (*Dom. James I.*, 1624, Conway Letter-Book) is the following order from Secretary Lord Conway to the Attorney-General:

"Tilburie, August 15, 1624. Mr. Attorney,—To give order for a warrant of indemnity of one Clare a priest for not obeying the Proclamation. And to lycense him to goe to the Baths, if he finds his allegation true that he was taken with a dead palsy, when he should have gone over [the sea into exile]."

Father George Duckett, *vere* Holtby, was a native of Yorkshire, a nephew and convert of Father Richard Holtby, *alias* Duckett;[38] born in the year 1590. At the age of twenty, he entered the English College, Rome, as an alumnus on October 7, 1612. He was ordained priest on December 27, 1616, and left Rome for the Novitiate of the English Province S.J., Louvain, on October 14, 1617, "having always lived," says the College Diary, "to the great edification of all."

On entering the English College as an alumnus, he made the following statement in reply to the usual interrogatories:

"My name is George Holtby; I am twenty-two years of

[37] *Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 654. Edit. 1721.

[38] See the "Life of Father Richard Holtby," *Records*, vol. iii. series v. pp. 3, seq.

age; born at a village called Santon in Yorkshire, about twelve miles distant from York. Until fourteen years of age I was under the constant care of my parents; afterwards, by means of my uncle, a priest in England, I was intrusted to the care of a certain noble lady, a daughter of the Earl of Northumberland, who sent me about a year afterward to St. Omer's College, where she has supported me until the present time. My father was Robert Holtby, and my mother Margaret Bullock, both of respectable families. Twelve years ago, I was converted to the Catholic faith by means of my uncle, Richard Holtby, a priest of the Society of Jesus. My parents were rigid schismatics, but now, as I hear from various sources, my father[39] (having for some half a year refused to take the oath offered him,) has been despoiled of his goods, and consigned to perpetual imprisonment, leaving my mother with four children to be supported by the liberality of friends. I have no brothers, sisters, or near relatives heretics; a few are schismatics. Anthony Metcalfe, a learned barrister, is a connection on my father's side, who, with Anthony Holtby, an uncle, and a maternal aunt, called Franke, have suffered much for the faith. I made my early studies at a school at Knaresbro', and from thence was sent to St. Omer. I was nearly twelve years old before I became a Catholic, being previously ignorant of any religion, whether Protestant, schismatic, or Catholic, and therefore unskilled in all religions. I remained for so long free, until rescued by the assistance of others. I will briefly relate how this came about: My father, having now spent many years in schism, at length by the exhortations of my uncle the priest was so moved, that in order the more conveniently to embrace the Catholic faith, he migrated to the Diocese of Durham, chiefly, as I think, because all the heretics, with whom he had previously been on intimate terms, astonished at his sudden change, now closely watched him. The name of the mansion to which he removed was Staveley, six miles from Newcastle and the same from Durham. He had scarcely settled here, when my uncle came, on purpose I believe to bring back all the wanderers to the fold of Christ, and so indeed the event proved; for he had scarcely been there three days, when calling me to him he began by exhortations to persuade me to embrace the Catholic faith. I made no delay in complying with such sound advice, and he handed me over to a priest

[39] He was subsequently converted.

named Jackson[40] for instructions, who received me into the Church."

He had made his first year's theology in Rome before leaving for Louvain, and was solemnly professed on December 8, 1630. He was Rector of the College of Liege, the Theologate of the English Province, in 1637, how long before or after does not appear; and also of the English College or House of the Tertians at Ghent in 1648. In 1642 he had been the Instructor of the Fathers making the third year's probation at that College. In the Catalogue for the year 1655 he appears as a missioner in this District, and seems to have come to the English Mission in 1650, after having filled nearly every office in the Society.

The following panegyric speaks thus of his memory:[41]

"Father George Duckett, of Durham, duly fortified by all the sacraments of the Church on the vigil of All Saints (a sharer it is hoped in their triumph the following day), in the seventy-ninth year of his age, no less ripe in merits than in years, piously succumbed to death, worn out by the protracted pains of stone, gout, and dropsy. He was a man remarkably religious, endowed with great gifts, both of talent and virtue, and very accomplished in polite literature, Greek and Latin, as also in the higher and in sacred studies. If we are unable to recount his virtues singly, it arises either from his own modesty or our ignorance. For no one who knew him can doubt that he excelled in every kind of virtue usually adorning a religious. *Ex ungue Leonem conjice et pede Herculem.* As to the duty of the particular examen, he was a scrupulous weigher of himself and of his dispositions; and for this end he was constantly observed making notes in a paper he carried with him for the purpose; of his actions also he was a close examiner, for he that is diligently careful of the least, does not neglect the greater. The tenor of his life was most even, ever himself, always the same, never dissipated by exterior things, but ever collected in God, or rather in himself *propter Deum.* Truly his own master, *si minus Dei.*

"He filled every office in the Province, except that of being actual Provincial, although for a time he supplied as Vice-Provincial. He was twice Rector of Liege and of Ghent. At first indeed in most difficult, tumultuous and dangerous

[40] Probably Father Thomas Jackson, of Yorkshire. See *Records*, vol. iii. series vi. pp. 180 seq.

[41] Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vol. vi.

times, in which, however, he so conducted himself as to afford abundant satisfaction both to our own members and to the townspeople. It happened once that a mob of the lowest rabble of the people, armed with fury and weapons, attacked our College in order to sack it. Father Duckett, undismayed, ran to the door, and planted himself there as a rampart of defence, not to be easily thrown down. Their audacity was thus disarmed and their fierceness tamed, these ramping lions were turned back by the lamb, no longer plunderers, but themselves despoiled. Truly this was a 'change of the hand of the Most High.'

"For many years he laboured in the English Mission, where he also died, and was held by all in great esteem for piety and zeal of souls; to which is to be added that he was distinguished for his humility towards all, and especially towards God. It was his custom when among seculars, where the conversation was apt to turn upon trifling matters, to give the commencement to them, and to reserve the last part to himself, which he always interspersed with some spiritual seasoning, lest the world should by any means get the upperhand. Beyond all his other virtues it pleased God to render his patience eminent, and therefore to send him a severe conflict, in which he came off victorious to the admiration of all. But his victory cost him no little, for with three adversaries, each most cruel ones, attacking him at the same time, as we have above mentioned, what wonder that he should have purchased his palm dearly, and in doing so should yield, not to the conflict, but to death. But truly the Heavenly Master of the arena did not forsake His athlete in the heat and dust of this battle, but so animated him with incentives of consolation (as he told his confessor when dying) that he looked upon them as roses rather than thorns, or if thorns, yet softened with roses. However, he succumbed at last, as the condition of being crowned; joyful event to him, because, as it is hoped, death opened to him immediately the gate of life."

We find from the archives of the English College, Rome, that the following convert of Father George Holtby became a student there in 1629. On entering the College he made the following brief statement:

"My name is RALPH MINSHALL, son of Ralph Minshall, born at Nantwich, Cheshire. My parents are respectable, belonging to families which rank as esquires. My eldest brother

is a knight. I was brought up a heretic, and so obstinately lived till a more advanced age. In the year 1627, I became a Catholic, together with my eldest brother, by the exertions and aid of the Reverend Father George Duckett, S.J., and left England the same year for the English College, St. Omer."

The Diary of the English College states that he entered as an alumnus, aged twenty-six, in the name of William Stanley, of Cheshire, on October 20, 1629; took the College oaths on May 1, following, was ordained priest on July 25, 1634, and left for England on August 31, having behaved well at the College.

Before proceeding to give the few extracts we possess from the annual reports of the College, we now mention certain members of the Society who were in various degrees connected with the District. Our information is chiefly gathered from the statements made by the students themselves, on entering the English College, Rome.

Father John Greaves, a native of Somersetshire, was born in 1574. He entered the English College, Rome, as an alumnus, at the age of twenty-four, on November 30, 1598; took the College oath on February 28, 1599; received minor orders the next month; was ordained subdeacon on the 16th of March, deacon on the 23rd of May, and priest on the 5th of June in the same year. He joined the Society after his third year's theology, about the feast of SS. Simon and Jude, 1601, leaving behind him a good odour of edification in the College. On entering the English College he gave the following account of himself:

"Nov. 29, 1598. My name is John Greaves. I am in my twenty-fourth year; born in the county of Somerset, and brought up in a certain villa not far from the town of Ilminster. My parents are of the middle class, and Protestants. I have two brothers and four sisters, the eldest of whom is married. My principal relations on my mother's side are the families of Hawkers and Bonville. I studied at Oxford many departments of literature: philosophy, natural and moral; logic, astronomy, geometry, speculative arithmetic, geography, history, poetry; in a word, whilst grasping at everything I caught nothing. I grieve to say that for some years I was brought up in heresy, but arriving at a more mature age and riper judgment, and

reflecting upon the state of my past life, I had reason to suspect the truth of my opinions. After revolving these things over and over again in my mind, I concluded that I could not remain in my miserable error without grievous sin. Being daily confirmed in this opinion I courageously cast off the old heresy, and found in the Church that free salvation which is not to be found outside her pale. I endured a month's imprisonment on this account in France, eight months in Holland, and three in England."

Father Greaves was Penitentiary at St. Peter's in Rome in 1604, and for some years was engaged upon the English Mission. In 1642 he appears in a Catalogue as Professor of Hebrew and Sacred Scripture at Liege, where he died on August 30, 1652.

Brother Edward Cottington,[42] a native of Somersetshire, born in 1581, was admitted on January 16, 1600, an alumnus of the English College, Rome, at the age of nineteen. He took the College oath on the 1st of May following; received the Sacrament of Confirmation on the 26th of February of the same year, and minor orders in September and November following. Leaving Rome for Belgium on October 16th, 1602, he soon afterwards died at St. Omer's, having been previously admitted to the Society.

On entering the English College, Rome, he gave the following statement:

"1600, January. My proper name is Edward Cottington. I am nineteen years of age, a native of Somerset, near Wells, on the borders of Wilts. I was first educated at home for about five years, under the care of a former Oxford tutor with whom I learnt rudiments. I was then sent to a school at Worcester, where during five years I went through grammar, poetry, and rhetoric, also a little Greek. I then went to Trinity College, Oxford, not as a graduate, but boarder only; here I studied logic and philosophy for nearly four years. My parents are both living, they are not of mean extraction, and are sufficiently well off. Both are heretics, as also are three brothers, older than myself, and one sister, lately married to a respectable Protestant. I have two paternal uncles, both heretics, the one a secular, the other a Doctor of Divinity, and

[42] In *Records*, vol. iii. p. 194, note, a brief allusion is made to this holy youth in our notice of Lord Cottington, the Ambassador of Charles II. at the Court of Madrid.

Canon of Wells Cathedral, besides being archdeacon, and having other ample preferments. He is married to a daughter of the Bishop of Gloucester. I have but one maternal uncle, who was formerly a Catholic, but in the recent persecutions he conformed, yielding to compulsion, and went to church; his wife, with three daughters and a son, remain staunch Catholics. As my parents and friends were all Protestants I was the same; but this I attribute chiefly to ignorance of the truth and want of proper instruction, for as soon as I began to reflect upon religion, what it was (having previously been incapable by reason of my tender years to form any judgment), I began by degrees to doubt about the Protestant religion. I did not, however, at that time dream of the Catholic religion, forasmuch as I often heard many calumnies spoken against it by all, on every side. I likewise read many books written against it (amongst others *Foxe's Martyrs*, which greatly scandalized me), and heard the faith daily condemned in sermons preached against it. All these things combined to make the Catholic religion odious to me by reason of my ignorance. Once a youth named William Webb, then a scholar in the same College in Oxford, took me to the common library of the College, and it so happened that I at once came upon three volumes of Father Bellarmine, in which the first thing that caught my eye was a treatise on Purgatory. As I had always been accustomed to regard such subjects as new and foreign, and had often heard the doctrine cast in the teeth of Papists as absurd, I resolved now to see what kind of place this Purgatory might be, and how it could be defended by Catholics. After reading this treatise and many passages of Holy Scripture and of the Fathers, and seeing the evidences cited in favour of Purgatory, I began to think that the Catholics had some probable grounds for their religion. Hence I conceived a desire often to read those books, and I went on to study much in them, and in others written by Catholics. By this, and by frequently pondering on them, my mind began little by little to decline from heresy and lean towards the Catholic religion. I had frequent conversations, too, with William Webb and another young student of the same College, and these conferences tended greatly to make me reject heresy and adopt Catholic views, though not without some hesitation and anxiety. At length a certain priest confirmed my vacillating and fluctuating mind in the true faith, and by his advice I determined to

leave parents and country, and betake myself to Rome for my studies. Soon after this, then, early one morning before daybreak, I privately withdrew from home, and met the same priest by appointment. He received me into the Church, and with funds which he and a certain relative of mine had provided, I went first to London, and then crossed over to Calais, meeting with no danger by the way."

The Annual Letters of the English College, Rome, for the year 1602, thus notice this holy youth. "Retiring from England he came to this College, and having spent three years here in study, he fell into a state of weakness, probably brought on by the air of Rome, and was advised by the physicians to go to Belgium. Before his departure, however, he was, at his earnest request, received into the Society. The disease rapidly increasing, and death being now imminent, he begged and readily obtained leave to make his scholastic vows, and was buried in our habit, according to custom."

The same report mentions "another youth of good family [without giving name or place] who was confined in the same prison as his own father, their offence being a refusal to attend the Protestant churches. His father died in the prison, or rather exchanged it for a true and blessed life; and he was the cause of his sister's consecrating herself to Christ by a vow of perpetual virginity, he himself taking a similar vow and at the same time devoting himself to our Society. The same youth, moreover, related that there were at that time so few Catholics in the city where they were detained in prisons, that the citizens would frequently flock to the gaol to see a 'Papist,' as they call them. For they are so deluded by the various fables of the Protestant ministers as scarcely to believe that Catholics are like the rest of their fellowmen, or even live as rational beings. But when they came to see the dignified figure of this same person, his quiet manner, his sweet and prudent address, they wondered, and not only changed their ideas, but even imbibed an affection for the orthodox religion, which, however, unhappy that they were, they dared not embrace."

Father George Morgan, *alias* Dingley, was a native of Monmouth, born 1584. At the age of twenty, he entered the English College, Rome, as an alumnus, on October 20, 1604, and took the College oath on August 10, 1605. In that and the following year he received minor orders, and entered the

Society in May or June, 1609. The date we learn from a letter of Father Parsons, Rector of the College, to Father Thomas Talbot, Rector and Master of Novices at St. John's, Louvain.[43] This letter, dated May 16, 1609, says, "Brother John Lilly departed hence yesterday, the 15th of May, together with Father Nelson, *alias* Neville, and George Dingley, all for your house. . . ."

On entering the English College he made the following statement.

"1604. My name is George Morgan. I am in my twentieth year; was born in the parish of St. Michael's, Monmouth, and studied grammar at Abergavenny. The family of Morgan is respectable and ancient. My mother is of the old family of Scudamore. My father, who had always been Protestant, became a Catholic shortly before his death. My mother was always Catholic. I am the third son, and have four brothers, and the same number of sisters, most of them Catholics. I made my humanity course at Douay. I was always a Catholic at heart, and in my early years was brought up among Catholics. Then, being sent to London, I studied the law for nearly a year, during which time I never heard Mass, nor for the previous four or five years, not from any doubts as to faith, but from sheer negligence. After this I was bound for seven years to a London merchant, with whom I lived for only half a year, and during that time I reluctantly frequented the church of the heretics. From thence at my mother's instigation I went to Douay."[44]

We are unable to trace the career of this Father any further.

Father Thomas Sherwood, as we learn from the Diary of the English College, Rome, entered an alumnus under the assumed name of Sherrington, being about twenty-four years of age. This was on October 16, 1607, Father Robert Parsons being then Rector. He took the College oaths on August 24, 1608, and received minor orders in the same year; was ordained subdeacon on the 18th, deacon on the 21st of September, and priest on October 17, 1610. He then entered the Society, and died a most holy death on the

[43] Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vol. iii. n. 94.

[44] We find his name in a list of matriculators at the University of Douay, Reg. fol. 70 vers. Nov. 13, 1602. "George Morgan of Herefordshire" (See *Records of English Catholics*, by the Fathers of the Oratory, p. 285.)

21st of November following. He had ever afforded proofs of remarkable virtue in the College.

On applying to enter the English College he gave the following account of himself:

"1607. My own name is Thomas Sherwood, and my father's John Sherwood. I am twenty-four years of age; was born at Wells, and educated at Bath, where I made my humanity studies under masters named Adam Arnold and Henry Slyman, of whom the former is now a Father of the Society of Jesus, and the other secretary to the Duke of Feria in Spain. I have spent most of my life with my parents at Bath until the last two years, except two years or thereabouts in London, which I devoted to study, and excepting certain journeys of recreation to my friends in various parts of England. My mother was of good family; her father's name was Nowell [Knowell]. Her mother's name was Martin, of Adlamstone, both ancient houses. All my sisters are married, the eldest to John Parham, of Adber, Esquire, whose son, and only child, a knight, married an heiress, Elizabeth Tilly, who died a year ago, a Catholic. He afterwards married one of the daughters of Sir Thomas Tresham, Kt. Parham has been a Catholic for many years, although I have heard that he frequents the Protestant churches, but under the impression, as I think, that the doing so is not contrary to the Catholic religion. His mother has often, and with much patience, displayed wonderful constancy and piety in the Catholic religion in withstanding the impetuous Chief Justice Popham, and the madness of the most impotent Puritan, Francis Hastings. And the same John Parham suffered much, even prison itself, on account of his wife, nor is he for this reason more unkind towards her, having still a Catholic conscience, although on account of the times he is yet a slave to the heretics. This I have upon assured authority. His possessions are worth about £80 per annum. My mother had another sister married to J. Keynes, Esquire, who is able to spend (I suppose) about £300 a year. He is a Catholic, together with his wife and children. She had another Catholic sister, now the schismatical wife of John Lord who, although unassuming, yet passes, on account of his wealth (howsoever gotten), for a man of the higher class. My mother has two more sisters, one of them the wife of John Bishop, educated at Oxford, but in what college I do not remember; he was Registrar to the Bishop of Wells. During her husband's lifetime she lived

comfortably enough, but now, since his death, in more straitened circumstances with her second husband named Willis. The last of these sisters lived with her husband Coxon, as I have often heard, in a very fair way; but, meeting with reverses, he lost the property in which he confided too much, and died."

He then mentions a property of £300 a year to which his father was entitled in right of his wife, and names his mother's eldest brother William Nowell, then a schismatic, but with a Catholic wife, who brought up her children in the faith. Nowell was a practising physician.

"These have no unmarried daughters living, but seven sons, the eldest of whom a few months ago married Margaret, daughter of Mr. Prater, of Nunney. What their means are I do not know, but I believe poor enough; they are both in Ireland, and Catholics. There also we have a relative named Sherwood, with about £1000 a year.[45] I have five other brothers, all younger than myself. I am the second surviving, but I may say, *unicus ego*, and truly such, in view of this great vocation. There are also four daughters, I believe, and the heir of the aforesaid Martin, well married. I have other relations by my mother's side, one of whom, named Flere, is a Catholic; another White, is a schismatic, I think; another Scroop, a Calvinist, with a fourth of his name whom I do not remember, having never known him well. On my Father's side are Richard and Henry Sherwood, my paternal uncles, priests, but few or no other blood relations;[46] many friends, however, in a very poor condition, for I do not know any one of all these who either would or could assist me with money. I acknowledge that I have received more benefits in these parts from strangers, and from the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, than I ever did, or ever can hope to do, from other friends. I have already mentioned my study of humanities; in these,

[45] This relative was Henry Sherwood, who lived in Dublin, and of whom mention is made in the autobiography of Edward Fenton annexed to this memoir.

[46] The names of the Reverends Henry and Richard Sherwood frequently occur in the Douay Diaries (see *Records of English Catholics*, by the Oratorian Fathers, as above). Ordained 1588, with others, "Henry Sherwood, London." 1588, sent into England with fourteen others, "Henry Sherwood." In page 216 is the following entry: "1587, August 27, Henry Sherwood is come to us sick, who for nearly seven years endured the sufferings of imprisonment in England for the constant profession of the Catholic faith." From another entry, page 219, the Rev. Henry Sherwood's date of ordination is given June 11, 1588. On September 28 he left for Paris. 1584. March 31, Richard Sherwood, of London, was ordained priest (having arrived at Douay, December 14, 1583), and the same year sent into England with twenty-four more priests (August 2, 1584).

partly from my own indolence, partly from the remissness of my tutors in England, I made but little progress. I studied the common law in England, but with distaste, and made nothing of it for the two years I applied to it. I afterwards studied in St. Omer's College for nearly two years, and made more progress there than in all my past life put together. I not only conformed to the customs and frequented the churches of the heretics, but imbibed their opinions. At length I had daily conversations with my elder brother John, who had been a Catholic for at least ten years, upon the knowledge and practice of the Catholic religion, so far as he could venture to hold them with a boy as I was. From these I began to entertain many doubts, and found the apparently sure foundation of heresy slipping from under my feet, so that, falling upon my knees, I briefly implored Almighty God, with all the fervour I was able, to show me the real and true religion, and to enlighten my darkness. This I did often every day.

"About this time my father, at the instance of a great friend of his, Thomas Emerson, a barrister, was now sending me to London to study the law, and, among other advice, earnestly exhorted me that when thrown into the society either of Puritans or other of the various sects, which would frequently occur, I should always remember the decision of the Catholic Church against attending the temples of the heretics, though such a course might be more advantageous for my affairs in these times. This moved me not a little, and well nigh took from me all doubt which was the true religion. I then immediately started for London, with the aforesaid intention, when my horse, from weakness and want of spirit, as far as I recollect, fell heavily to the ground, and throwing me off, was itself killed. This made me ponder whether the undertaking was pleasing to God; however, I arrived in London, and after a little time spent in studies in Lyon's Inn, by help of a Catholic friend, and by certain affections gathered from a book of meditations by Father Louis of Granada which I met with, I was more and more excited with the desire of reading that book, so that I scarcely ever afterwards read law books without disgust. However, to proceed with a less engaged mind with the institutes, I put that divine book out of my hands indeed, but was unable to put it out of my mind. I applied to these studies for about a year afterwards, and very seldom looked into Father L. of Granada's book; but if I did happen to do so I was unable for a fortnight afterwards to

consult law books without distraction. The consequence of this was that during the space of that year I profited little or nothing in my legal studies. At the end of this year my paternal uncle, Henry Sherwood, came to me, and told me that he had heard from his brother Richard in Flanders to the effect that if my brother John was willing to be instructed and to enter the priesthood he might come over, and that twenty pounds would suffice; but that he rather desired that I should do so instead of my brother, inasmuch as I was more fitted for it on account of my age, being then about eighteen, and because, of the two, I was the more advanced in my studies. But I answered excusing myself, partly on account of the grief it would cause my mother, whose favourite child I was, and partly that it would be acting in disobedience to the injunctions my father had given me. My uncle seeing me, although so young, yet so obstinate, took his leave, and I have never seen him since. Returning home to my father, I related all to my brother John, who laid before me how great an opportunity I had neglected.

"About two years after this I observed my brother very often in secret conversation with a relation whom I knew to be a Catholic. From this and other significant tokens I suspected that it regarded my mother's reconciliation. At length I took the occasion of occupying the same room with my brother to ask him to satisfy my mind about it. He said he would. I asked him, did the frequent and private conversations with our relative Henry Sherwood refer to the reconciliation of my mother to the Church? "It is true," he replied, "and if you wish, you likewise may become a Catholic, for on the following Sunday a person is to come who will reconcile my mother." From that day, Wednesday (I think it was), I prepared myself as carefully as I could, though the shortness of the time prevented my doing so as I ought. Accordingly, on the next Sunday, which was about the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, being then in my twentieth year, I was received into our holy Mother the Church. I remained for two years after this in England, but within half a year from the time of my reception I meditated the state of life I am now soliciting. When Parham, who had taken a paternal care of my father's four children, wrote to ask when a certain captain would be going to Belgium, I then, with twenty pounds which I had received from my parents, took leave of them, and went to him in London, and at length, by his help, crossed over to

Belgium on the feast of St. Peter. Here, having spent nearly all my money, how I will not say, I came from Brussels to Douay to be admitted, as I hoped, into the College there, bringing a letter of introduction from my uncle Richard. But, as I arrived after the studies had commenced, the Rev. President refused to admit me. I had brought, however, a letter of recommendation from the Rev. Father Baldwin to the Rev. Father Gibbons, who a little after took occasion to recommend me to Father Baldwin for admission to St. Omer's College, which was effected. I there studied syntax and poetry, and, though most unworthy, am sent to Rome."

He then earnestly desires the ecclesiastical state.

The following account of himself, by a convert to the Catholic faith, gained by Mr. Henry Sherwood, the uncle of Father Thomas Sherwood, and received into the Church by a Jesuit Father in England, is taken from the Archives of the English College, Rome, of which he became a student.

EDWARD FENTON.—"1610. My true name is Edward Fenton. I am about thirty-two years of age, and was born at Fenton in the county of Nottingham, where I have been chiefly brought up. My parents are Nicholas Fenton, Esq., and Grace his wife, who are both alive. They are schismatics, not obstinate heretics. Of my seven brothers, two only survive; William, the eldest, and Thomas, the youngest, not well settled in religion. I have no sister, but many relations, both Catholic and Protestant. Mrs. Disney, of Norton, Lincolnshire, and her sister Mrs. Barneby, Widow Ridges, of Fulbecke in the same county, Mrs. Powdrell, of Westhallam, Derbyshire, Wilhelm Stillington and Richard Anne, of Frickley, in the county of York, are my relatives, and excellent Catholics.[47] I studied at home under various masters from childhood to youth. I then studied at Cambridge, and from thence went to London. I took no University degree. I afterwards lived, wasting my time, as is the custom of the place and of youth, sometimes in town, sometimes in the country, as business or pleasure attracted me.

"As to my vocation to the true faith, I am ashamed to say in what ignorance and heedlessness I have lived in regard to Christianity. I went to the church of the heretics out of

[47] Father George Anne, who is noticed in *Records*, vol. iii. series vi. "St. Michael's Residence," was probably his cousin.

human respect, not from devotion. I lived daily among them, and often heard sermons, but remained for a long time without any sentiment of religion. About five or six years ago I crossed over to Ireland, where I filled a respectable post under a man of family, a namesake and fellow-countryman, after whose death I lived in Dublin, where I came to know many Catholics, but one of my own standing was especially dear to me. He was a secretary to a very great personage, as I was to another. His name was Henry Sherwood, a perfect man indeed, and full of faith. As it chanced, we both lodged in the same house. Our hostess was a Protestant widow, whom he greatly desired to bring to the true faith. She frequently asked me to interpose and defend the cause, which I very willingly did. What he asserted, I denied; if he attempted to prove anything, I threw doubt upon it. He was a learned man; my knowledge was fitted rather to cavil than to comprehend the truth. At length he attempted my conversion likewise, and spoke much about repentance, reformation, and eternity. He attracted me by his great kindness and modesty, and warned me again and again to reflect, while there was time. He then gave me a book written by Dr. Kellison, and a sermon preached upon occasion of the funeral of Queen Mary. I clearly saw the honesty and sincerity of the man, and so set to work.

"I fled for help to God, and implored Him with tears that He would be pleased to open my blind eyes, and to show me the light of truth. The more I applied my mind to these thoughts, the greater fruit did I begin to gather. I likewise began to reflect thus: 'Perhaps, O my God, this is the last opportunity Thou wilt grant to call me to Thy friendship. I will not then, indeed, close this gate to salvation by my ingratitude.' At length I felt myself drawn to extirpate carnal affections, and to clothe myself with a new garment of piety, continency, and every sort of modesty. My friend assisted me much towards this by his discourse; at length he went into the country. I applied myself to study. I read and re-read historical books and the annals of England. I noted the ebb and flow of opinions and events, the lust and incontinency of Henry VIII., the avarice and desire of licence in his nobles, all that took place during the minority of Edward VI., the weak mind and credulity of the late Queen Elizabeth, and the effeminate condition to which the accession to so great an estate had brought the reigning King James. On the other side I noted the antiquity of the Church of

Rome, and the honesty of Catholics in their contracts and dealings in business. I called to mind their remarkable charity to each other, and their respect and esteem towards priests; all which things I regarded as real marks of the truth. Thus I became, in fact, almost a Catholic. Henry Sherwood now returned to Dublin, and at length we crossed over together to England. He introduced me to the Fathers of the Society, who, having satisfied my remaining difficulties on those very points on which Protestants declare that Catholics have no answer to give, received me into the Church in the month of May last." He then desires to embrace the ecclesiastical state.

The College Diary states that he was admitted as an alumnus of the Holy Father, Pope Paul V., by the Rev. Father Thomas Owen, the Rector, under the name of William Burras, aged about thirty-two, on October 2, 1610. He studied philosophy, and left on June 11, 1611, to arrange certain affairs, but died at Milan on his way to England.

Father John Rogers, *alias* Bamfield, a native of Somersetshire, was born in the year 1584, and entered the English College, Rome, in 1604, as the following extract from the Diary shows:

"1604. John Rogers, of Somerset, near the town of Frome, aged twenty, not yet confirmed, came from Douay with William Worthington and Dingley [Morgan]. On account of his weak health his admission to the College was deferred until the beginning of the following year, when he was admitted among the alumni on January 1, 1605, and took the usual College oaths on the 10th of August following. Having received minor orders, he was ordained subdeacon, September 18, 1610; deacon, 21st of the same month; and then, having completed his philosophy and theology, left the College April 21, 1611, and entered the Society.[48] On entering the College he made the following statement: 'My name is John Rogers. I am twenty years of age, and was born in a village called Feltham, the property of my father, near the town of Frome in Somersetshire. I received the rudiments of education in various places, but mostly in a town in Wiltshire, called Heytesbury,[49] where I studied humanities for seven years. Thence, at my father's wish, I went to Oxford, where I lived for half a year in

[48] The entry of the ordination to the priesthood seems to be omitted.

[49] A parish in South Wiltshire, near which is the seat of Lord Heytesbury.

Oriel College. After this, I remained at home idle for nearly two years, when a soldier named Richard Diar, of the King's body-guard, came to my father's house, and asked him if he was willing that I should enter the service of the son of Lord Harrington, who was Lord-in-Waiting to the Prince. The soldier, having heard my father's wishes, turning to me asked if I was agreeable. On one special condition, I said (meaning that I should preserve my religion), "Thou wilt be *pure* in religion" he replied (thinking I favoured Puritanism). I refused his offer. At length my uncle, Lord Stourton, asked my father what he could do for me, and proposed my entering the service of his wife, the Lady Stourton. To this my father assented, and committed me to her charge; and when I had spent a year there, by chance I met a very aged priest, named Father Richard Bray, who had lived for ten years at Douay, and by whose means I was made a Catholic, and I then crossed over, not without difficulty, to Douay.[50] My father is an esquire, living upon his own estate; I have only one brother and sister, and am myself the eldest. I have many relatives, some of them Catholics. My father is still a schismatic, and I myself was always so until my conversion by the above-named aged priest.'"

In a Catalogue of the Province for the year 1642, Father Rogers is named as a missioner in the College of St. Thomas of Canterbury. He had been sent to the Maryland mission of the English Province, with some of the earliest of the missioners, and had returned to England in 1638.[51] Again in the Catalogue for 1655 he is stated to be at Watten, when seventy-two years of age, having spent forty-four in the Society and thirty-four upon the mission. He was made a Professed Father September 17, 1622, and died at St. Omer's College, S.J., on August 7, 1657.

The summary of the deceased members of the English Province for 1657, thus notices the Father: "Father John Rogers, a learned man, and a very sharp defender of our Francis Suarez. Of the seventy-four years which he lived, he spent forty-six in the Society and thirty-four upon the mission, and was professed upon September $\frac{7}{17}$, 1622. Being translated to the novitiate of Watten in his declining years, he spent

[50] "1583. 28 April, came Richard Bray." "1583. 23 Sept. Received first tonsure, Richard Bray, Hereford" (Douay Diary, *Records of English Catholics*, pp. 195—198).

[51] List of Maryland missioners in the Province archives.

much time in prayer, either in his private chamber or else before the Blessed Sacrament in the church. He was visiting the College of St. Omer by way of recreation, and appeared in perfect health, but was found in the morning dead, yet modestly composed in bed, on the 7th of this month of September."

The ancient family of Wigmore, of Herefordshire, which gives the name to one of the streets of its capital, furnished the English Province of the Society with three members, each of whom passed under the *alias* or assumed name of Campian, borrowed doubtless out of devotion to the blessed martyr, Father Edmund Campian.[52]

[52] Estiennot, the celebrated Benedictine collector of records, &c., who was Superior of St. Martin's, near Pontoise, and a great friend of the Lady Abbess Neville of Pontoise, O.S.B., was requested by her to collect materials for a history of the houses of that Congregation (she presided over her community from 1667 to 1689). He gives a sort of pedigree of the Wigmores, which however only mentions the eldest sons, and furnishes no dates. It is in quaint old French, written in 1672. He cites Dugdale, and affixes "Chevalier" to the names of all except the 1st, the 6th, and 9th. By this term he may have meant to designate the eldest son.

1. Richard Wigmore, Esq. (Esquire) = Joyce, daughter of Jaspar Croft, Knight of the Holy Sepulchre [see Dugdale, pp. 289, 415]. Their son
2. William Wigmore, Chev., Knight of the Holy Sepulchre = Rose, daughter of Walter Pedwardine, and had
3. Roger Wigmore, Chev. = Margaret Seley, whose son
4. Walter Wigmore, Chev. = daughter of "Jeane de la Peigne," Knight, whose arms argent "a la bande," gules "chargée de," three combs, or.
5. John Wigmore, Chev. = —— Mortimer, of the noble family of Mortimer, allied to those of Beauchamp, Neville, &c. [see Dugdale, p. 319]. Their son
6. John Wigmore = ——, daughter of John Lantly, Knight, of Billyne, and had
7. Roger Wigmore, Chev. = ——, daughter of Cyffer West, Lord of Cowerne. Their son
8. Walter Wigmore, Chev. = ——, daughter of Nicholas Ellesfield, about 1350, and was father of
9. Thomas Wigmore = ——, daughter of John Borley, Knight. Their son
10. Walter Wigmore, Chev. = daughter of John Eyneford, Knight, and had
11. John Wigmore, Chev. = Sydnam. Their son
12. Roger Wigmore, Chev. = Hynton, and had
13. William Wigmore, Chev. = —— de la Mere [? perhaps a translation of Poole, as also de la Peigne may perhaps mean Coombs].
14. Roger Wigmore, Chev. = Elizabeth, daughter of William Walwyn of Heling [? Haling]. Their son
15. William Wigmore, Chev. = —— Hopton, and had
16. Walter Wigmore, Chev. = —— Hackluit of Eaton. Their son
17. John Wigmore, Chev. = ——, daughter of John Lingen, Knight, and had
18. John Wigmore = Eleanor Cornwall, descended from the ancient Kings and Dukes of Cornwall. Their son

A *Status Collegii Angl. Rom.*, dated 1613,[53] speaking of Richard, the second Jesuit of the three, says that he was of noble birth, being the eldest [surviving] son of one of the first knights of Herefordshire, whose wife was the daughter of the President of Wales, and sister of Edward Throgmorton, formerly alumnus of the English College, Rome.[54]

19. Richard Wigmore, Chev. = Anne, daughter of —— Mornington of Sarnesfield.
20. William Wigmore, Chev. = Anne Throgmorton [parents of the Jesuits Robert and Richard, and the nun Catharine. See text], and is father of the present
21. John Wigmore, Chev., who, like all his ancestors, bears sable, three leverets argent.

The above is communicated by Dame Mary (English), O.S.B. of St. Scholastica's Abbey, Teignmouth, from her valuable collection for the history of the English Nuns, O.S.B., of Dunkirk. She adds: "The father of the Lady Abbess of Pontoise [Dame Catharine Wigmore, O.S.B., daughter of the above William, No. 20, and sister of the Jesuits Robert and Richard] is called chevalier in this pedigree, but as he certainly was not a knight (the Lady Abbess Neville writes him esquire in full), it throws an uncertainty on all those marked chevaliers, and who perhaps really were knights. Estiennot knew but little of English." One of the Herefordshire family, Catharine Wigmore, married John Waldegrave, eldest son of Philip Waldegrave, Esq., of Borley, Norfolk. John Waldegrave was born about 1615. A branch of the Wigmore family intermarried with the Vaughans, as appears by the following extract from the visitations, *Harleian MSS.*—

ROGER VAUGHAN, of Parkred = A.B.

WATKYN VAUGHAN = A.B. — THOMAS. — SIR ROGER.

WILLIAM VAUGHAN of Birdwarden = A.B.

SYBELL = ROGER WIGMORE.

WILLIAM WIGMORE of Shobden = ALICE, daughter of RD. WARNCOMB.

THOMAS WIGMORE of Shobden, 1586. = MARY, daughter of ELLIS EVANS, *alias* BETHYLL, of Northop, co. Flint.

WARNCOMBE WIGMORE = A.B.

RICHARD WIGMORE = KATHERINE, daughter of JOHN LEIGHTON of Wallesborough.

[53] Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vol. iv. n. 4.
[54] See his Life, pp. 288, seq. in present volume.

ROBERT WIGMORE, *alias* CAMPIAN, the elder brother, was a native of Herefordshire, son of Sir William Wigmore, Knight, and Anne Throgmorton his wife. Born in the year 1590, he was sent to the English College at St. Omer, where he made his humanity studies, and passed from thence to the English College, Rome, for his higher course, entering as an alumnus at the age of twenty, on November 14, 1610. He took the College oath on May 1, 1611. Having received minor orders, he left Rome for Belgium, being in delicate health, on April 21, 1613, leaving behind him in the College a great void, as he was much endeared to all on account of his remarkable virtue and learning.[55]

On entering the English College he made the following statement in reply to the usual interrogatories: "My name is Robert Wigmore. I am nineteen or twenty years of age last Pentecost, I am not sure which. I was born, as I am told, in a village in the county of Hereford, called Kinson, about three miles from my father's house. This village now belongs to my father, as it formerly did to my grandfather, in whose house I was born. I was reared at home, and when about eight years of age was under a private tutor. I then prosecuted my studies, partly in the houses of relations, and partly at Hereford. When I was fifteen years old, my parents determined to send me to the seminaries abroad, and with this design committed me to an uncle for a time, long residing on the Continent, who having received the means from my parents undertook the charge. My uncle, however, as I afterwards learned, being little inclined to the Society, withdrew from his engagement and intrusted me to another, a gentleman who was about soon to cross over with his son. He, however, left me behind, and was soon afterwards killed in the wars. At length, having lost a year in consequence of these disappointments, another uncle made arrangements with a Father of the Society in London, and I began my long-expected journey, though my mother objected, and my father, who had before been defrauded both of his hopes and money, somewhat hesitated. Thus, in about my sixteenth year, through the recommendation of Father Anthony Hoskins, I entered the College of St. Omer.

"My father is William Wigmore, a gentleman of Herefordshire, and my mother Anne Throgmorton, daughter of Sir John Throgmorton, a knight of Gloucestershire. My father (a practice to be deplored among many of our families of rank),

[55] Diary of the English College.

as soon as he came of age and had succeeded to the inheritance, yielded to the times, and once or twice a year went to the Protestant church; but to my great consolation he has long ago been reconciled to the Church, and although for a time acting wickedly towards himself and his, and showing himself a time-server rather than a faithful son of the Church, yet he never allowed his children to be brought up otherwise than as Catholics. My mother was always a Catholic, and most strict in enforcing Catholic discipline in her family. For many years she kept a priest as her chaplain, and when she died, left this heritage to her children and family. She died a happy death, after my leaving England. I know very few relatives on my father's side, but my nearest of kin are for the most part men of family in the county of Hereford. They are partly Catholic, and some of them temporizers; but all their wives and children remain firm Catholics. My mother's family, both by name and alliance, is so spread throughout the country, that they are far better known to others than to myself. By the goodness of God I have always been a Catholic."

He entered the novitiate of the English Province at Louvain about the month of September, 1613. A severe and pestilential fever attacked the community in the following year, and carried off four promising members of the Society, viz., Father Henry Lanman, Brother Nicholas Harrington, scholastic, Brother Christopher Michel, a lay-brother, and the subject of our notice, Brother Robert Wigmore.[56]

The Annual Letters for the year 1614, describe him as a youth of great talent and promise, remarkable for the practice of religious virtues, especially of obedience, meekness, sweetness of address, and self-abjection, and as having afforded a striking proof of these virtues in his last sickness. The very sound of his Superior's voice seemed to invigorate him, and make him ready for everything. Although naturally loathing his repulsive medicine, yet he would drink it off with alacrity, and rejected every offer of the more delicate food which his state required. As long as he retained his senses he bore his sufferings with great patience and fortitude, and when delirium set in from the effects of the fever, he clearly manifested what were the interior thoughts and desires that occupied his mind; showing no impatience nor anything unbecoming, but on the contrary, many characteristics of a matured religious. A few days before

[56] See the biographies of the three former, *Records*, vol. i. pp. 173, 177, 178.

his sickness, he carried some pious pictures to the Father Minister, and asked him to take any he wished as he wanted to part with them, seeming already to foresee his own speedy departure for Heaven, and to desire to rid himself of even the smallest impediment on his journey. He died May 7, 1614, and during his illness had frequently foretold the day of his death.[57]

FATHER RICHARD WIGMORE, *alias* CAMPIAN, brother to Robert, was born in the year 1593–4. He entered the English College, Rome, as an alumnus, in the name of Campian, on October 4, 1614, being then in his nineteenth or twentieth year, and took the College oath on the 10th of May following.

When entering the College he states: "My name is Richard Wigmore. I am aged nineteen or twenty, and was born at my father's house in the county of Hereford, where I was brought up until my ninth year; after which I was sent to school in divers places for five years. My parents are of good families. My father, until his twentieth or twenty-fifth year, I think was a Catholic, but the persecution daily increasing in intensity he lapsed from the unity of the true Church into the error of schism, and so remains until this day.[58] But my mother continued a most constant Catholic until her death. The rest of my brothers and sisters, together with my uncles, with one exception, adhere firmly to the true faith. I studied for five years at St. Omer's College. I was imprisoned for a month because I would not take the oath of supremacy."

Father Wigmore received minor orders in 1616, left Rome for Belgium, and entered the novitiate of the English Province, at Liege, on August 8, 1617. After passing through the usual course of studies and teaching, he was ordained priest and sent upon the mission in England in the year 1625, and was solemnly professed of the four vows of religion on May 1, 1632. The seat of his missionary labours was chiefly in the Residence of St. Stanislaus, or the Devonshire District, where we meet with him in the Catalogues of 1642 and 1655; in the latter he appears as Superior of the District. After thirty-six years of

[57] Several letters from this holy youth to Father Thomas Owens, his former Rector at the English College, Rome, are preserved in the Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vols. iii. and iv.

[58] There is a discrepancy here between the statement of the two brothers.

zealous labour, he died on July 9, 1661. In a list of English Jesuits seized at Clerkenwell in the year 1628,[59] he is called Richard Whitmore, and is placed among the *Veterani Missionarii.*

FATHER WILLIAM WIGMORE, *alias* CAMPIAN,[60] younger brother to the two former, was born in the year 1599, and entered the Society at Watten in 1624, in the twenty-fifth year of his age. He was raised to the degree of a Professed Father on August 20, 1640. After filling various responsible posts in the Society abroad, we find him in 1655 Superior of the College of St. Francis Xavier (the Herefordshire and South Wales District). He then returned to Belgium, having been appointed Rector of the English College, S.J., at Ghent, and died in that office on September 28, 1665, æt. 66. He is said to have been a man of brilliant talents, mature judgment, and of great prudence and experience in the conduct of affairs. He suffered imprisonment and chains for the faith of Christ in England. An octavo volume against Cosin, Bishop of Durham, upon *The Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation*, was the product of his pen.

The Chronicles of the Benedictine nuns of Pontoise, contain the following entries regarding this Father:

"Reverend Father William Wigmore, a true friend, director, and benefactor of this community, died 1665."

"A silver chalice and a picture in a gilt frame, from Father William Wigmore, S.J."[61]

1628. ANDREW WIGMORE, a nephew, probably, of the above, was also a student at the English College, Rome, in 1628, and on entering gave the following brief account of himself:

"My name is Andrew Wigmore. I am son of Thomas Wigmore and Mary Seaborne (now dead), both of them Catholics, of Herefordshire. The names of my principal friends are the Ropers, the Southcotes, and Seabornes, all Catholics. I was born at Mechlin, in Brabant, brought up in London, and studied at St. Omer for six years. I have no brother, but have one sister. I am come to Rome the better to serve God and make my higher studies, and to learn music,

[59] See *Records*, vol. i. pp. 132, 133.
[60] See Alegambe, *Bib. Script. S.J.*
[61] Communicated by Dame Mary, O.S.B.

Italian, &c. Father Baldwin advised me to come hither." He also assumed the name of Campian.

The Diary of the English College says that he entered as a convictor among the alumni on the 18th of October, 1628, and took the usual Propaganda and College oaths on the 8th of May, 1631, "but secretly, for good reasons." After spending three years in philosophy, he was attacked by a violent fever, and slept most placidly in our Lord on the 16th of August, 1631. He was a youth of remarkable innocency of life, and was a subject of edification to all.

The same Diary records another member of the family, of later date, viz., GEORGE WIGMORE, son of Robert and Frances Wigmore, of Herefordshire. He was born in the year 1654, and entered the English College under the assumed name of Campian, aged twenty, on the 4th of October, 1674, as a convictor among the alumni, for his higher studies. He defended universal philosophy at the Roman College with great applause, on the 27th of August, 1677, and then left Rome for England.

CATHARINE WIGMORE, a daughter of William Wigmore and sister of the two Jesuit brothers, became a Benedictine nun. We extract the following from the Chronicles of the Pontoise nuns (O.S.B.), before alluded to:

"Wigmore. The first affiliation from the Benedictines of Ghent settled at Boulogne in 1652 (whence, in 1658, it removed to Pontoise, terrified by Cromwell's siege and the taking of Dunkirk, and fearing a similar fate at Boulogne). At Boulogne, the first abbess was Dame Catharine Wigmore, professed at Ghent in 1626. The following is an account from our old MSS. of her parentage: 'She was daughter of William Wigmore, Esq., of Lucton, in Herefordshire, and by the Wigmores she descended from the Cornwalls, the Earls of Pembroke, Worcester, the Herberts, and other noble families. Her mother was Anne, daughter of Sir John Throgmorton, by whom they are of kin to the Earl of Cardigan, Lord Morley and Monteagle, Lord Vaux, and divers other ancient families. She descended from a family both prosperous and numerous. It is said of her great-grandmother (who was daughter of Vaux, ancestor of the Lord Vaux) that there did accompany her funeral eleven score lineally descended from her. Dame Catharine Wigmore was professed at Ghent, at thirty-six years

of age, under the government of Lady Lucy Knatchbull, first abbess of that monastery.' She died on the 28th of October, 1656, and was, as her eulogium says, 'a sweet holy soul, dearly loved and reverenced by her community.'"[62]

HENRY CASSY, a cousin, probably, of the Jesuit brothers Wigmore, through the Seabornes, was a student at the English College, Rome, which he entered in 1628, under the name of his mother, Seaborne. He gave the following brief autobiographical statement upon entering the College:

"1628. My name is Henry Cassy. I am son of Henry Cassy and Winefrid Seaborne; was born in Hereford, and chiefly brought up in Staffordshire. My father is an esquire, as were also my paternal and maternal grandfathers. I have no brothers or sisters. My maternal uncles are Christopher Rogers, knight, now dead; Welles, Southcotes, and Wigmores, of the rank of esquires; all Catholic. I have direct relatives on my mother's side, viz., Richard Berrington, Esq., now deceased; Sir Humphrey Baskerville, Knight, my mother's uncle; Baron Stadmore, a relative, and his brother; my mother's uncle Lackett, an esquire. On my father's side I have uncles—the Berkeleys, Mortimers; and am related to the Giffords, Brookes, Lucys, &c. I studied in Staffordshire, and for five years at St. Omer's College. I was always a Catholic, and am come to Rome for my higher studies."

The Diary of the English College states that he entered as a convictor or boarder, on the same day with his cousin, Andrew Wigmore, October 18, 1628; was ordained priest there on September 1, 1633, and died piously, after a short fever, of cancer in the breast.

We read also in the same Pontoise Chronicles that BRIDGET, daughter of John Wigmore, married Richard Vaughan, Esq., of Courtfield, Monmouthshire. "Both of them descended of very ancient families of great piety and worth. . . . She received the holy habit of religion at the hands of her virtuous aunt, the Lady Catharine Wigmore, first abbess of Boulogne, and was professed on the 14th of September, 1657. She died on the 10th of November, 1687, æt. 49, in religion 30. . . . This good religious lived like a bee in the spiritual hive of holy religion, still gathering honey and improving in virtue by all occasions, even from her very first entering the monastery;

[62] Communicated by Dame Mary, O.S.B.

for, being born and bred in piety by so worthy Catholic parents, she expressed great sentiments of devotion in those her younger years, but not the least inclination to a religious life. But Almighty God, Who had certainly designed her for one of His chief magazines of spiritual riches, touched her heart with so efficacious a call, that notwithstanding all natural oppositions, she firmly resolved upon a religious life, and with such vigour and courage undertook that course, and continued it with so much constancy and zeal, as was of great example and edification to all." Her obituary says of her, "She had the happiness of reducing into the bosom of our holy Mother the Church many heretic English soldiers who were quartered at Boulogne, whom she instructed in the faith."[63]

Brother James Griffiths, *alias* Grafton. This holy youth may be called a member of the Society inasmuch as he left the English College, Rome, with the object of joining the novitiate, but died before he was able to carry out his intention.

He was born in the year 1591, and entered the English College, Rome, for his higher studies, on the 7th of November, 1611, at the age of twenty-one, in the assumed name of Grafton. He took the College oath on the 1st of May, 1612. The Diary of the College states that "having completed his course of philosophy he departed for Belgium, leaving behind him an admirable odour of virtues. He left with the intention of entering the novitiate of the Society at Louvain, but was seized with fever on his journey, and died at Bologna in Italy."

[63] The following extracts from the orders and grants, &c., of the Committee for Sequestrations for Herefordshire connected with the Wigmores are a sample of the vexations to which Catholic recusants were exposed in the iron times of persecution: "15 July, 1646, p. 62. Forasmuch as John Wigmore of Langarran, Esquire, a recusant, hath (by his agents) delivered into this Committee a particular of his real, and inventory of his personal, estate, craving such part thereof as by ordinance of Parliament is allowed unto him, and submitted himself to the Parliament's protection. Now, therefore, we do hereby demise and grant unto William Phillpotts of Langarran aforesaid, yeoman, by the direction of the said John Wigmore, all the lands, &c., so particularized. [Then follows a short description of the estate.] To hold from the 25th of March last past unto the end and term of one whole year. Paying £7 7s. upon the 29th of September and 25th of March. And also paying and satisfying unto the said John Wigmore for such part of the said premises as by ordinance of Parliament he ought to enjoy; and also discharging till payment and contribution, &c. Provided always, &c." "13 May, 1647. Is a grant to the same John Wigmore of his lands, &c., in the parish Langarran and Hentland for one year at a rent of twenty marks to the crown. Signed by the Commissioners, Thomas Rawlins, John Fleckett, Thomas Blayney."

On entering the English College, Rome, Brother Griffiths gave the following account of himself:

"My name is James Griffiths. My father, Ambrose Griffiths, died a year ago; my mother, Jane Thompson, is yet alive. I was born in the county of Gloucester, but brought up in Herefordshire, where I lived until sent into Belgium. I am the only surviving son of my father, my eldest brother having died many years ago. My parents are well born, but of moderate circumstances. My paternal uncle, James Griffiths, is a doctor of medicine; my paternal aunt, Jane Watson, is a rich widow; my cousin, William Watson, is rich; all these are Catholic, and survive; as for my paternal uncles, William Griffiths, a layman, Hugh Griffiths and Richard Griffiths, both of the Society of Jesus, because they are dead, therefore I will say nothing. My uncle, John Thompson, is wealthy and a schismatic; and his brother, my uncle, Francis Thompson, is a priest of the Society of Jesus. I have four sisters, all my juniors, and brought up Catholics. I was brought up to study; I know Latin, and something of Greek. I made my humanities in the Hereford Royal College School; thence, being now grown up, I went to the English College of the Society of Jesus at St. Omer. I have sometimes attended heretical sermons; but by the care and industry of my mother, I was reconciled to the Church about nine years ago by a certain priest of Hereford, now dead, named Mr. Williams. At the commencement of the present King James' reign I was seized, with about one hundred and forty others, while hearing Mass on the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary. After being detained in custody for three days, I was summoned before the pseudo-Bishop of Hereford, who had caused all of us thus assembled to be arrested. Finding me firm in the faith, although but a lad, he would not let me have bail for my appearance; and two weeks after they again called me up, and I was placed before the same judge, who endeavoured to seduce me from the bosom of the Church to his pestilent heresy. But seeing that he could not prevail, he dismissed me with reproaches and abuse."

This was the first grief of our young tyro; but he afterwards received another and a severer one, for he continues:

"Once afterwards, as I was holding on my usual tenor of life, the odious prelate, at whose instigation I know not, drove me unexpectedly from school, with about twelve Catholic schoolfellows, and summoned us to his palace. On our arrival

he took down the names and parents' names of each, and demanded whether we were ready to obey the royal edict, and be present at sermons in the church; further, at whose persuasion, and why, did we separate ourselves from the Church of England? When we had all, excepting one who temporized, boldly answered that we were Catholics, and so would ever remain constant to our journey's end, seeing that he could not succeed in drawing us into the fellowship of his detestable wickedness, he forbade our going to school, sent for the schoolmaster, and discharged him from all further care of us. These things were strong inducements to my parents to send me to some seminary abroad; and so, some two years later, I went by their order to London, and was there furnished with money and a letter of recommendation by the Rev. Father Richard Griffiths, my paternal uncle. After a delay of two or three months, I joined a gentleman who had procured a royal licence for leaving England, and thus I passed over to St. Omer's College, where I have studied for four years and a half."

His paternal uncle, Richard Griffiths, mentioned in the following statement, is the same who is named in the Sheriff's report to the Privy Council, p. 370 above. He was a native of Bangor, born in 1576, and entered the novitiate of St. Andrew, Rome, on the 25th of May, 1594, at the age of eighteen, having made his studies at the English College, Rome. He died in London in the year 1607.[64]

Of the other uncle, Father Hugh Griffiths, we possess no information.

Father John Archer was born in Monmouthshire in the year 1627. After making his humanity course at Ghent, he entered the English College, Rome, for his higher studies, on October 27, 1647, in the assumed name of John Groves, being then in his twentieth year. He took the College oath on the 21st of May, 1648, received minor orders on the 21st of June following, and left Rome on the 28th of March, 1650, for the novitiate of the English Province at Watten, which he entered upon his arrival the same year. He died Superior of the South Wales mission on the 4th of February, 1674, at the age of forty-six. The Annual Letters describe him as a truly pious and upright man.

[64] Father C. Grene's Collection *C.* p. 206.

Upon entering the English College, Rome, he gave the following brief account of himself:

"1647. My name is John Archer. I was born in Monmouthshire. My parents were John and Mary Archer. Upon my mother's death I was sent into Herefordshire, where I spent some years. My father, who was well born, but reduced by heavy reverses to the middle class, was yet well able to support me and my brother and sister. He sent me into Flanders, where I made my humanity studies under the Fathers of the Society at Ghent."

He then gives his reasons for going to Rome, and expresses his desire for the ecclesiastical state.

The following, whose accounts of themselves come from the archives of the English College, Rome, were not members of the Society, but scholars of its Colleges at St. Omer and Rome, and, in several instances, relatives and converts of the English Fathers.

THOMAS KEMYS, who states: "I am son of John Kemys and Jane Courtnay, and was born in 1575, at Cucklington, a village in the county of Somerset and diocese of Bath and Wells. I studied at Oxford for nearly five years; then, on my father's death, I left Oxford and went to London, and there spent three years in New Inn and in St. Thomas' Hospital. I am dependent upon the benevolence of my numerous relatives and friends, among whom are Richard Courtnay of Cornwall, Esq., a rich man and a schismatic; Henry Courtnay of Cornwall, Esq., also rich and a Protestant; Thomas Arundell of Cornwall, Esq., I believe rich, and he is a Catholic. I have many Catholic relatives, among whom are the Rev. Father Coffin and Nicholas Roscarricke, holy men and well born.[65] I never had either brother or sister. From my infancy, until I was reconciled to the Church, I was a schismatic." He then proceeds to state that when at Oxford, by reading certain heretical books, his faith in the Established Church began to vacillate, and by reading a work of Dr. Harding, he was clearly convinced that the faith of English Protestants was either null or made up of lies, and that there was no other true Church than the Roman Catholic. "Into this Church I was received by the efforts of the Rev. Father Wright, by whom I was

[65] In the Douay Diary (*Records of the English Catholics*, p. 178) is an entry: "23 April, 1581. Arrived from Spain (among others) Greene, the servant of Mr. Nicholas Roscarrocke, in prison."

reconciled, on the 5th of July, 1599. Father Blount sent me from England to Rome, and procured for me and a companion, through Edmund Morris (a relation of the Governor of Dover), a letter of introduction to that officer, and thus we got a safe passage."

The English College Diary states that he entered as an alumnus at the age of twenty-five, in the name of Clemens, on the 25th of October, 1600; took the College oath on the 5th of August, 1601; and, having been ordained priest on the 20th of December, 1603, left for England on the 17th of May, 1604.

In the first Douay Diary[66] we read: "1604. Thomas Kemish, priest, Wells, came to us, having been sent from Rome to make his course of theology." In page 33: "May 23, 1605. Mr. Thomas Kemish, who remained with us the last year, arriving from Rome, proceeded to the mission."

October 18, 1601. WILLIAM GWYN, who states: "My name, given in full, according to the old British style, is William Howell Lewis Gwyn, but in modern usage it is simply William Gwyn. I am now about twenty-five years of age, and was born in the parish of Llanvaier Gilgiden, in the county of Monmouth, where I was brought up until my ninth year. I then went to school at Abergavenny for two years, thence to Llanarth, then to Bristol, and lastly to Hereford, where I studied for three years. I then proceeded to Oxford, and lastly, by the help of God and of His Blessed Virgin Mother, I studied for seven or eight years at Douay College, and made two years' theology there. My parents are of the middle or yeoman class, though my principal friends are styled gentlemen, and are all wealthy. I have three brothers and three sisters, and many relations, some Catholic, some schismatics; but, as far as I know, none are perverse heretics. Until my twentieth year I was a schismatic; then, by the zealous pains of Father Jarrett [John Gerard] and Father Walgrave,[67] I was made a Catholic, and by their assistance I left London for Douay, from whence I am sent to Rome, with other scholars from the same College. It is my desire and determination to enter the ecclesiastical state, which I have chosen beyond all others."

[66] *Records of the English Catholics*, p. 197.

[67] We do not find at this date a Father of that name; perhaps Father Walpole may be here meant.

The Diary of the English College states that he entered, aged twenty-five, as one of the alumni of the Holy Father, Pope Clement VIII., Father Robert Parsons being Rector, on the 21st of October, 1601, and, after receiving minor orders, was ordained priest on the 6th of April, 1601–2. He departed for England on the 17th of May, 1604.

1605. ELIAS TOMPKINS, *alias* ROBERT ASHFIELD, who states: "I am twenty-seven years of age, and was born in a town in the county of Hereford called Withington. Until my fifteenth year I was chiefly educated at the public school of Hereford, where I studied grammar. Then my father sent me to the University of Oxford, where in Brasenose College I studied logic for three years. My father then recalled me to Withington, and there, as well as in various other places in the county, I was engaged in teaching Latin, and was likewise tutor in the family of Mr. John Gower, a gentleman living at Woodhall House, Worcestershire.

"My parents belong to the lower class in life, neither with superfluous means nor oppressed by poverty, but with a sufficiency for their condition. I am their only surviving son, and have one sister, who is married. I have many relatives, some of whom are rich, some poor; but all, like my parents, are heretics, except one paternal uncle, who is a Catholic living in Holland. As to my vocation, I must first say that about my twentieth year I had some confused and imperfect knowledge on some of the points in controversy between Catholics and Protestants. This I greatly desired to improve, being moved to it partly because I perceived that in England Catholics were persecuted on all sides by heretics, some being cast into prison and fetters, others delivered over to a most cruel death, and yet enduring all these things with the utmost patience and constancy. But I was especially influenced by the desire of laying in my soul the foundation of religion and salvation—the true and undoubted faith. I therefore determined to read books treating upon this controversy. Having obtained and read these, and seriously considered the arguments, many things which had been taught me by the heretics, and which I had firmly believed, now appeared to me very doubtful. After, by the light of Divine grace, most diligently pondering these points for some time, I perceived that I had been for a long while blinded by the falsehoods and vain deceptions of the heretics. Desiring, therefore, in a matter of such weight

and difficulty, to receive better instruction, I met, by the providence of God, a certain learned Catholic, with whom I conversed for a long time, and he so fully discussed and explained everything to me, that he satisfied me upon each point, to the great tranquillity of my heart and conscience. I at once acknowledged to him that I was convinced, and then began to meditate what was the best course of life to adopt, that I might freely serve God in the true and orthodox religion of the Catholic faith. At length I resolved to try and find a situation under some man of family and means, with whom I might live either as tutor or in any other respectable capacity. Not succeeding in doing this, I betook myself to my uncle in Holland, with whom I lived for a year, until I could conveniently take my journey to Rome." He then desires to embrace the ecclesiastical state, if found worthy.

The English College Diary states that he was admitted to the College, æt. 27, in the year 1605, and then refers to his above response to the usual interrogatories. His name does not occur in the Pilgrims' book, and he seems therefore not to have put on the college gown.

1614. Robert Parsons, a nephew of Father Robert Parsons, who states: "I believe I am twenty-six or twenty-seven years of age, born in the village of Walpole, three miles from Bridgewater in Somersetshire. My father is a yeoman of the middle class, and has property at Netherston. He is a schismatic. My mother was Mary Blunt, a rich widow. She has been dead about twenty years. I have no brothers, but two sisters, I believe. I had two uncles Catholics, one of whom is lately dead; a religious, viz., Father Robert Parsons. The other, George, is married, and living in Flanders. All my relations, male and female, who are living on this side of the Channel, are Catholics, but those in England are heretics. I have studied humanities for twelve years or more, in College [St. Omer's]. While in England I was a Protestant, but being brought up in Belgium, I was reconciled to the Church by the charity and zeal of Father George Keynes, of St. Omer's College. As yet I have suffered nothing on this account, but much, I hope, is reserved for me hereafter to bear, as occasion may offer, according to the will of our gracious God."

The Diary of the English College states that he entered, at the age of twenty-six or twenty-seven, in the name of Briant, of Somersetshire, on the 4th of October, 1614, neither as

alumnus, nor convictor, but as a probationer; and took the College oath on the 10th of May, 1615. He was ordained priest in Spain, and sent to labour in the vineyard of our Lord in England on the 28th of February, 1619.

1615. JOHN WAKEMAN, *alias* JOHN GREEN, who states: "I am son of John Wakeman and Ursula (Gifford). I was born in Staffordshire, but brought up by my parents in Gloucestershire. They are of good families, and well off. I have two brothers, now Catholics, and three sisters imbued with the Catholic faith. My connections, especially on my father's side, are Protestants, but on my mother's, mostly Catholic. My father, I fear, is still a schismatic; my mother died many years ago, a pious Catholic. I studied three years at St. Omer's. I was a schismatic, or rather of no religion, until fifteen years of age." On his admission into St. Omer's, Father Walsingham instructed him in the Catholic faith. "After three years," he continues, "my father, whose life was very precarious, urged me four times either to return at once to England, or leave the seminary and go into France. As I was preparing for the journey to France, the Father Minister of St. Omer and Father Sweet proposed my going to Rome, and urged me not to refuse the advantage thus offered, which, after a little consideration, I thankfully accepted."

The Diary of the English College states that he entered as a convictor, aged eighteen, in the name of John Green White, on the 17th of October, 1615; and having received minor orders was ordained priest on the 19th of December, 1620, and sent into England on the 14th of April, 1622, having completed his studies with a high character both for learning and piety. He belonged to the Beckford family, Gloucestershire. Three other members of the same family were students at the English College.

(1) EDWARD WAKEMAN, born in 1628, was admitted at the age of nineteen as a convictor on the 29th of October, 1647. He left the College again for England on the 1st of March, 1651, going back for readmission in his own name on the 29th of December, 1657. It was, however, in the assumed name of Gifford that he was ordained priest on the 21st of November, 1660, and sent into England the 27th of April, 1664.

(2) FRANCIS WAKEMAN, born in the year 1641, and his brother (3) JOHN WAKEMAN, born in 1643, were both admitted as convictors on the 21st of October, 1660, in order to pursue

their higher studies, and both left together on the 15th of September following.

Two of the same family entered the Society, viz. :

(1) FATHER THOMAS WAKEMAN, *alias* GREEN and ALDRINGTON, born in Staffordshire, and probably a younger brother of John. He entered the English College as a convictor on the 15th of December, 1624, was ordained priest in the domestic Chapel of the College on the 12th of May, 1630, and joined the Society at Watten, "leaving behind him," says the College Diary, "the best odour of virtues." He is probably the same as Thomas Aldrington, or Wakeman, named in Dr. Oliver's *Collectanea* as dying in England on the 24th of April, 1649.

(2) FATHER JOSEPH WAKEMAN, youngest son of Edward Wakeman, Esq., of Beckford, by his wife Mary Cotton. He was brother of Sir George Wakeman, M.D., one of the Queen's physicians, who was falsely charged in the Oates' Plot persecution with an attempt to poison the King, but was acquitted. Father Joseph Wakeman often passed by the name of Edwards. He was a scholastic at Liege in 1678, when the Provincial, Father Thomas Whitbread, made his celebrated and prophetic address to the assembled community at his annual visitation, of which Father Joseph wrote a brief account, and which will be recorded in the history of Oates' Plot. In 1698 he was Procurator of the College of St. Omer, and from 1701 to 1704 was Socius to the Father Provincial, James Blake. From 1708 he was a missionary Father in the College of the Holy Apostles, or the Suffolk District, and died at Watten on the 8th of December, 1720.

SIR GEORGE WAKEMAN, Knight, brother of Father Joseph Wakeman (one of Oates' victims above mentioned), and a younger brother EDWARD WAKEMAN, Esq., were both scholars of the English Fathers at St. Omer's and the English College, Rome. We subjoin extracts from their replies to the usual interrogatories on entering the latter College.

George Wakeman, October 27, 1647. "I am son of Edward and Mary Wakeman (*née* Cotton), and completed my twentieth year on the feast of St. Hilarion and St. Ursula this year, 1647. I was born in Hampshire. My parents are indeed of high birth, and Catholics, but though formerly of good fortune, are now reduced to moderate means on account of injuries suffered principally for the orthodox faith, and from the plunder of the soldiery. My brothers and sisters and

nearly all my relatives are, thank God, Catholics. I have spent the principal portion of my life in my father's house in Gloucestershire, where I made my elementary course of studies. I was afterwards sent to the English College of St. Omer, where I completed my humanity studies including the whole of Rhetoric. I was never either a heretic or schismatic."

The English College Diary states that he entered in the name of George Gifford, aged twenty-one, as a convictor among the students, October 27, 1647, left the College September 25, 1650, and remained at Pavia.

1647. "I, Edward Wakeman, son of Edward Wakeman and Mary, his wife, whose name was Cotton, am nineteen years of age, of which I have passed fifteen with my parents in England, and the rest at St. Omer's College. My parents are of the higher class and Catholics, and, but for the change of times under the rule of the heretics, wealthy. I have made my humanity course of studies at St. Omer's. I never deserted the Catholic faith, and have not as yet resolved upon the ecclesiastical state of life. Admitted October 27, 1647.

"Signed, EDWARD GIFFORD."

The English College Diary states that he entered as Edward Gifford of Gloucestershire, a convictor among the scholars, October 27, 1647, and left for England March 1, 1651.

Beckford lies at the foot of the Bredon Hills, five miles from Tewkesbury. The ancient name of the manor was Beccanford. Here was an "alien" Augustinian Priory attached to Ste. Barbe-en-Auge, on the Dive. At the suppression of alien houses, Henry VI. annexed it to his foundation of Eton College. It was then valued at £53 6s. 8d. per annum. Edward IV. transferred the gift to Fotheringay Collegiate Church, and shortly after the dissolution Edward VI., in 1547, granted the manor to Sir Richard Lee, Knight, of whose family it was purchased by Richard Wakeman in 1586. Seven years previously this gentleman had acquired possession of the Muthe, or Mythe.

In later years several Fathers of the Society were chaplains or missionaries at Beckford. Father Isaac Gibson died there on the 10th of November, 1738, æt. 64, and Father Robert Dormer was there for a time.[68]

At the dissolution of religious houses Thomas Wych (Wakeman), Abbot of Tewkesbury, surrendered his house to

[68] Oliver's *Collections*, Gloucestershire, &c.

the Royal Commissioners on the 7th of November, 1539, and received a pension of £266 10s. 4d. a year. He crowned his apostacy by consenting to be appointed the new Protestant Bishop of Gloucester, on the 25th of September, 1541.[69]

1617. ROGER SEYES, who states: "I am eighteen years of age, last May, and was born at a little village called Bourtown, in the parish of Llantivit Major, Glamorganshire, in the diocese of Llandaff. My father having sold his property, removed thence to Swansea, in order to increase his income. There he had seven sons and two daughters born; two other brothers and sisters had been previously born at Bourtown. I was educated in various places: in Catsash, Monmouthshire; in Swansea; at Lanmas, one mile from Bourtown; then at La Rochelle, in France. My father is Richard Seyes, son of Roger Seyes, Esq., &c., who had been Justice of the Peace and Attorney-General to Queen Elizabeth, for the thirteen counties of Wales. To these Offices my father succeeded under James I., but afterwards divided them among friends, and reserved to himself three counties only: Glamorgan, Brecon, and Radnor. He had an income of £600 a year."

After a lengthened enumeration of his kindred, with no especial interest, he recounts his conversion to the Catholic faith. When he was at La Rochelle, there resided in the same house, as a boarder, a young Irishman, with whom he became great friends, and who begged him earnestly to go with him to see a very splendid Church, St. Margaret's, in the town. Both of them crept stealthily by the walls, when they saw four Oratorian Fathers walking below. One of these, Father Benjamin Luesneau, calling the Irishman, with whom he was acquainted, asked him who his companion was; and learning that he was an English Protestant, and was going to visit the church, the Father addressed him at some length in Latin, about the Catholic faith, and persuaded him to call upon him again. This ended in his conversion; and he was sent with a letter of introduction, and money for the journey, to the Monastery of Les Chateliers, near Poitiers. On his way, he was robbed by soldiers of all his money, and arrived destitute at the monastery. Here he lived for three months, and then with full consent, went to Rome, arriving October 15, 1616. He concludes by expressing his desire to embrace the ecclesiastical state.

[69] Dr. Oliver's *Collections*, Gloucestershire, &c.

The English College Diary states that he entered as a convictor in the name of Roger Lambert of Glamorganshire, aged eighteen, October 28, 1617; took the College oath May 1, 1618, and was ordained priest May 16, 1622. He entered among the Friars Minor on the feast of the Stigmata of St. Francis, 1622, and after some months left Rome for Belgium with his brother Thomas.

1624. WILLIAM REES, *alias* OWEN, who states: "I am twenty-one years of age, and was born and bred near Cowbridge, in Glamorganshire. My parents are of the middle class, and together with my five sisters, are heretics. I have brothers living. My principal relations are the Gamages and Stralings. I studied my Latin and Greek at Cowbridge.

"I was a Protestant until eighteen. Then the Catholic family of Turberville, and the reverend priests, Luyde [? Lloyd] and Griffiths, greatly aided my vocation to the Catholic faith. As, however, I could not conveniently abjure my heresy, on account of my parents and relations, I made an excuse for going to London, where I was instructed in the Catholic faith by the Rev. Father Leander, O.S.B., and by him received into the Church. It has long been my desire to embrace the ecclesiastical state."

The Diary of the English College says that he entered as an alumnus October 6, 1625; was ordained priest in the church of the English College, November 3, 1630; and returned to England September 9, 1632, "A great ornament to the College, both for learning and virtue."

1634. FRANCIS BLOUNT, who states: "My father is Francis Blount, and my mother's maiden name was Mary Howard. I was brought up and educated at Leominster in the county of Hereford. Both of my parents are of distinguished and ancient families. My parents at first were wealthy, but now, in consequence of persecutions for the Catholic faith, and adverse fortune, are reduced to moderate means.

"I have one brother, but eight sisters; nearly the whole house is now Catholic, but all, except my mother, were Protestants; I have also many friends and relations on both sides, of either creed. After being at school for a long time at Leominster I studied poetry and part of rhetoric at St. Omer's.

"I was a heretic until my fourteenth year, but afterwards

a Catholic, having been converted to the faith by reading Catholic books, and also by the persuasion of my parents, and by the zeal and pains of some Fathers of the Society of Jesus. This was in the year 1626. I left England for St. Omer's College in 1628, and whilst studying there I frequently pondered how grievously England was afflicted by foul heresy. Therefore it was that I took measures to come to this College, that I might acquire learning and aid my country on my return. I have suffered little or nothing on account of the Catholic faith since my conversion." He then expresses his desire of embracing the ecclesiastical state.

The English College Diary states that he entered the College in the name of Francis Howard, among the alumni of the Holy Father, November 25, 1634, Father Thomas Fitzherbert being Rector; and took the College oaths May 1, 1635. After receiving the previous orders, he was ordained priest April 3, 1639, and left Rome for England, April 11, 1641. He was remarkable for his observance of College discipline, and for virtue and piety.

Rev. Charles Skinner was a convert and scholar of the English Fathers, and a native of Gloucestershire. Among the students' interrogatories and replies in the Archives of the English College, Rome, we find the following statement:

"1635. My name is Charles Skinner. I am twenty-two years of age, and a native of Gloucestershire, and was educated at London. Both my parents are of high birth; my father is a knight, having two brothers and three sisters, all heretics, except one sister. I made my humanity studies at St. Omer's College for four years and a half, and was then converted from heresy to the Catholic faith by a Father of the Society."

Endorsed in the name of Charles Sidney.

The Diary of the English College, Rome, says: that he entered at the age of about twenty-two, among the students as a convictor, Father Thomas Fitzherbert being Rector, October 28, 1635. He left the College May 15, 1639, in order to make his theological studies somewhere else in Italy, where he remained for scarcely half a year, and afterwards pursued them at Padua. He bore a high character at the English College, both for discipline and talent.

The last we have to notice under this head is the Rev.

JOHN HALL of Pembridge, who was a convert to the Catholic faith and likewise a student at St. Omer's and the English College, Rome. On entering the latter College (in the name of John Vaughan), he made the following statement:

"1658. My name is John Hall, as also is my father's. My mother's name is Margaret (as I think, Atchel). I was born at Pembridge, and baptized by a minister of the name of Sherbon. I shall be, I believe, twenty-three years of age next month. I was brought up in England and Wales. My parents are of the higher class, but not both of the orthodox faith. My father, indeed, has embraced it, but my mother not as yet. I have brothers and sisters. I was not always a Catholic, but was converted in my infancy, by the help of a Catholic uncle. I have suffered nothing for the Catholic faith, but am ready to do so. I made my humanity studies at St. Omer's College."

The English College Diary states that he entered as John Vaughan of Pembridge (*vere* Hall) October 11, 1658, and took the usual College oath June 2, 1659. He was ordained priest (with Father John Baines) in 1662, and was sent into the English Vineyard (adds Father Grene) April 30, 1665.

The following are extracts from the Annual Letters relating to this College and District. The reports commence in 1635, but prior to 1641, nothing is mentioned, except that in 1636 the missions in South Wales were attended with much success, which was attributed to the greater attachment of the common people in those districts to the ancient faith, and to the absence of luxury, which prevailed in other parts of the country.

The reports for the year 1641–4 are combined; and after mentioning that there were in this College twenty-seven Fathers and two Lay-brothers, that one hundred and fifty-four conversions to the faith had been made, with other details of *ministeria*, they record that the calamities of the civil war reached these districts later than most other parts of England. It was indebted for this benefit to the loyalty of a Catholic nobleman of great influence and wealth, who devotedly sustained the royal cause as long as it was possible, and extended protection to the Catholics of the surrounding country. The Fathers in a special manner experienced his favour and beneficence, and thus were enabled to devote themselves to their missionary duties with great fruit. But the Parliament forces at length prevailed and overran the country, and the Catholic

nobleman was forced to retire within the defences of his castle.[70] The attack upon and plunder of a house at Raglan inhabited by the Fathers of that mission is then related, the details of which will be found under the head of Raglan.

The annual report for 1642–3, on the state of Wales, contains the following account of the new duty of camp missioner. After referring to the battle of Bristol, and then to the actions before Gloucester and at Newburgh, it states: "A fresh duty now devolved on the Fathers; that of exercising their sacred ministry in the Royal army. One of them in particular did good work in this mission. He was already expert in its particular duties, having lately come over from Belgium, where he had been employed in the service of the soldiers, and he resumed the work with great zeal and spirit. To be nearer at hand to afford his services where they might be called for, when an engagement was expected he joined the ranks of the cavalry on horseback. The Royal army marched to attack a city in which some of the best troops of the Parliamentarians were strongly posted,[71] and made the advance in divisions from a neighbouring town soon after dark. The brother (?) of the commander-in-chief was one of the first to present himself to receive the Sacrament of Penance, that he might be better prepared for the dangers of the approaching conflict. About one hundred and twenty-two soldiers followed his example, for the most part officers and men of standing. Of these, two cavalry officers fell, one an Irishman, the other an Englishman who had been brought up a Protestant. He had long been seriously thinking of embracing the ancient faith; but it was only two days before, that by the providence of God he had been received by the Father into the Church. The town was taken by the King's troops, and the Father was engaged to remain with them and attend them in the dangers of their future warfare, as it was now seen how much comfort was felt and courage shown in battle by those who had previously reconciled themselves to God in the Sacrament of Penance.

Amid the dangers to which this Father was thus exposed he often experienced the special protection of Providence. In the action before Gloucester, as he was going along the ranks to administer the Sacrament of Penance, he remained unhurt

[70] Raglan Castle, the seat of the loyal and gallant Henry Somerset, Marquis of Worcester (see Raglan).

[71] Probably Bristol.

though thrice shot through his clothes. A servant near him was killed by a cannon-ball, and he was several times on the point of being taken prisoner; but escaped out of the hands of the enemy. He had the satisfaction of seeing his devoted zeal attended with great success. On the day before the battle of Newburgh, great numbers of all ranks, and among them some of the nobility, came to him to confession, beginning before daylight. The next day, the 20th of September, the Catholic soldiers, having thus prepared themselves, fought with distinguished bravery, and many of them fell. Some who had omitted this duty, having had their horses shot under them, were recalled by the sense of the danger they had escaped to sentiments of religion, repaired to the Father, and having by confession expiated their sins, mounted on fresh horses, returned with new courage to the fight and bravely fell. There was one from whom the perils of this fight happily extorted the confession of a crime which he had for thirty years sacrilegiously concealed. Of those who lost their lives in the service of their Sovereign in this battle, the most distinguished was Robert Dormer, Earl of Carnarvon. This gallant nobleman, who had acquired a high military reputation in former engagements, led a body of horse to attack a post of the enemy on a hill, which he carried after a bloody contest. In the ardour of the pursuit, being separated from his party he was mortally wounded by one of the enemy's troopers, whose sword passed completely through his body. His men coming up carried him off the field, and his wound was examined by the King's own surgeon, who informed him at once of its true nature. As he was conveyed to bed he fainted from the pain; on recovering, he found the Father by his side, who had been hastily sent for by the patron of the Society mentioned above.[72] This Earl's family were Catholics, and he had been brought up in that religion; but, having lost his father before he was nine years old, he was taken out of his mother's charge by a Protestant nobleman, who after a long resistance forced him by threats and promises to join the Protestant worship. He had continued in the practice of it to the present time. But he had not lost sight of his former faith, and the approach of death revived in his soul those early impressions. Gladly availing himself therefore of the proffered help of the Father, he made at first a short confession as on the point of death. Afterwards, as more time was allowed him, he performed that duty more fully, and

[72] The Marquis of Worcester.

repeated it more than once with the most lively sentiments of contrition, and detestation of his past apostacy. On one occasion he asked the Father whether he was a member of any religious order. On being answered in the affirmative, he expressed his satisfaction and thanks, and said that it was not the first time he had experienced kindness from the Society; for that when he was at Rome Father Vitelleschi, the General, had shown him great attention, and had caused literary exercises to be performed in his honour by the students of the Roman College when he visited that establishment. He added that he had elsewhere received similar kindnesses from them. He subsequently received the Holy Viaticum, for he survived twenty-eight hours after his wound, during the whole of which his fervent expressions of contrition and of every religious sentiment were unremitting. He ardently poured forth his prayers to God, and asked the help of the Virgin Mother, frequently repeating: "Jesus, Saviour, save me." Being asked where he wished to be buried, he said he had no concern about his body, which had been so long an instrument of sin. The King, when informed of his wound, had early sent a nobleman from the field to visit him and express his deep sorrow for this misfortune to so distinguished a servant. The Earl returned his thanks to his royal master and expressed his satisfaction that having served him faithfully, he was now dying in his cause. He added that the one favour he asked of the King in return was to undertake the charge that his only son, then but a child, should be brought up in the Catholic religion. The Father, after having rendered the Earl the most necessary service, had been obliged to return to his duties in the field; but continued to visit him from time to time, as he could, till his death. At length as the Earl's voice began to fail, clasping his hands and raising his eyes to Heaven, he repeated aloud the sacred name of Jesus, and thus piously died at the early age of thirty-three.[73]

[73] Lord Castlemaine, p. 491 of his book entitled *The Catholique Apology, by a Person of Honour*, says: "Lord Carnarvon.—For my Lord Carnarvon, reader, you must know he was a ward taken from his *Catholique mother* by the Earle of Pembroke and married to his daughter. In the army, my lord never marched without a priest, and, as soon as he received his death's wound, he sent for his brother-in-law, the Lord *Herbert*, late Marquis of *Worcester*, and desired him to tell the King, *that he could do no more than die in his quarrel; and if he would grant him this request he would think his Majesty had sufficiently recompensed him for his life: viz., that his mother might have the breeding up of his son, to the end, as he sayd, that the child might be also educated in the Catholic religion.* After this he received all the rites of the *Roman Church*, and died in the arms of a *priest*, still alive [1673], that belonged both to my lord's relations and mine."

The report for 1645–9 states that in the missions of Wales there were nineteen Fathers. In the early period of the civil dissensions this part of the country continued to enjoy much tranquillity, and the Catholics were but little disturbed. The people were generally attached to the royal cause, and were well affected towards the Catholic religion. There were several loyal Catholic noblemen who possessed much power and influence, and the mountainous character of the country promised much security against aggression. These circumstances induced many Catholics, who were suffering persecution in other parts of the kingdom, to take refuge in this district. But their tranquillity was not to last long. Some persons of influence set about raising a military force, to defend, as they said, the country from external aggression, and gave to these levies the specious name of the Army of Peace. But it soon became evident that their object was to overpower the royal party. They sent messages to the nearest posts of the Parliamentarian army to come to their assistance, promising them large subsidies, and with these reinforcements soon made the Parliamentary cause predominant. Having thus established their power they dismissed their auxiliaries, and by way of payment for their services commissioned them to plunder the Catholic houses up and down the country, assigning to each party the houses which they were to attack. These lawless bands, instigated at once by cupidity and hatred of the Catholic faith, broke into the Catholic houses, seized all the money and valuables they could find; carried off what was portable, and recklessly destroyed or damaged provisions, clothes, and household furniture, and slaughtered the cattle which they could not take away. A certain Catholic matron in particular is mentioned, in whose house one of the Fathers was usually sheltered. Being asked whether she was a Papist, she boldly answered at once that she was a Catholic; on this they began to tie her to a tree, as a mark to shoot at, but on further consideration let her go. Among the other houses which were broken into was one which the Fathers had rented for many years. Some of them resided there, making missionary excursions into the surrounding country, to the great benefit of the Catholics; and it was of great service to all of them, as they were able to retire thither when they required a temporary rest from their labours, or to make their spiritual exercises and their renovation of vows. This house was not only plundered, but permanently occupied by the enemy,

being turned into a public-house. The Fathers thus left without any fixed or safe abode, and in a state of much danger, want, and hardship, were yet enabled by the goodness of God to persist with unabated activity in their missionary occupations, without much decrease of their number; so that they could apply to themselves with much truth the words of the Apostle: "We are straitened, but are not destitute; we suffer persecution, but are not forsaken; we are cast down, but we perish not." [74]

1650–1. In the missions of Wales there were sixteen Fathers and two lay-brothers, and upwards of one hundred and eighty conversions. Mention is made of a girl who recovered in a remarkable manner after receiving the Sacrament of Extreme Unction. The child was nine years of age, and, after suffering for two days excruciating interior pains, became insensible and seemed in a hopeless state. But by the holy Sacrament of Extreme Unction, not only were intervals of easy respiration afforded, but the pains themselves were so softened, or rather driven away, that, with the exception of two more paroxysms, they never returned—a cure which all the bystanders attributed to the effects of the sacrament. A man who had abandoned the Catholic faith was committed and tried for a crime of which he was not guilty, and sentenced to death. Visited in prison by one of the Fathers he became truly penitent and made a general confession of his whole life with great contrition, and under the gallows he declared that, though innocent of the crime for which he was condemned, he deserved and accepted the ignominious death he was about to suffer in atonement for his apostacy from the Catholic Church.

A person highly distinguished by birth and personal qualities and of great influence, who had been very hostile to the Catholic religion, and to the Society in particular, was converted by the zealous exertions of the Fathers. Not long after he was taken ill and died. His conversion is the more memorable on account of the favourable impression which it made on many persons by reason of his high reputation for prudence and judgment.

The following miraculous occurrence is also recorded. Some vestments and linen cloths blessed for use at the altar had been deposited in a large chest, and intermixed purposely with a quantity of other linen and various articles that they might be the less noticed. The chest by some chance took

[74] 2 Cor. iv. 8, 9.

fire, the blest linen remained uninjured, while all the rest was consumed. This case is reported as occurring in Pembrokeshire.

Another miraculous cure is recorded in that year. In the same mission of Pembrokeshire, whilst a woman was washing linen in a stream, she was seized with a kind of sudden obsession; her face became deformed, swollen, black, and horrible to look at. A man who frequently came to us to his religious duties, happened to be present at this strange and sudden visitation, and advised the poor woman, who was motionless with fear and astonishment, to wash her face with water blessed according to the Catholic rite. In consequence, the next day her face, which was completely swollen up and disgusting to the sight, returned to its usual state and appearance.

A case is recounted showing the efficacy of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. A Protestant girl was reduced to death's door by a long standing disease: and as in the case of shipwreck, one looks about on every side for some relief, so here a certain pious woman by chance happened to come in to the aid of the perplexed and distressed family. She positively assured the parents of the dying girl, although Protestants, that their only remedy against death now so near was to procure a Mass to be said according to the ancient rite. A ready assent was given, Mass was said by one of the Fathers of St. Francis Xavier's, when instantly the violence of the disease abated, as the family of the sick person declared, and after a short interval she perfectly recovered.

1652—1656. The report for this period says: "The zeal of the Fathers, though proved in other parts of England by hardships and dangers, was nowhere more conspicuous than in the missions of Wales. Six Fathers were employed in that district, and underwent great fatigue in traversing the mountainous country to visit the poor Catholics who were unable to maintain a priest amongst them. Two of these missionaries, Fathers Charles Harris and John Price, were seized and imprisoned, and had been enduring the great sufferings of confinement with edifying fortitude for nine months, when the report was prepared.

For a period of nearly twenty years the annual reports appear to have been interrupted, owing no doubt, in great measure, to the troubles of the times. The number of the Fathers had been greatly reduced, and in the report for 1676–7

we find only six. In the same report, the following incident is mentioned, showing the efficacy of the use of holy water. "The daughter of a certain Anabaptist had been for two years a violent lunatic: she uttered loud cries and howlings, neither would she eat or drink for weeks together. Many medical men were called in, but in vain. At length the wretched condition of this young person came to the ears of a Catholic woman, who sent her some holy water, having taken which she was at first seized with a paroxysm of madness; but after a second and third time began to recover, and at length was delivered to her parents in perfect health."

The following order of the Privy Council will exemplify the state of the "No-Popery" feelings of the day in 1667.[75]

After our very hearty commendations: his Majesty and this Board having received frequent information that, notwithstanding his Majesty's proclamation, and the care and endeavour of his Ministers and Judges to suppress the growth of Popery according to the desires of both Houses of Parliament in that behalf, yet many Popish priests are as active as ever to seduce his Majesty's good subjects and to persuade them to embrace the Romish religion; and therein have the help and encouragement of many of that persuasion, who though obnoxious to law, have of late behaved themselves very boldly and insolently. For prevention of which growing mischief, and for the preservation of the true Protestant religion, his Majesty hath commanded us to signify unto you his express pleasure and command, that you in your respective divisions do use your utmost endeavour to apprehend all Popish priests and Jesuits that endeavour to seduce and pervert his Majesty's subjects, and that if any of them be by them seduced and perverted to become Papists, you do strictly examine the persons led away to the Roman religion, and make further diligent inquiries who have been the instruments and means of their seducement and perversion, whether priests or others; and that according to the directions of his Majesty's said proclamation you proceed against them according to the laws established. And that further you cause the laws against Popery and Popish recusants and for their conviction to be put in due and full execution. So not doubting of your care herein, it conducing so much to the peace and safety of his Majesty's Government, we bid you heartily farewell. From the Court at Whitehall, September 13, 1667.

Your very loving friends,

GILB. CANT., ORLANDO BRIDGEMAN, C.S., ALBEMARLE, OSSORY, CRAVEN, P. BRIDGEWATER, ANGLESEA, MIDDLETON, &c.

To our very loving friend the Justice of the Peace of the county of Hereford, nearest to the next post stage.

To be communicated to the rest of the Justices of Peace at their next Quarter Sessions.

[75] British Museum, Additional MSS. n. 11,055, p. 242, Scudamore Papers. Endorsed, "From the Privy Council to the Justices of the Peace."

The continuation of the annual reports for this College or District will be reserved for the history of the persecutions in 1678–9, in Oates' Plot, and at the time of the Revolution of 1688.

There is little or nothing to remark in the early history of the district as to any particular mission or locality. The Fathers were in those troubled times generally "missionarii excurrentes," or else lived in concealment in the houses of such Catholic noblemen or gentlemen as could afford, and were not afraid to receive them.

At Mr. Barlow's in Pembrokeshire we find Father John Bennet resident chaplain as early as 1603, as appears by a report, often alluded to, in the State Papers, Public Record Office, Domestic *James I.*, vol. vii., n. 50 [undated, but in the year 1603], "The names of the J——ts in England, with the chief places of their abode." In which occurs mention of "Mr. Bennet with Mr. Barlow in Pembrokeshire." The original paper is endorsed by Cecil, "A note of the Jesuits that lurk in England."

The biography of this eminent missionary and confessor for the faith will be given in the history of North Wales, the chief seat of his labours and sufferings.

Bristol is believed to be a very ancient mission, but no fixed residence can be traced there until between the years 1724 and 1734, when we find Father Joseph Marshall residing at a "Mr. Fermour's in Earl Street, Jobbin's Leys, Bristol." Evans, the historian of Bristol,[76] says that towards the end of the reign of Charles II. one "Mon. Jorevin informs us that one cannot hear Mass at Bristol, although it is a port frequented by many Catholics, Flemish, French, Spaniards, and Portuguese."

Father John Scudamore, who was fixed at Bristol either in 1738 or 1744 for some years, said Mass in the upper room of a house at Hook's Mills, about a mile from Bristol. When the Catholics began to breathe more freely, a room was taken in a dismal court called St. James' Back, holding from sixty to eighty persons. After this, the chapel was in Dighton Street, No. 7, until the Chapel of St. Joseph, Trenchard Street, was built by the late Father Robert Plowden in 1790.

We have already mentioned the services of our camp missioner at the battle of Bristol, 1642–3.

[76] Vol. ii. p. 306.

Courtfield, the seat of the Vaughan family, in the parish of Welsh Bicknor, was a very old chaplaincy or mission of this College. We reserve the notice of it to the history of the times of the Revolution of 1688.

Gloucester.—We do not trace any mission here, nor any missionary residing in or visiting the town. Father Edmund Campian certainly went there to visit his friend Cheney, the Protestant Bishop, to whom he wrote his well known letter of November 1, 1571, which is said by some to have effected the conversion of that vacillating man. This, however, Father Parsons, in page 243 of his *Review of Ten Public Disputations*, seems to contradict.

Father John Rastall, a famous controversialist, and his brother Edward, who both entered the Society, were natives of Gloucester. They were probably the sons of the eminent lawyer, Judge Rastall, who, faithful to his religion, abandoned place and country to settle and die in Louvain, where his body rests, with that of his wife, Winefrid Clement, to the right of our Lady's altar in the great Church of St. Peter in that town. The Judge's father was a well known printer, who married a sister of the martyred Chancellor, Sir Thomas More. John Rastall was born in 1527, Edward in 1540. Edward first entered the novitiate at St. Andrea in March, 1565, æt. 25. John entered the same house on the 6th of April, 1565, æt. 38. Edward died June 17, 1577.[77] Wood's *Athen. Oxon.*, vol. i., p. 306, edit. 1721, thus mentions Father John. "John Rastall, a most noted enemy in his writings to Bishop John Jewell, was born within the city of Gloucester, trained up in Wykeham, Winchester, admitted perpetual Fellow of New College in 1549; took the Degrees in Arts, that of Master being completed in 1555, and about that time Sacred Orders. In 1560 he left his College (wherein he had always been accounted an excellent disputant), his friends, and native country, and went to Louvain, where, and at Antwerp, he published certain books against Bishop Jewell, being then a candidate of the Faculty of Theology.[78] Afterwards he went to Rome, and in 1568 was, with his brother, or near kinsman, admitted into the Society of Jesus. Whereupon, because a

[77] *Story of St. Stanislaus*, Quarterly Series, May 1875; also *Hist. Prov. Ger. Sup.* n. 263.

[78] The force and cogency of Rastall's charges against Bishop Jewell, and against the newly formed Anglican communion, are acknowledged as "sad truths" by Heylin, in his *Ecclesiastical History of England*, *sub fine*.

way had not then been opened for the Jesuits into England, he went into Germany to perform offices pertaining to his Order. But being initiated into the priesthood before his ingress into the Society, and having performed the office of confessor in the place of one Hall, he was sent to Augsberg, and at length became Rector of the College of Jesuits at Ingolstadt."

Dodd,[79] who also uses Wood's account, says that, being a zealous maintainer of the old religion, the alterations made in the first year of Queen Elizabeth put him upon the thoughts of leaving England, as many others had done. However, he waited awhile, till the cause seemed to be past recovery. On leaving Oxford in 1560 he resided in Louvain, where he resumed his studies and applied himself diligently to Divinity; and was one of those that undertook Jewell, Bishop of Salisbury, whom he attacked with great learning and remarkable acuteness. After some time he travelled to Rome, and obtained a Penitentiary's place to assist those of his own nation. He died at Ingolstadt in 1600. Whilst Rector of the College there, he offered himself to God as a victim for the life of that eminent and saintly Father Paul Hoffæus (as Father John Constable says in page 140 of his *Specimens of Amendment*) whose recovery was hopeless. God was pleased to accept his generous vow and self-devotion by calling him out of life, and restoring the health of his venerable friend, who lived until December 17, 1608, æt. 84. Father Hoffæus was at the time Provincial of that part (Upper Germany), and was a man of great account and authority. He was fellow-labourer with Blessed Canisius. He had received the last sacraments of the Church, and his death was hourly looked for. Father John, says More's *Hist. Prov.*,[80] thinking that the loss of so great a man was no light matter, "What," said he, "if I, a useless burthen, should vow my life to God in exchange for his?" No sooner said than done: for he went at once to the Church of our Saviour at Augsberg, eight miles distant, and there made his vow, and on his return fell sick, took to his bed and died. Wonderful proof of his self-abjection, besides a love of God and his neighbour!

His works are—I. A confutation of a sermon pronounced by Mr. Jewell at St. Paul's Cross. Antw. 1564. II. A copy of a challenge taken out of the said confutation. 8vo. Antw. 1565. III. Reply against an answer falsely entitled, *Defence*

[79] *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 141. [80] *Hist. Prov. Angl.* p. 19.

of the truth. 8vo. Antw. 1565. IV. A treatise entitled, *Beware of Mr. Jewell.* 8vo. Antw. 1566. V. *Brief view of the false wares packed up in the nameless Apology of the Church of England.* 8vo. Louvain, 1567. VI. *A refutation of John Rastall*, by Wm. Fulke, 8vo. was printed 1579.

Father Southwell, in the *Biblio. Script. S.J.*, makes no mention of this learned writer, which omission Dodd thinks may have been caused by Dr. Pitts,[81] who by mistake attributes his works to William Rastall, the celebrated lawyer. Dr. Oliver accounts for it by the fact that they were published before he entered the Society.

Hereford is supposed to be one of the most ancient of the missions of St. Francis Xavier's District. The name, which is of Saxon derivation, signifies *the ford of an army*, and indicates that there was at this place a ford across the river Wye. Some historians would identify it with the Roman station Ariconium; but no certain notice of this place occurs until after the foundation of the kingdom of Mercia, of which it seems to have been the capital. Offa, a King of Mercia, held his Court here, and in 749 invited hither King Ethelbert of the East Angles, having promised him his daughter in marriage, instead of which he caused his royal guest to be assassinated, and united East Anglia to his own dominions. In atonement for this act of perfidy, he procured the canonization of Ethelbert, and dedicated to him a church he had erected, now Hereford Cathedral. This city, which has been the seat of many battles, was one of the last places that surrendered to the Parliamentarians when the Royal cause became hopeless.

The following is taken from Father Grene's Collection *C.* Stonyhurst MSS., dated March 1, 1607, and relates to a scene near Hereford.

"It happened in a certain county near Wales, called Hereford, that on the death of a poor Catholic woman the Protestant minister of the parish would not consent either to bury her or allow others to perform that work of mercy, saying that she had died excommunicated. Seeing this, her neighbours, who were Catholics, that the body might not remain longer in the house, determined to rise early next morning, and by torchlight, with candles, and sound of bell, and other Catholic ceremonies, to bury her in the churchyard

[81] *De Illus. Scrip. Angl.*

of the parish. On this intention coming to the ears of the Calvinist minister, he did his best to prevent it, and having found his own efforts of no use, he had recourse to the pseudo-bishop, residing in the city of Hereford, about four or five miles off, who at once despatched his officers to take the said Catholics into custody. These, at first only forty in number, were joined by so many as they went along the road, that the officers, who had begun to arrest some of them, were obliged to let all go, and retreated into the city to save their own lives. This event so greatly alarmed the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, that although generally well inclined towards the Catholic religion, yet through fear of some great disturbance they requested that the leading Catholics of London, such as the archpriest with some of his reverend assessors, or the Jesuit Fathers and others, who possessed more authority over the Catholics, should immediately send some gentlemen into those parts with full authority to assist in allaying the excitement. This being done, it was found on investigation that the disturbance had been raised and fomented by the treacherous designs of a certain Catholic, acting under the instigation of the heretics, who thus sought to render the Catholics more odious, and to furnish a pretext for persecuting them. To carry out their design, they caused pamphlets to be immediately printed and published concerning this great Herefordshire rebellion." [82]

The Rev. William Ely, a secular priest in the time of Queen Mary, was long a missioner at Hereford. He is noticed in the State Paper copied in page 370 above (*Dom. James I.*, vol. xiv. n. 40), as being a prisoner there: "An aged priest, and a great aider and abettor of the Jesuits, having such liberty as that he rideth up and down the country as he likes."[83]

[82] "The narrative of the above tumults was originally published by Father Robert Parsons in his *Treatise on Mitigation*. The funeral took place at Allensmore, a few miles out of Hereford" (Communicated by Father Waterworth).

[83] Dodd, *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 71, says (upon the authority of Wood, *Athen. Oxon.*): "The Rev. W. Ely was born in Herefordshire, educated at Oxford, where he took his degree of B.D. 1557, and about 1559 was appointed Vice-President of St. John's College by the founder, then in being. He was always privately a Catholic, but conformed for a while, in hopes that things would take another turn. But at last, refusing to subscribe to the Queen's Supremacy, he was deprived in 1563. Then, going abroad, he was ordained priest, and returning to England, became a very laborious missioner in his own county of Hereford, where

The Rev. John Stevens, another secular priest, whose account of the martyrdom of the Rev. Roger Cadwallador, at Leominster, is used by Bishop Challoner,[84] was a missionary at and near Hereford, and probably the successor of Mr. Ely. Both these priests are named in a paper given subsequently concerning the relics of St. Thomas of Hereford.

The first missioner of the Society whom we hear of at Hereford is Father Alexander Cuffaud, who usually passed under the name of Francis Day. He was a native of Sussex, born in 1602; entered the Society 1625, and took his solemn vows as a Spiritual Coadjutor on May 11, 1631. We find in the Catalogue of the Province for 1655 that he was serving under the name of Francis Day in this College, and had entered upon the English Mission 1632. He died, according to the Annual Letters, in the District of St. George, at Worcester, April 30, 1674: "A man full of age and merits," æt. 72.

After Father Cuffaud, no other member of the College is mentioned, until early in the last century. There can be no doubt, however, that the Fathers continued to visit and serve the Catholics there.

The following copy of a MS. in the Stonyhurst collection traces the custody of some relics of St. Thomas Cantilupe, the sainted Bishop of Hereford (1) to the venerable priest already named, the Rev. William Ely; (2) to Mr. Clarke, a gentleman of Hereford; (3) to the Rev. John Stevens, the priest who succeeded Mr. Ely; (4) to Father Alexander Cuffaud, who succeeded Mr. Stevens. As we shall see, Father Cuffaud handed the treasure to Father John Stevens, *alias* Poyntz, who deposited it at the English College of the Society at St. Omer, in the year 1688.

he was confined in the common gaol for several years, and died a prisoner at a very great age in 1609. His years, and the strictness of his morals, made him both feared and respected, not only by those of his own persuasion, but by most others, who never durst utter anything unbecoming a Christian in his presence. We have an instance of his primitive behaviour in what happened at the death of Archbishop Cranmer, who a little before he suffered, taking leave of some of his acquaintance that stood near him, offered his hand to Mr. Ely, who immediately drew back, adding that such kind of salutations were not allowed to those that had relapsed into heresy. This nicety has been represented by some as either humour or a want of charity; but others have regarded it as an instance of his zeal, and very agreeable to the letter of the Scriptures."

[84] *Missionary Priests.*

"Mr. Ely, a priest in Queen Mary's reign, lived at Hereford, and had in his custody certain relics formerly kept in the great church there, which were of St. Thomas, Bishop of that place. The said Mr. Ely dying many years after, delivered the same relics to one Mr. Clarke, a lay gentleman, who afterwards delivered the same to one Mr. Stevens, a priest, who lived many years after in the same city of Hereford. The said Mr. Stevens, having received those relics, for a further testimony and certainty of the authenticity thereof caused divers ancient Catholics to meet him at Hereford, whom he examined about the relics; and they took their oath in the presence of the said Mr. Stevens, and others, that those were the relics which Mr. Ely used to show to them, and they had for many years seen and visited them, as the relics of St. Thomas, bishop of the place, and this they knew by certain signs and tokens.

"After that, one Mr. Cuffaud, a priest, also living at Hereford, had those relics in his keeping and custody, and gave one thereof (being, as we conceive, an arm-bone of nine inches and somewhat more, or thereabouts, in length) to Mr. Evans, living in North Wales, in the year of our Lord 1664, to be kept by him."

The arm-bone given to Mr. Evans, who was, no doubt, Father Humphrey Brown (*vere* Evans), of North Wales, Holywell, &c., is supposed to be the same as that now preserved at Stonyhurst College, the history of which has been carefully traced by Father Morris. The history of the rest we are tempted now to inquire into, since these precious relics were for so many years treasured up in our College of St. Omer, where many miracles were wrought through them.

Father Joseph Simeons, the Provincial, records in the Annual Letters for the College of St. Omer, 1670, the blessings bestowed upon the Seminary by the intercession of St. Thomas. "At that time eighteen youths were laid up in the infirmary with various maladies, the lives of some of them being in great danger. Of these, three had been attacked with smallpox, and it seemed likely that amongst so many boys, at that season of the year, the disease would spread. A double octave of prayers before the Blessed Sacrament was commenced, and the arm of St. Thomas of Hereford was exposed. The Saint had on one occasion raised sixty persons from the dead, and it was then his feast [3rd of October]. Marvellous to say, not one after that day took the smallpox,

and in a short time all the sick recovered." Other instances of favours obtained through the Saint are given in the Annual Letters of the College.

The following extracts from the Bollandists[85] relate to the St. Omer relic :

De St. Thoma de Cantilupe, Episcopo.

E Sancti reliquiis cura Catholicorum. 346.—Further, although there can be no doubt that the *cultus* of St. Thomas was greatly increased after the Pontifical decrees awarding him sacred honours, yet I have read nothing further upon this point. It is very probable that if not the whole body of the Saint, a least a portion thereof, was at that time taken from its marble tomb,[86] and exposed to public veneration as long as the Catholic religion prevailed in England. *i.e.*, until the time of Henry VIII. Afterwards, that not all his sacred relics, once so dear to the English, were scattered to the winds, I learn from information sent to us in the year 1755 from our English College of St. Omer, to which place an entire arm-bone was brought in the seventeenth century.[87] The first information is supplied in the evidence of John Stephen Poyntz, priest of our Society, given in the year 1668 as follows : "I, the undersigned, priest S.J., solemnly declare that the arm of St. Thomas, Bishop of Hereford, mentioned in the annexed writing, was delivered to me by Father Francis Day, whose true name was Cuffaud, a priest of the same Society, from among the bones of the Saint, intrusted to his keeping at Hereford, in England, where they are venerated by the Catholics with great devotion, and the same, by order of our Very Reverend Father Provincial, were deposited in the Sodality Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary of our English Seminary of St. Omer.

"JOHN STEPHEN POYNTZ, S.J., Notarius Apostolicus."

September 1, 1668, St. Omer.

Manibus hæreticorum subductum unum os, brachium. 317.—Another testimony, apparently of the same Father, though there is some difference in the name, follows immediately after the former. "This sacred pledge, which, wrapped up in green ribbon, I left at Paris in the year of our Lord Christ 1651, November 12, in charge of my sister Miss Mary Poyntz, I, John Poyntz, priest S.J., attest to be one of the bones of that great Prelate, most renowned for miracles, St. Thomas of Hereford, whose feast in the Roman martyrology is celebrated on the 3rd of October. This precious jewel (together with the head and other relics of this holy Prelate, which was preserved by the Catholics until these times with pious veneration, although secretly) was at length torn from them in the year 1642, when the Parliamentary forces, under the command of the Earl of Stamford, took Hereford. However, by the pious exertions of a Catholic lady, Mrs. Ravenhill, at that time

[85] *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. xlix. tom. i. p. 540, October.

[86] An antiquarian, well acquainted with the subject, tells us that the tomb is not of marble, but is, like nearly all the monuments belonging to that period, of *freestone*.

[87] This information was given by Father William Wappeler, S.J., who was one of the missionary Fathers at Liverpool about 1748–9.

residing in Hereford, it was recovered. From whence I, the said John Poyntz, received this remarkable portion of so great a treasure from Father Alexander Cuffaud, also a priest S.J., and I deposited it in the charge of my sister, Miss Mary Poyntz, at Paris, in order that, should anything happen to me, it might be delivered to the Very Reverend Father Provincial of England for the time being.

JOHN POYNTZ, S.J., priest.

Thus it would appear that the relic was first preserved at Paris, and then taken to St. Omer.

318.—We have also the evidence of the Rev. Father Richard Barton, at the foot of which is added the licence of the Bishop of St. Omer for exposing the same sacred relic for public veneration. "I, Richard Barton, S.J., Rector of the English College of St. Omer, to all to whom these presents shall come wish eternal health in the Lord. We solemnly testify and declare to all, for remembrance in time to come, that on September 1, 1668, was placed in the Sodality Chapel of the Blessed Virgin, of this College, by order of our Very Reverend Father Provincial, the entire bone of the right arm of St. Thomas, Bishop of Hereford and Confessor, inclosed in an ebony box, and incased in glass, so as to be visible in every part. It belongs to the English Province of the said Society, and is deposited here temporarily, for preservation; having long ago been taken out of the chest, in which his venerable head and many more bones, formerly withdrawn from the fury of the heretics, were religiously preserved by the Catholic priest at Hereford in England, and (as far as could be among those heretics) publicly exposed to the veneration of the faithful by continual succession from the time in which the Catholic faith flourished in England; as appears from the evidence and solemn declaration of the Rev. Father John Stephen Poyntz, priest of our Society, and formerly Rector of several of our Colleges, who brought us this sacred pledge by order of our Very Reverend Father Provincial. In witness whereof I have set my hand and seal of office. Dated at Watten, October 1, 1668.

(L.S.) "RICHARD BARTON, M.P."

Immediately underneath is the Bishop of St. Omer's approbation: "The most illustrious and Reverend Lord Bishop of St. Omer permits the undermentioned relics to be publicly exposed to the veneration of the faithful. Dated St. Omer, October 1, 1668.

"By command,

(L.S.) "J. DE LA RAMONCEY."

The following is an extract from a letter of Father Waterworth, for many years missioner residing at Hereford, to Father Morris, dated September 24, 1871:

"The translations of the remains of St. Thomas have been very numerous. The last was a translation indeed, unlike certainly all the previous ones. It was a stealing of the body from a shrine wherein it had been placed for many years. This removal, however, did not take place in 1836, but during

the great plague in 1665. To stop the plague, the Catholics of Hereford, who then were at least one fifth of the population, took the body quietly out of its tomb, and carried it at night through the town. The result was very gratifying. An historian of that period says: 'The plague at once surceased.'[88] The body was never replaced, but kept, I think, in safe hands, until it could be removed from the neighbourhood of Hereford." Father Waterworth then goes on to describe the opening of the tomb by Dean Mereweather in 1846, on which occasion nothing was found.

Father Waterworth's statement that the *body* had been taken from the tomb in 1665, need not be held as a contradiction of the above evidence, which relates only to a comparatively small portion, and this may have been procured at some earlier opening of the tomb. What became of the chief portion of the Saint's relics appears to be unknown.

The head of St. Thomas of Hereford was, it seems, preserved by a secular family in Hereford, or in that county, named Street. It had been removed about the year 1670 by a member of this family, a Benedictine lay-brother, and carried off to the Benedictine Monastery of Lambspring, in the province of Hildesheim. The removal of the holy relic appèars to have given some pain and anxiety to the Superiors of Brother Street, and led to the following document being written:

"I, Brother Benet Gibon, Benedictine Monk of the English Congregation and Professed of the Abbey of Lambspring, do declare that Brother Peter Street, convers of ye same monastery, affirmed to me the manner with many particulars, how he toke the head of St. Thomas of Hereford from his sister's house in Herefordshire, where it had been reposed long in ye family by ye Catholick clergé of England. He out of a particular zeal for ye honor of ye Saint, not thinking it kept and exposen with dew publick veneration, brought ye same to Lambspring as above, in order to a greater veneration of the Saint, where, with leave of the Bishop of ye place, it has been permitted to be exposed to the devotion of ye publick and his feast kept a double annually upon ye 2nd of Octobre.

"Now I abovesaid, Benet Gibon, do affirm that the said clergé reclaiming restauration of the same sacred head by a letter writt to the Abbot Gascoigne, which letter he gave me to answer, and I none approving ye manner of this translation did answer if they pleased to send any person approved to

[88] Father Richard Strange, *Life of St. Thomas of Hereford.*

receave it back it should be restaured, only desiring yt some partice of ye same head might remain at Lambspring, but no answer being given it there remains.

"BROTHER BENET GIBON.

"For satisfaction of my conscience, before I dye, I give this instrument about 50 years after this translation.—8ber 6, 1720.

"BROTHER BENET GIBBON."

The original of this document was in the possession of the late Reverend Dr. Heptonstall, O.S.B., and a few years ago a copy of it was made by the Reverend Father Waterworth, S.J., who made the following remarks upon it:

"The document seems to have been at first simply a memorandum. The handwriting of the document is clearly of an earlier date than that of the signatures, though they are both by the same person. The first signature, as well as the PS., were written at the same time. It is observable that Gibbon is written differently in the document and in the signature. Abbot Gascoigne died July 14, 1681, æt. 81. According to the above account the head was removed from Herefordshire about 1670."

We have to thank the Very Reverend Canon Dolman, O.S.B., of St. Francis Xavier's Church, Hereford, for the above copy. The Canon says: "The document contains all I know of the relic. I have not been able to find any other record of its being at Lambspring, or of what became of it at the suppression of the Abbey by Prussia on January 3, 1803. A letter was received from the parish priest there, a year or so back, but he knew nothing of any relic being left in the church built by our Fathers at Lambspring, and still existing as a parish church. Probably the Prussians carried off reliquaries and their contents. A lady in Germany has been asked to make inquiries, but I have not heard of any result as yet."

BROTHER THOMAS EVANS.

THE death of a holy scholastic of the Society, who died at Liege, May 27, 1677, is recorded in the Annual Letters of that College. As a native of Hereford, he is entitled to notice in this place.

"A scholastic of great promise died, aged twenty-seven, in the first year of his theology—viz., Thomas Evans. Whilst at the Seminary of St. Omer he gave proofs of talent and piety. Having entered the novitiate at Watten he embraced his new kind of life with more tender love and a sweeter joy, as he declared to his confessor, than worldlings go to their bridal feast. Great was his love of God and devotion to the Blessed Virgin and the saints. It would be too long to recount his daily practices of piety. When he was warned of the approach of death in the full possession of his senses, he made a general confession of his whole life, after which he had no thought but of Heaven, and appeared as though he had already entered another world. 'Oh!' he exclaimed, 'how different all things appear as I approach near to death.' Hence there sprang up in him an extreme desire of suffering, so that amidst his pains he prayed God that he might be afflicted in each part of his body. And to a Father who visited him he said, "Father, I have offended God with my eyes, my hands and feet, and they as yet suffer nothing.' But God heard his pious entreaties, and soon no part of his body was left without its pain. His eyes ran with humours, his tongue became parched and dry, his ears tormented with incessant drummings, his chest torn with coughing, his hands and feet palsied, and his whole body afflicted with heats, perspirations, and wasting away. And not his body only, but his soul was permitted by God to be tormented with terrors. The whole night he struggled with them, his bed seemed to him to be surrounded with devils, whilst he kept crying out, 'I believe, I hope, I love. Begone, foul spirits, I have no compact with you,' and the like; then seizing the crucifix he seemed to drive them away. At length the combat was brought to an end, and he remained tranquil until his death, often pronouncing the sweet names of Jesus and Mary, the '*Anima Christi*,' '*Salve Regina Mater misericordiæ*,' and repeating '*Tu nos ab hoste protege, et hora mortis suscipe*,' with many pious ejaculations. He slept peacefully in Jesus

on the 29th of May, having previously received the last rites of the Church."

In the Archives de l'Etat, Brussels, Carton, n. 29, *Varia S.J.* is an original "Relation of the death and virtues of Thomas Evans," which was written by his confessor Father John Persall, who constantly attended him until his death, and gives fuller details than the above account. From it we learn that Thomas Evans was born of pious parents, and in the very house where the body of St. Thomas, formerly Bishop of Hereford, was preserved. He was educated with pious care by a Jesuit Father (probably Father Alexander Cuffaud, *alias* Francis Day, then residing as missioner at Hereford,) until he was sent to complete his studies at St. Omer. On entering the novitiate he made a resolution to fast every Saturday in honour of the Blessed Virgin Immaculate in her Conception, in order to obtain the grace of dying in the Society, but this resolution was of necessity commuted, on account of his delicate health, into the recital of certain prayers every Saturday. Although he experienced great aridity in mental prayer, he was nevertheless inflamed with so ardent a desire of serving God more fervently that he earnestly entreated to be taken out of this life rather than continue to live so tepidly, and subject to so many defects, as he seemed to himself to be. He animated himself to perform well the different actions of the day by offering up many fervent aspirations, and prepared himself against all possible contingencies.

The writings which he left behind him contained his resolutions for performing good actions on every occasion. For instance, "In suffering an injury, I will say, I suffer this for Thy love, O my God, Who art so good and bountiful to me, though I am altogether an offence to Thee. When adversities arise, 'What have I, wretched one, to complain of, who deserve the flames of hell? Here burn, here cut; spare me not here, O Lord, that thou mayest spare me in eternity,'" and similar ejaculations. We have before alluded to his singular devotion to our Lady and the saints. He daily read over the *Martyrology*, adding to it many saints the memorials of whom he had with pious industry collected from every source. He composed private litanies in honour of his patron Saints, in which he summed up their private acts and virtues, and daily recited vocal prayers in their honour, a practice that nearly equalled in length the Divine Office. From these, amongst whom he included the monthly Saints allotted to him, he im-

plored nothing more earnestly than to obtain for him the grace of a good death in the Society of Jesus. To this end likewise he daily recited five psalms, the first letters of which expressed the name MARIA, and also the Little Office of St. Barbara. We have before stated his earnest desire of suffering for the love of God, and his own greater merit, and how wonderfully his wishes were accomplished. These Father Persall details in nearly similar terms. Nevertheless, in his mental suffering no room for scruples existed, both by reason of his most innocent life, his exact, sincere, and often repeated confessions, together with his strict obedience and submission to the judgment of his director. During the whole time of the severe conflicts above mentioned he appeared quite collected, recognised the bystanders, answered their questions, and adopted the pious thoughts suggested to him. He would often exclaim in his afflictions, "I receive a hundredfold, I am furnished with all things a hundred times more carefully than I could hope for, even in my father's house. How many sufferers of far greater merit have not where to lay their heads, and instead of a soft bed to lie on are left to rot in squalor, without attendance and without remedies." At length his confessor asked him if he wished for absolution. "Yes," he replied, "for all that I have confessed to your Reverence." Then being told to try and make an act of contrition, he replied, "*Ita*," and received absolution. When reminded of the indulgence to be gained at the hour of death by invoking the holy names of Jesus and Mary," after replying "*Ita*," he added, "and by dying in the Society," and then sweetly surrendered his soul to God, dying on a Saturday, the day of the week upon which he had been accustomed to pray especially for the grace of a good death, a favour most happily vouchsafed to him. "May my soul die his death, and my last end be like to his."

We reserve the notices of the two martyrs Father Charles Lewis (*alias* Baker) and Philip Evans, for the next volume of *Records*, treating of the Oates' Plot.

Combe, or Come (Cwm), in the parish of Llanrothall, in the county of Hereford, was an ancient and probably the principal residence of the College of St. Francis Xavier. In the M.S. headed "A relation," &c., of which a copy is given in pp. 333 seq., we trace the origin of the Upper and Lower Combes. Father Charles Brown who, as we have seen,

succeeded Father John Salisbury as Superior in 1625, soon afterwards purchased the lease of the Upper Combe and all the Lower Combe, and a farm adjoining called Langunville. From the above MS., and the description of the place given in the following narrative of its discovery and plunder by Herbert Croft, Protestant Bishop of Hereford, there is no doubt that it was the head quarters of the district.

In the report of the Sheriff of Herefordshire, given in p. 370, a Mr. William Griffiths is mentioned as living at the Combes, within two miles of Monmouth, with Father Richard Griffiths of the Society of Jesus. In 1637 we find, from a deed dated November 10, 1637, that the Combes were leased by the Marquis of Worcester to Father William Morgan. The narrative of the seizure of the Combes is taken from "Herbert Croft's discovery, &c., in the British Museum.[1] The relation regarding Father Lewis the martyr, which is contained in the same narrative, is reserved for his biography under the head of Usk, in the history of the period of the Oates' Plot persecution.

We preface the narrative with the following letter by way of warrant, addressed by the House of Lords to Dr. Croft, dated December, 1678.[2]

Die Sabbathi, Decembris, 1678.

Upon information given to this house of a place in Herefordshire called Combe, that the said house and three hundred pounds (per annum) belongeth to the Church of Rome, and that five or six Jesuits commonly reside there, and that in the chapel there Mass is said constantly, and that the place is commonly called and known by the name of the Jesuits' College by the Papists. Upon consideration had thereof it is ordered by the lords spiritual and temporal in Parliament assembled that it be, and is hereby recommended to the Lord Bishop of Hereford, calling to his assistance such justices of the peace of the said county as his lordship shall think fit to inquire into the information aforesaid, and to send for and examine such persons as his lordship or assistants shall think necessary for finding out the truth of the matter of fact concerning the said place called Combe, and to give this house a full account thereof so soon as his lordship conveniently can.

Jo. Browne,
Cleric-Parliamentor.

[1] $860\frac{K}{5}\ \frac{2}{5}\frac{0}{}$. London, 1679. 4to.

[2] The original is preserved in the Philips MSS. St. Michael's Priory, Hereford. We are indebted to the kindness of the Very Reverend Prior Raynal for the copy.

A short narrative of the discovery of a College of Jesuits, at a place called Come, in the County of Hereford, which was sent up unto the Right Honourable the Lords assembled in Parliament, at the end of the last sessions, by the Right Reverend Father in God, Herbert, Lord Bishop of Hereford, according to an order sent unto him by the said lords, to make diligent search, and return an account thereof.[3] *To which is added a true relation of the knavery of Father Lewis, the pretended Bishop of Llandaffe, now a prisoner in Monmouth Gaol.*
London, printed by T. N. for Charles Harper, at the Flower-de-luce, against St. Dunstan's Church, in Fleet-street, 1679.

"In the parish of Llanvorhall [Lanrothall], in the County of Hereford there are two houses called the Upper and Lower Comes, or Middle and Lower Comes, with a walled court before each of them, having lands belonging to them worth about three score pounds per annum (they pay taxes at eight and fifty pounds per annum.)[4]

"This estate did formerly belong to Edward [Henry], Lord Marquis of Worcester, who, by lease dated 10th of November, in the twelfth year of King Charles I. (1637), did let it for forescore and nineteen years to one William Morton,[5] who dying left it to one Robert Hutton,[6] living in St. Giles in the Fields, London, styled merchant, which Hutton hath by his lease, dated the second day of February, 1677, and sealed and delivered in the presence of William Ireland, John Fenwick, J. Groves,[7] let the Lower Comes to one William Williams for one and twenty years at one and forty pounds per annum. And he hath likewise made a letter of attorney to one Peter Pulton, a servant, intrusting him with the management of the profits of both the Comes, which is dated the 27th day of April, 1678, and the witnesses to it are W. Ireland, John Fenwick, and William Cornelius.

"One of these houses, a fair genteel house, wherein there are six lodging chambers, each one a convenient study to it,

[3] This narrative dates between November 18, 1678, and January 13, 1679. In Dr. Croft's relation to the Lords, he says that Father Lewis was at that time in Monmouth gaol. He entered that gaol about November 18, 1678, and remained there until removed to Usk, January 13, 1679. This fixes the date of this search.

[4] In the margin is written, "See the examination of Mr. Boothley, lord of the manor.

[5] Father William Morton, who died 1667.

[6] Father Robert Hutton, *alias* Robert Hill.

[7] Father Ireland was Procurator of the Province, Father Fenwick agent in London for St. Omer's College, and Grove was a servant, or perhaps a lay-brother. All were hung in Oates' Plot.

with a standish left in them, besides several other lodging rooms.

"The other house is also a good country house, with several chambers and studies to some of them, all in very good repair, but the furniture now removed, we cannot yet find whither.

"The remaining dwellers in the house, who were but under-servants, will not confess. They are apparently perjured, for they flatly denied upon oath several things which were made out by others, and then they confessed them. There are one and twenty chimnies in both houses, and a great many doors to go in and out at, and likewise many private passages from one room to the other.

"These houses are seated at the bottom of a thick woody and rocky hill, with several hollow places in the rocks, wherein men may conceal themselves, and there is a very private passage from one of the houses into this wood.

"In one of these houses there was a study found, the door thereof very hardly to be discovered, being placed behind a bed, and plastered over like the wall adjoining, in which was found great store of divinity books, and others in folio and quarto, and many other lesser books, several horse-loads (but they are not yet brought to me, it being Christmas holy days, but they remain in a safe hand), many whereof are written by the principal learned Jesuits.

"And there were found two paper books in folio, in the front of one written, 'Ordinationes variæ pro Collegio Sancti Xaverii.' (Xaverius was the co-founder with Ignatius of the Jesuits' Order, and his picture was there set up.)

"*Ordinationes* doth not here signify ordination as we commonly understand it, but orders and rules sent from the Generals of the Jesuits, Caraffa and Paulus Oliva, to the Jesuits here inhabiting. As also instructions from the Provincials of the Jesuits living in London unto those here.

"The other paper book contains the great benefactors, being queens, princes, nobles, and several others of this and divers other nations, who have contributed towards the foundation of Jesuit Colleges, or the maintenance of them, and likewise the number of Masses appointed to be said for their souls.

"There was also found a Latin book in folio, declaring, 'That there is in London a College dedicated to St. Ignatius, with revenues belonging to it, for the Jesuit novices in the time of probation.'

"'One in Wales' (which I suppose are these two houses), 'dedicated to St. Xaverius.'

"'A third is' (the book saith) 'in Staffordshire or Lancashire, dedicated to St. Aloysius, another prime Jesuit, which Colleges, when England shall be reduced to the obedience of the Pope, shall never be altered,' as this book directs. This printed book and the other two paper books in folio I have. There are about fifteen or sixteen several printed books, containing the decrees of the several congregations of that Society at Rome, that contain only the rules of the Society of Jesus.

"There are several books lately written and printed against the Protestant religion, and many small Popish Catechisms, printed and tied up in a bundle, and some Welsh Popish books lately printed, and some Popish manuscripts fairly and lately written.

"Likewise there is a picture of Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Society, and the most remarkable actions and pretended miracles of his life, not only written in printed books, but in pictures in several sheets, which pictures refer to Ribadeneira's book of Loyola's life.

"There is a loose paper dated March 1, 1652 (it seems this was then founded a college), in which directions were given that an account of the revenue and disbursements should be sent yearly to the College in Rome. It is there also mentioned that the same year there were baptized thirty-four, reconciled to the Church of Rome, one hundred and fifty-five (a great number), of those that were fallen from the Church and regained, fifteen, and other matters.

"One letter seems written by the Provincial to them of this house, wherein complaint is made 'that there was not care enough taken to send young men to Rome, to be there bred up in the English College, and for which,' he saith, 'the Pope was much displeased, and threatened to take away their College there, and fill it up with scholars of some other nation and order.'

"In one of these houses lived a mean servant called Peter Pullen[8] (a Papist), yet intrusted with the management of these houses and estates for eight years past, as he confesseth, and was intrusted to receive a rent of £20 per annum from an estate called Amberley, in the parish of Monmouth, and another rent of £18 per annum from an estate called

[8] In the margin is, "See Peter Pullen's examination."

Langunvill, in the parish of Dixton, in the county of Monmouth, and to manage them also, part whereof defrayed the expenses of the College, as appears in part by an account book, where there are many leaves cut out (I suppose they had timely notice given them before the order was sent me by the House of Lords, and did therefore do this, and remove what they could beforehand), and part paid in money to such Jesuit priests as were appointed to receive it, but for these eight years that he hath been servant there he never hath made any account unto, nor held any correspondence with the said Hutton, who carrieth the name of this estate.

"This Pullen names seven several Jesuit priests, viz., Prichard, Archer, Harris, Lewis, Price, Humphries, and Draicot, who were used to resort thither, and say Mass there; but the altar, with all the ornaments thereof, was taken down and conveyed away, only the altar-stone remaining with five crosses cut in it, one at each corner, and one in the middle.

"Two vestments, with some other small matters, were found in two boxes hid in the wood above specified. (It seems the other things were but newly removed, and they had begun also to remove the library, for they had carried out and hid in a pig's cot adjoining about two horse-loads of books.)

"There were found many bottles of oil, a box of white wafers stamped, several Popish pictures and crucifixes, some relics, a little saint's bell, and an incense pot.

"It doth appear by several examinations that on Sundays and holy days many Papists did resort to these Comes, and the greater part of Mr. Milburn's family near unto them, but I do not find that ever he himself frequented it."

The reader may be curious to know who this Bishop Croft was. Wood[9] states him to have been son of Sir Herbert Croft of Croft Castle, Herefordshire. Sir Herbert was educated at Christ Church, Oxford; was a Member of Parliament in the latter years of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and was knighted by King James I., in consideration of his personal merit and the antiquity of his family. Weary of the world, he retired from his family to Douay, became a Catholic and led a very austere life in a little cell assigned him by the English Benedictines there, within the walls of their College. Some say that he became a lay-brother of that Order.[10] This was in the year 1617.

[9] *Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 264. Edit. 1721.
[10] See Dodd's *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 365.

He wrote several books in favour of the Catholic religion, and died a holy death there, April 10, 1622. Soon after his retirement he sent for his son Herbert to Douay, and placed him in the College of the English Fathers, at St. Omer, where he was received into the Catholic Church, or to use Wood's expression: "was made a perfect Catholic." Sir Herbert (adds the same author), though a good man, did not wish his son to join the Society; but yet, according to Wadsworth,[11] who is considered by Wood to be an author of little or no note, was drawn into it by means of the Spiritual Exercises. His son was afterwards admitted as an alumnus of the English College, Rome, November 4, 1626, under the assumed name of John Harley.

Herbert Croft, on entering the College, described himself as "Twenty-two years of age, and born near Oxford. My father is Sir Herbert Croft, Knight. I have eight brothers and sisters, all, together with my mother, are Protestants. My father and myself alone are, by the grace of God, Catholics. I made my humanity studies as far as poetry, at St. Omer's College, and a little rhetoric at Paris. Having been long brought up in heresy, God had compassion upon my wretched condition, and made use of the ministry of a certain nobleman to draw me to the company of the faithful. This nobleman endured grievous hardships when incarcerated in a London prison for the Catholic faith, and at the earnest entreaties of a certain lady I frequently visited him and relieved him with money supplied by her. Struck by his virtue and constancy, and moreover moved by his affection towards me, when often with floods of tears he deplored my lamentable condition, that rendered me incapable of receiving the full reward of my charity towards him, I began to apply myself diligently to the study of Catholic doctrines, and to weigh them seriously in my mind; and at length, illuminated by Divine light, I most clearly perceived their truth. I then applied to a Catholic priest of the name of Chatwin, who reconciled me to the Catholic Church, in which, praise be to God, I have now persevered for seven years."[12] After, as usual, promising the observance of college discipline, he signs himself John Harley, *vere* Herbert Croft.

[11] *English-Spanish Pilgrim*, ch. iii. London, 1630.

[12] This priest was probably Father Ralph Chetwin, a great sufferer for the faith at the Revolution of 1688, and whose biography is reserved for the series of our *Records* of that period.

The Diary of the English College states that he entered as a convictor amongst the alumni, Father Thomas Fitzherbert being Rector, November 4, 1626. He left the College for Belgium, September 8, 1628, with the character of having behaved himself well during his residence. But afterwards he basely apostatized in England, and about the year 1660, became a Protestant bishop.[13]

On leaving the College to return to Belgium, September 8, 1628, he was sent by his father into England on family business, and in the mean time Sir Herbert died, and the son, after travelling about and prosecuting his studies in theology, returned again to England on family affairs and finally ended by apostacy, receiving as its premium, the Protestant See of Hereford.

We have seen how this unhappy man requited his former friends and instructors. That he was ever admitted to the Society is a matter of great doubt. Wadsworth—the only authority for it—was, we believe, the very pursuivant whose name figures so extensively in the lives of the martyrs of that period, and in the State Papers in the Public Record Office, London, and who was one of the "Joint Stock Company" for the seizure, condemnation, and execution of Catholic priests and Jesuits, of which some account is given in *Records*, vol. i. pp. 514, seq. Mr. Wood, therefore, has good reason for considering him as an author of little or no credit.[14]

There is a tradition that Father Michael Alford, the historian,[15] compiled some part of his work at Home Lacey, the seat of the Scudamore family. This may be a mistake for Combe, which was certainly in the possession of the Fathers of the College prior to and at the date of Father Alford's work. The extent of the plundered library tends to support the tradition, if not in favour of Home Lacey, yet certainly of the Combes.

Regarding the books, the Rev. Father Waterworth, S.J., Incumbent of the church of St. George, Worcester, and for a long time of the Church of St. Francis Xavier, Hereford, says in a letter to the Editor: "I have seen a portion of our library

[13] The latter part is added in Father Christopher Grene's handwriting.

[14] The Editor has made diligent inquiries for the MSS. stated in Dr. Croft's report to have been carried off to Hereford from Combe in 1679, and in reply the Dean of Hereford stated that no such MSS. exist, courteously adding that if they did, the Editor was most welcome to see and use them.

[15] See his biography, *Records*, vol. ii. series iii. part i.

seized at Holm [Combe]. It forms a part of the Hereford Cathedral Library. Several of the works contain the name of William Morgan, who always wrote his name in German characters. A portion of his works, however, was formerly in the chapel house, Hereford. Dean Mereweather one day came to my house [at Hereford] with a large volume, of which the title-page was missing, and asked me if I could tell him who the author was. I said 'Yes; but,' I added, 'I can tell you more,—that book belongs to me. See Father Morgan's name in it. It was taken from Holm [Combe], and knowing this, you will no doubt now restore our books to us.' He laughed heartily, but kept the books! There were a good number of MSS., mainly consisting of inventories, minister's books, and such like things, taken to the cathedral library from Holm; but I cannot say whether or not they are still there."

Raglan Castle.—The pedestrian who should choose South Wales for his field of exploration will, if he walks from Chepstow, along the course of the Wye to Tintern and Monmouth, and then strikes across the country to Abergavenny and thence over the Black Mountains, find himself traversing a district rich in striking and interesting ruins. There are few Englishmen who love the beauties of their country, to whom the Wye from Chepstow to Tintern is unfamiliar; but the picturesque ruin of Raglan Castle is perhaps less known, as lying somewhat off the track of the ordinary tourist, who, while he pursues his way on foot from Monmouth to Abergavenny finds the country flat and uninteresting. The only break in the general landscape is the line of hills which suddenly rise up before him in the distance, and at the foot of which lies the town to which he is journeying. After leaving Monmouth some eight miles behind, his glance falls on the stately ruins of the walls of Raglan Castle to the right, discernible through the trees at some distance from the high-road. A visit to the crumbling ruins of this, one of the largest and stateliest of the baronial castles in Wales, will amply repay him. The ruins are kept in a fair state of preservation by the Duke of Beaufort. The castle, formerly the seat of Henry Somerset, Marquis of Worcester, is described as more modern than many structures of its kind in that part of the country. The earliest style of building which it presents is not older than the time of Henry V., while some parts of it were built so lately as the reign of Charles I. The old parish

SOMERSETS OF RAGLAN.

EDWARD SOMERSET, fourth Earl of Worcester, Lord Herbert of Raglan Chepstow, Strigel and Gower, K.G. Died 1627. = ELIZABETH, daughter of FRANCIS HASTINGS, Earl of Huntingdon.

- HENRY SOMERSET, fifth Earl of Worcester, Lord of Raglan, and created Marquis of Worcester November 2, 1642. Died in captivity 1646. = ——
  - EDWARD, Lord Herbert, second Marquis of Worcester. Died 1667. = ELIZABETH, daughter of Sir WILLIAM DORMER.
    - HENRY. Created Duke of Beaufort; apostatized.
    - Lady ANNE. = HENRY HOWARD, Esq.
    - Lady ELIZABETH. = WILLIAM HERBERT, third Lord Powis. Died 1696.
      - Lady FRANCES HERBERT.
- JOHN SOMERSET. = MARY ARUNDELL.
  - HENRY SOMERSET. Born 1629. A student of the English College, Rome, 1651 (see Text).
- Several Daughters, converted to the Catholic faith by Father Robert Jones.
- Lady FRANCES. = WILLIAM MORGAN, Esqre., of Llantarnam, co. Monmouth.
  - SIR EDWARD MORGAN. Created a baronet 1642. = MARY, daughter of Sir FRANCIS ENGLEFIELD of Wootton Basset, co. Wilts, Bart.
    - ELIZABETH. = Sir PHILIP JONES, of Treowain. Died 1660.

Sir Philip Jones, of Tre-owain, a curious old house, was in Raglan Castle during the siege. Some of the old vestments have survived, and are preserved at Llanarth Court, near which is an old farmhouse—now the Presbytery—in which was a hiding-hole in the roof, now nearly obliterated by modern reforms.—[*Communicated by C. A. Buckler, Esq.*]

[*To face page 471.*

church, which stands at a short distance from the ruins, was dedicated to St. Cadocus. The castle was almost wholly destroyed in the civil war, after a siege of ten weeks, its owner having espoused the Royal cause. After this event, as has often happened in similar cases, the ruins were used as a stone quarry, and yielded building materials to the tenantry for miles around. The remains of the fabric, however, are still extensive, and, beautifully mantled with ivy, present a striking and picturesque appearance.

Raglan Castle was a noted place of refuge for the Fathers of the South Wales District, during the times of persecution. We gather from the paper copied in pages 333, seq, that it was known to Father Robert Jones, founder of the mission prior to 1615, as he converted Lady Frances Somerset of Raglan, and her sisters.[16] Father John Salisbury, also, who succeeded Father Jones as Superior, in 1615, resided at Raglan Castle with the Lady Worcester.

The Catholic nobleman named in the Annual Letters for this College for 1641–4, copied below, was, without doubt, the noble and loyal Marquis of Worcester, and Raglan must have been the castle there referred to, upon which he was finally forced to retire by the Parliamentarians. Mrs. Brigardin, housekeeper of Raglan, was a generous benefactress to the College of St. Francis Xavier. The date of the gift made by her is not known; but it was probably at the time of the residence of the Fathers here, in the reign of Charles I., and during the Parliamentary rebellion.

The annual report above mentioned says: The calamities of the civil war reached this part of the country at a later period than most other parts of England. It was indebted for this benefit to the loyalty of a Catholic nobleman of high rank, and great power and wealth, who devotedly sustained the Royal cause, as long as it was possible, and extended protection to the Catholics of the surrounding country. The Fathers in a particular manner experienced his favours and beneficence; and it was thus that they were enabled to devote themselves to their missionary duties with such great fruit. But the Parliamentary forces at last prevailed and overran the country, and the Catholic nobleman was forced to retire within the defences of his castle. A house in which the fathers resided was entered and plundered by the rebels. But they were soon after dispersed by a sudden alarm; and it happened provi-

[16] See Pedigree.

dentially that they left behind them the wagon which contained the property of the Fathers, who were thus enabled to recover it. They were obliged, however, to retire for refuge, together with the Catholics, to the recesses of the mountains.

The Rector of the College alone remained with the noble proprietor in the castle, where his spiritual services were much valued. Three of the Fathers made their way into such of the interior counties of the principality as had not hitherto been visited by missionaries of the Society; and they obtained positions there from which they could conveniently make excursions into the adjacent districts: where, says the report, it is hoped that these new missions will prove conducive to the progress of religion. The castle was lost in August, 1646, soon after the fatal battle of Naseby.

Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* has the following notice of this warm friend and patron of the members of this College.

"Henry Somerset was son and heir of Edward, Earl of Worcester, and became a nobleman, with his elder brother William, of Magdalen College in the beginning of 1591; and at the age of fourteen he matriculated at the University as member of Magdalen College. After spending two or more years there, he was sent to travel into France, Italy, &c., where I presume he changed his religion for that of Rome; for he was not born and bred a Catholic, as some report. For the truth is, if his own words are to be believed, he was not; as in one of his apophthegms it doth appear thus: 'It was told me by some of them, before ever I was Catholic,' &c. Afterwards his elder brother dying unmarried, he became Lord Herbert of Raglan, and on the death of his father, 1627, Earl of Worcester; to which honour he became a great ornament and glory; and was therefore beloved and adored by all generous and virtuous men. Afterwards, living mostly at Raglan, he did little or not at all frequent the Royal Court; but as a plain man, especially in his apparel, lived very handsomely there, and at other of his seats. He kept a well regulated family, free from swearing and drunkenness; was exceedingly charitable both in word and action; a good landlord and loving neighbour; a great compromiser, a wise man, and above all a person of great and sincere religion. He was so devout, and used prayer so much, that you should never see his closet door open, but you might perceive he had been weeping, which he would endeavour to conceal by wiping his eyes; but he could never wipe away the swelling or redness

of them. This person, who was of the most noble and generous disposition, ample fortune, and of perfect loyalty, did manifest his dutiful affection for King Charles I. by very large supplies, when the predominant party in the Long Parliament had reduced him to extreme necessities. In consideration whereof and of his personal merits, he was advanced to the title of Marquis of Worcester by letters patent dated November 2, 1642, at Oxford. After a while, he retired to Raglan, lived there, used little hospitality, until such time as he was provoked within the pales of his own park. And then fortifying that place kept it for his and the King's use, but never gathered any contribution from the adjacent counties, but paid the soldiers of the garrison out of his own privy purse. While he was in this condition, he had occasion to fly from a danger, with a gentler and softer foot than it made after him; whose condition so dangerous, was the more desperate, because he was insensible of the approach of any enemy; and his security the sooner wrought, because intelligence had not given the enemy any information how near they were unto him.

"It was the hap and fortune of one Dr. Thomas Bayley,[17] a great Royalist, to meet with this nobleman in this condition on the Welsh mountains; at which time he did first inform himself and then his lordship of the one and other particular, and also of the rub that he had cast in the way, that had turned aside the bowl that was running so fairly towards the mark. After the doctor had told the Marquis of all the particulars that he had done, and what he further meant to do, in order to his preservation, the Marquis with a composed countenance (wherein you might have read not the least perturbation of mind) gave him this language: Sir, it is fit you should have

[17] Bayley was the chaplain of King Charles at the time; he was the youngest son of the Protestant Bishop of Bangor, and had been a scholar at Cambridge, where he was much esteemed. A vigorous Royalist, he attended the King in the field; was at Raglan Castle with his Majesty after the battle of Naseby, and remained in the castle after Charles left it, until its surrender on the 16th of August of the same year, and was employed to draw up the articles of surrender. By the Marquis' benevolence he was enabled to travel through Flanders and France, where, becoming disabused of his prejudices and no doubt greatly incited by the Christian example of his beloved patron, he was converted to the Catholic Church. He wrote against the usurpation, and exposed the schemes of the Republicans, and in consequence was committed to Newgate, where he continued his work as far as he could safely do so. In prison he wrote his book called *Herba parietis*, or the *Wallflower*, in allusion to the walls of his prison. He managed to escape from Newgate, and going abroad, remained for some time the guest of Cardinal Ottoboni, the Papal Nuncio at Ferrara. He was a very learned man, and wrote several works, and died shortly before the Restoration (1660).

your reward. I am yours; and (embracing the doctor) now I put you in full possession of your own. I pray dispose of me as you please. This was the first time the doctor had the happiness to be acquainted with this heroic Marquis; from which time forward, until the time he laid him in his grave at Windsor, he never parted from him, but adhered to him in Raglan all the while it was kept by the Marquis as a garrison for the King. After the fatal battle of Naseby, near Rugby, his Majesty took his rambles into Wales; and in July, 1645, lodged in Raglan Castle for twelve nights; and in September following, for seven nights. In which time, as 'tis said, the King had several discourses with the said Marquis about matters of religion, which being observed and taken by the said Dr. Bayley, were by him, after the said Marquis's death, published. [Here Wood gives a long account of the opposition this book produced from Dr. Heylin and others, and Dr. Bayley's stout defence of it.] The Marquis defended his castle of Raglan against the Parliamentarians with great gallantry; which being the last garrison that held out for the King in England or Wales, and without any hope of relief, was at last delivered upon honourable terms of Dr. Bayley's forming, as it is said, August 19, 1646. But the said terms (wherein no provision was made for the Marquis, because by sinister advice he had thrown himself upon the mercy of the enemy), being basely violated, the Marquis was hurried up to Westminster, his goods seized upon, and he committed to the custody of the Black Rod, the Keeper of which then lived in Convent Garden. Whereupon the noble Marquis demanded of Dr. Bayley and others in his company what they thought of fortune-tellers. It was answered, that some of them spoke shrewdly, whereupon the Marquis said: It was told me by some of them before ever I was a Catholic, that I should die in a convent. But I never believed them before now. Yet I hope ye will not bury me in a garden, &c. Under the said custody did the Marquis remain in company with Dr. Bayley, and one or more servants, in a cheerful condition, and not in melancholy or discontent, till the month of December following, at which time surrendering up his most pious soul to the great God that gave it in 1646, his body was conveyed to Windsor, and on or about Christmas Day was interred near to the body of his ancestor, Charles Somerset Earl of Worcester, in the south chapel (dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary) at the west end of the Church of St. George, in the Castle

there; in which chapel the said Earl had ordained a secular priest to say Mass every day, and to pray for the souls of him and his first wife Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of the Earl of Huntington, also buried there. So that, whereas the most noble and generous Marquis had been the King's richest subject in England and Wales, the blessed Parliament, as 'twas then called, did, at that time and after, deprive him and his successor, Edward Marquis of Worcester, of all or most that they had, by reason of their great loyalty; and 'tis yet a question whether the said Henry died not in want, and whether he was not buried in a mean condition. But this was not all; for they caused the castle to be demolished and made useless."

Dodd[18] makes the following remark: "This nobleman's behaviour is a striking instance of Catholic loyalty, and a plain disproof of what is objected against them by many Protestant writers, who have shamefully endeavoured to abuse posterity by their malicious pens; and notwithstanding are so infuriated as not to be able to disguise the truth, when they speak of the sufferings of this and other Catholic families which were engaged in the Royal cause."[19] . . .

The Marquis had nine children. His eldest son, Edward, succeeded him; and dying in 1667, was succeeded by his only son, Henry, who was created Duke of Beaufort, and who apostatized. At his death the unhappy man sought means to be reconciled to the Church, but was disappointed.[20] We shall have to return to Raglan again in the history of the persecution under Oates' Plot.

One of the Worcester family was educated by the Society, and completed his higher studies at the English College, Rome. On entering it, he stated, in reply to the usual interrogatories: "1651. My name is Henry Somerset; I am son of John Somerset and Mary Arundell, and am twenty-two years of age. The place of my birth is Odiham, in the county of Hants; and I was educated at Paris, where

[18] *Church History*, vol. iii. p. 54.

[19] Echard, *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 391, says, "That the Lord Herbert, son to the Marquis of Worcester, having all South Wales committed to his care, did at his own charge, and of other Catholic friends, suddenly raise an army of 1,500 foot and near 500 horse, which cost the Marquis of Worcester and his friends above £60,000."

[20] In Additional MSS. British Museum, 16,178, pp. 27, 28, may be seen among the orders and grants of the Committee for sequestrations for Herefordshire, two of properties of Henry, Marquis of Worcester, "a Papist and noted delinquent."

I resided partly with my parents, and partly in the College of St. Barbara and similar houses. I am of the family of the Marquis of Worcester, which was wealthy before the English persecution, but now labouring under much suffering, both on account of the Catholic religion, and of the assistance rendered to King Charles I. I have only two brothers, Catholics, and no sister. Many of my relatives are Catholic, and for the most part rich. I studied as far as philosophy, in Claremont College, under the Fathers of the Society of Jesus. I was always a Catholic, and left England in 1641."

We learn from the Diary of the English College, that he entered as a convictor, in the name of Winton, on October 25, 1651; returned to England on October 29, 1652, and resumed the student's habit at the English College, Rome, on November 6, 1654.

Somersetshire.—The Fathers of this College or District served several places as *missionarii excurrentes;* among others, the city of Wells, the town of Glastonbury, Stone-Easton, Lydford, &c. In the last and the present century these places were usually visited from Bonham, and Shepton-Mallett, &c. Among the papers of the College is a document regarding a fund which was applied "for one, who being a Jesuit shall live amongst and assist my relations and other Catholics in Wells, Glastonbury and neighbourhood." There is also an ancient document relating to a field in Bull-moor Common at Balisbury, or Balstonborough, about nine miles from Shepton-Mallett, which was left for the use of the missioner who served the Lydford congregation. This is dated June 29, 1694. This land was originally granted by lease, dated December 1, 1684, for a long term of ten thousand years, by Thomas Martin the elder to George Hervey of Staverdale, Somerset, gentleman. Father Brewer, in a note in the same portfolio says that this Mr. Martin was formerly a Jesuit. George Hervey was probably the Father of that name mentioned by Lord Castlemaine,[21] to whom Hubert, a Huguenot, and pretended incendiary of London, had applied for instruction in the Catholic faith. "I must tell," says Lord Castlemaine, "my reader who this Father Hervey is. By nation he is a Low Countryman, having entered himself among the English Jesuits, as several do who desire to spend their whole life in mission. He is an ancient, quiet, and pious man, and though 'tis lately I

[21] *Catholic Apology*, p. 450. Third Edition.

knew him, I soon found him to be of a holy and angelical conversation. Many priests being from time to time imprisoned, brought him acquainted with Newgate, where sometimes he assisted those who went to die." Lord Castlemaine adds that Hubert was not allowed to receive the Holy Communion with the rest of the prisoners, on account of his want of faith and proper dispositions; that Father Hervey never saw him after, and he concludes: "This is the true story, which I had from Mr. Hervey's own mouth."

This portion of the College of St. Francis Xavier produced two very eminent members of the English Mission of the Society of Jesus, viz.:

FATHER WILLIAM GOOD, a native of Glastonbury, who is thus noticed by Wood:[22] "William Good was born in the ancient town of Glastonbury, in Somerset. Educated in grammar learning there, admitted scholar of Corpus Christi College, February 26, 1545, afterwards fellow, M.A. 1552, and about that time humanity reader in the said College. After Queen Mary came to the Crown, being then a most zealous Roman Catholic, he was promoted to an ecclesiastical benefice in his own country, called Middle Chinnoke, and to a little prebendship in the Church of Wells, called Comba Octava, in November, 1556, besides the rectory of a school in the same city. All which he keeping till Queen Elizabeth came to the Crown and for some time after, he voluntarily left them and his native country, for religion sake, and retiring to Tournay, in Flanders, entered himself there into the Society of Jesus, in 1562, æt. 35. After he had served his probationship, he went into Ireland with Father David, the titular Archbishop of Armagh,[23] who left no stone unremoved there for the settling of that kingdom in the Catholic faith and obedience. Four years being spent in that country, not without some danger, he went to Louvain, where he met with Robert Persons, about to enter into the said Society, whom he strengthened with many arguments in order thereunto. In 1577 he was called to Rome, to take upon him the profession of the four vows, which being done, he went into Sweden and Poland, in the company of Anthony Possevin, to settle certain affairs relative to the Society. Two years after, he returned to

[22] *Athen. Oxon.* vol. i. p. 225. Edit. 1721.

[23] Dr. Richard Creagh, Archbishop of Armagh, a great lover of the Society.

Rome, and became confessor to the English College there, newly converted from an hospital dedicated to the Holy Trinity, to a Seminary for the educating the youth of England that profess the Catholic religion. 'Vir fuit probatæ virtutis et doctrinæ,[24] atque imprimis in historiis Sanctorum Angliæ optime versatus, quorum res gestas in templo Coll. Angl. curavit coloribus exprimi, quæ subinde in æs incisæ prodierunt tacito ipsius nomine inscriptæ.'[25]

"In the library of the English College, Rome, there is extant a MS. digested according to the years of Christ, and Kings of Great Britain; which book is said there among those of England, to have been composed and written by our author Good, who dying at Naples, July 5 (according to the account there followed), 1586, was buried in the College of the Jesuits there, who have yet a great respect for his name, one or more of whom have promised me a copy of his epitaph if there be any, but no answer have I yet received."

Father Southwell[26] says that he laboured in Ireland for six years, and that returning to Belgium he begot Father Robert Parsons to the Society by means of the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius, and that whilst living in Poland, he was elected by the Provincial Meeting as Procurator to the Fourth General Congregation, and by his vote assisted in the election of Father General Claudius Aquaviva (1581). After the Congregation was over, he remained in Rome as confessor at the English College, then recently created.

Dodd,[27] referring to his connection with Father Parsons, states that during his stay at Louvain, Robert Parsons came over from England having lately declared himself a member of the Catholic Church; Father Good encouraged him in the undertaking, and further proposed to him to become a Jesuit; he being at that time dubious with himself what state of life he should undertake.

Dr. Oliver states that his appointment as confessor to the English College gave special satisfaction and delight to Dr. Allen, as appears by his letters to Father Agazzari, dated June 1, 1581: "Quod R. P. Gul. Good, vere vir bonus, sit Collegii Confessarius lætor non mediocriter: est enim imprimis

[24] As Ribadeneira, in *Biblio. Script. S.J.* in lit. G., saith.
[25] *Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ trophæa.* Romæ ex officina Barth. Grassi, 1584, in folio.
[26] *Bib. Script. S.J.* p. 314.
[27] *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 146.

nostrorum moribus formandis, ac in omnem partem moderandis idoneus."

Father Bridgewater mentions, in the *Concertatio Eccl.*, that he died in exile.

Father More[28] says he was among the first Englishmen who entered the Society, being admitted into it by Father Mercurianus, the Provincial (afterwards General), when he had prepared him by the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius. In speaking of his labours and dangers in Ireland, Father More relates the following incident : " That troubles were not wanting to him the following case clearly shows. As he was travelling along, carrying a heavy bundle of the sacred altar furniture upon his back, some robbers attacked him and carried off his pack. On examining the bundle, they conjectured that he was a priest; whereupon, hastening back, they overtook him, and one and all fell upon their knees before him, and raising their hands to Heaven in an attitude of prayer, began muttering some unknown words in their native tongue. The Father could not imagine what they meant in placing themselves in that position, and as neither side could understand the other, one of the party taking hold of the Father's hand made the sign of the Cross with it upon his companions, as though giving them absolution for the offence committed; taking care that the same ceremony should be performed upon himself through one of his companions. This, however, was but an empty and idle ceremony, for making off immediately after, they neither restored his valuable bundle, nor seemed to have the remotest idea of doing so."

Father Tanner also gives a sketch of Father Good's life, saying that he was of a respectable family, and was brought up by virtuous parents in the orthodox faith from a child. How uprightly and religiously he administered the Church preferment with which he had been rewarded for his distinguished merits at Oxford, spending the proceeds rather upon the poor than for his own use, was shown when Henry VIII. having violated the sacred bonds of marriage with Queen Catherine, and having divorced himself from the Church and led England into schism, compelled ecclesiastics either to repudiate Christ or renounce their benefices. Nor were there few who, being allured by the sweetness of earthly things, and afraid lest they should lose their livings, basely became wolves instead of

[28] *Hist. Prov. Angl.* p. 13.

shepherds of the flock, and preferred to renounce Christ. William Good, execrating their conduct, chose to save his faith, and abandon his preferments, and from being rich became poor for Christ.

The English College, Rome, has preserved a short eulogium of Father Good :[29]

"On July 5, 1586, took place the happy death of Father William Good, who was some time Confessor of this College. He was a very holy and learned man, and particularly acquainted with English ecclesiastical history. It is owing to his zeal and industry that the pictures of the English saints were painted by Pomeramio in our Church; these were afterwards engraved on copper, and much sought for all over Europe.[30] Another monument of his devotion is yet extant in a MS. collection of the lives of all the English saints." The eulogy then details the Father's life in much the same terms as above related, and concludes by noticing the great good he did when Spiritual Father in the English College, in training up and directing the youth of that Seminary of martyrs to the practice of every virtue necessary for men of their high calling.

In *Records*, vol. i. pp. 286, seq., is a letter from Father John Vincent, *vere* Yates, from Brazil, dated January 2, 1589, and addressed to Father William Good, English College, Rome. This letter, however, never reached its destination, having been intercepted by English pirates, who then infested those seas.

Father John Gibbons was born at or near Wells about the year 1544. Wood says :[31] "John Gibbons was born in Somersetshire, at or near Wells, and was educated in grammar learning in those parts. In 1561, he being then about seventeen years of age, was sent to this University of Oxford (particularly, as I conceive, to Lincoln College), and there went through a course of logic and philosophy; but being in a manner weary of the heresy of the place, as he called it, he left the University without a degree, and soon after his country, relations, and the little all he had; went to Rome, and in the German College there he spent seven years in philosophy

[29] Father John Thorpes' notes, Stonyhurst MSS.

[30] For some interesting details relative to these paintings, see the "Life of Brother George Gilbert," *Records*, vol. iii. series viii. pp. 683, 697, seq.

[31] *Athen. Oxon.* vol. i. p. 240. Edit. 1721.

and divinity, in both which he obtained the doctoral laurel in 1576. Afterwards, being made known to Pope Gregory XIII. for his great probity and learning, he was by him preferred to a canonry in the Church of Bonn in Germany; but he preferred poverty and the ignobility of Christ above such a dignity, and left it and the hope of future preferments, and entered into the Society of Jesus at Triers (Trèves) in the same country, in the year 1578, and at length became Rector of the Jesuits' College there, and much admired by all for his great humility, gravity of manners, zeal, and charity, and above all for his admirable regimen of that house.

"He hath written (1) A Treatise on the Saints, (2) The Confutation of George Schon's (a Calvinistic minister at Heidelburgh), Thesis, 'that the Pope was Antichrist,' (3) A Treatise on 'Communion in one kind,' Triers, 1584. It is certain that he was the principal compiler of the *Concertatio Ecclesiæ Catholicæ in Anglia*, Triers, 1583. It was re-edited there with considerable additions the year following by Father John Bridgewater (*alias* 'Aquapontanus'), and again in 4to, 1598. At length this holy person, John Gibbon, going to the Monastery of Himmebrode, not far from Triers, to see some of the religious that were his special friends, died there among them, December 3, 1589, whereupon his body was with great lamentation buried there, or else carried back to Triers, and there interred in the College of the Jesuits, of which he was Rector."

Father More[32] says that he filled many offices of the Society to the greatest satisfaction of all, and with little difficulty silenced the impudent heretic George Schone, a Calvinist, who had dared to asperse the Holy See. He had also been professor of theology and Sacred Scripture, and Prefect of Studies. He died at the early age of forty-five, and was a great loss, having gained, says Dodd,[33] universal esteem by his piety and learning. He adds that Father Gibbons was an excellent controversial divine, and had frequent contests with the Lutherans of Germany.

Mention is made of Father John Gibbons in *Troubles*, series ii. "Life of Father William Weston," pp. 19, seq.: "In Father Person's absence from Rome, the General of the Society had requested Dr. Allen to keep up a correspondence with the Fathers who were in England. Just before the return of Father Persons to Paris Allen wrote to the General,

[32] *Hist. Prov. Angl.* p. 19. [33] *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 146.

March 29, 1583, that he had two or three times inquired of Father Haywood what his wishes were respecting the despatch of other Jesuits into England, and whether he would prefer that they should be Englishmen or foreigners. George Gilbert, who was now in Rome, pressed Dr. Allen most earnestly not to allow any delay in sending these reinforcements, that were so greatly needed.[34] Dr. Allen's proposal to the General was, that as Father Thomas Darbyshire and Father William Good, the one then at Paris, the other in Rome, were now incapable through age of bearing the fatigues of the English Mission, Father William Weston, who was in Spain, and Father John Gibbons, then Rector of the College of Trèves, should be selected. Father Gibbons answered with great simplicity and honesty, both to the General and Dr. Allen, that he hoped he should give no disedification by saying that he had not the spiritual strength for such an enterprise, but that he would give all the help in his power towards the work in hand. That which he performed in fulfilment of this pledge has made all students of the history of his time, and all clients of the English martyrs, debtors to him; for it is to him and John Fenn, the martyr's brother, that we owe the first preparation of the *Concertatio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, which Dr. Bridgewater re-edited with their co-operation.

Some letters addressed to him while engaged in this work are now in the British Museum.[35] Of these we give the two following:

From Thomas Bayly to Father John Gibbons.[36]

My very hearty recommendations in our Lord remembered. About ten days ago, I received yours of the 24th of March, and thereby perceive how slowly letters passed between us. Concerning the money you have received for our books, if it please you to send it to your College or to Mr. Dr. Ely at Mussipont, I will take order for it accordingly.

I have little more to write unto you. On Tuesday last, came hither one out of England, who saith that there is great persecution. They have lately put five priests to death, whereof one was pressed to death, for that he would not answer to their question, being what he would do if foreign power should invade the realm.

[34] See the "Life of George Gilbert," *Records*, vol. iii. series viii.

[35] *Lansdowne MSS.* 96, nn. 25, 26.

[36] The Very Reverend Thomas Bayley, Vice-President of Douay College (then at Rheims). He was succeeded by Dr. Thomas Worthington (afterwards S.J.) in January, 1589. The Rev. Thomas Bayley is frequently mentioned in the Douay Diary (see *Records of the English Catholics*, edited by the Fathers of the Oratory).

They take priests and other Catholics still very often, and now they begin to persecute also the schismatics.

The young King of Scotland remaineth still among his rebels and enemies, who suffer him to take his pastime in hunting and hawking, &c., under a show of liberty, but they think themselves sure enough of him. There was on Tuesday last one called Colonel Steward, captain of his guard, who told me thus much, and also that he is something bent towards the Catholic religion, but lacketh instruction and ability to show the same.

There are presently four Cardinals, ours, Bourbon, Vaudemont, and Vendôme, and three or four dukes: God grant them to make a good conclusion of their talks, and send us His grace, and more plenty of victuals.

I hear that Sister Saunders is lately come out of England to Sion again. Farewell in our Lord.

At Rheims, the 22nd of May, 1587.

Your assuredly,

THOMAS BAYLEY.

To the Very Rev. Father John Gibbons, College S.J., Treves, most worthy Rector.

From Dr. Humphry Ely to Father John Gibbons.

Right Reverend,—

I owe you thanks for many letters, and much good news that you have sent me, and therefore at this present I would gladly requite you with such as I have, and for want of time and leisure I send you the letters themselves here inclosed, and will add such occurrences as I have in other letters from Rheims, but first to your last letter I have dealt with Father Rector here, who hath appointed Mr. Sutton to translate the rest of the martyrs, and I have set him on work already. Besides those [lives of the martyrs] by you named in your letter, if I am not deceived, I sent you Mr. William Hart's, martyr's, life, fair written in folio, as also the life of Mr. Emerford, priest. Of Mr. Hart's I am sure, as I think, for I cannot find it among my papers here. I requested you, and so I do eftsoons, to send me by your good opportunity the copies in English I did send you if Mr. Fenn hath returned them, because I mean one day to see them extant in English, and I have no copies so fully and so well gathered as those are I sent you.[37] Mr. Dr. Benet in his last putteth me in great hope to send me good news of our country in his next, willing me in the mean time to be of good hope. When it arriveth I will be no niggard thereof; also that the next time he would write of the red hat, but this he willed me to keep to myself. I send you Mr. Dr. Gifford's letters: the one of them containeth strange news of the Duke, touching the Duke of Parma's son; albeit, he willed me to keep that to myself and so do not communicate that point to any here, yet I will not but send it to you, because I would have you to understand what schemes and shifting is in the world for kingdoms. God send us a Catholic king quickly. For my part I care not of what country and nation he be, so that religion were restored, and so many of our poor friends that go

[37] The Life of Hart, the martyr, is fully given in *Concertatio*, fol. 104; but only a brief mention of Emerford, or Hemerford, fol. 156.

to perdition might be saved. This bearer is a young youth, who hath lived since Christmas in the Seminary at Rheims, of whom Mr. Bayley writeth thus unto me: "The bringer hereof, John Halliday, having remained here a few months in good order is now desirous to depart, for that he cannot have his health so well here as he desireth, and for fear that he shall be worse in winter, and thus much I have thought good to signify unto you on his behalf. He seemeth to be an honest natured youth. If you have any means to help him to some service or otherwise I recommend him to your charity.

And so committing you to God, and myself to your devout memento, I desire my hearty salutations to you, to Father Copley, to Mr. Eaton . . . [MS. destroyed] . . . I take my leave.

From Pont-a-Musson, the 20th of J . . . [June or July, MS. torn] 1587.

Yours to do you service,

HUMPHREY ELY.

To the Very Reverend in Christ John Gibbons, Rector of the College of Treves, S.J.

Another short letter from Father G. Murdoch to Father John Gibbons is extant, but it relates solely to Scottish affairs, and treats of matters well understood between the correspondents yet too vaguely expressed to be intelligible to modern readers.

FATHER RICHARD GIBBONS, younger brother of Father John, but his senior in religion, having entered the Society September 1, 1572, was also a very learned and eminent Father of the Society, and died at Douay, June 23, 1632, æt. 83. He made his lower studies, says Father More,[38] in England; one year's philosophy at Louvain, another in the German College, Rome. He then entered the Society (1572). He again studied philosophy for three years, and having made his theology, he was professor of mathematics and philosophy for thirteen years, partly in Rome and partly in France. He was also a professor of canon law and Hebrew for some time in Italy, Spain, Portugal, Tournay, Toulouse, Douay, and Louvain, where he was also Prefect of Studies. For some time he was preacher at the College of St. Omer. His principal residence, however, was at Douay. He took his solemn vows as a Professed Father at the College of Coimbra, in 1591.

A catalogue of his numerous works may be seen in Southwell's *Biblio. Script. S.J.* Here he is chiefly known, says Father More, by his edition of Nicholas Harpsfield *Hist.*

[38] *Hist. Prov.* p. 20.

Anglicana Ecclesiastica, fol. Douay, 1622. He also translated Father Louis de Ponte's *Meditations*, and Lewis de Granada's *Memorial of a Christian Life.* A long and very interesting letter from Father John Vincent *vere* John Yates, dated from Brazil, June 21, 1593, addressed to Father Richard Gibbons, at the College of the Society in Madrid, with one from the same Father to Sir Francis Englefield, may be seen in the Public Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.* vol. ccxlv. n. 32. These letters were intercepted by English cruisers, who swept the seas in those latitudes. Copious extracts from them are given in *Records*, vol. i. pp. 291, seq.

Father John Bridgewater, *alias* Aquapontanus.—This Father is mentioned here, because, though born in Yorkshire, he was of a Somersetshire family, and was once a holder of considerable Church preferment in the diocese of Wells. He was connected with Father John Gibbon in the new edition of his valuable and standard work, the *Concertatio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, greatly enlarged by Father Bridgewater, and generally passing by his name.

Wood says:[39] "John Bridgewater, or Aquapontanus, as he writes himself, was born in Yorkshire (as the *Reg. Antiq. Coll. Ænei Nas*, fol. 88b., here quoted, saith), but descended from those of his name in Somersetshire, applied his mind to academical studies at his first coming to Oxford, at Hart Hall, whence translating himself to Brazenose soon after took the degrees in art, that of Master being completed in 1556, and about that time entered into Holy Orders. In 1562, May 1st, he was admitted to the Rectory of Wootton-Courtney, diocese of Wells, and on April 14, 1563, he was elected Rector of Lincoln College, on the resignation of Dr. Francis Babington. On the 23rd of May following, he was admitted Rector of Luccombe, in the said diocese of Wells, being then also Archdeacon of Rochester, and soon after being made Canon Residentiary of Wells, was admitted Rector of Porlock, in the diocese thereof April 16, 1565. On November 28, 1570, he was admitted Master of the Hospital of St. Katherine, near Bedminster, and on March 29, 1572, to the Prebendship of Bishops Compton, in the church of Wells. In 1574 he resigned his rectory of Lincoln College, to prevent, as I presume, expulsion, because he was actually, or very nearly, a Roman Catholic, and had given great encouragement during

[39] *Athen. Oxon.* vol. i. p. 274. Edit. 1721.

his government to the students under him to embrace his religion. The same year he left Oxford, carried away with him several goods belonging to the said College, and taking with him certain young scholars, left all his preferments, acquaintance and relations, and went beyond the sea to Rheims, where continuing for a time, did at length, as it is said, enter himself into the Society of Jesus. He was esteemed by those of his profession a good scholar, and well read in various authors, as many of his writings show, all which being published beyond the sea, I have only seen these following [enumerates them as given below]: *A Treatise or Discourse against the Six Articles which are wont to be proposed to Martyrs.* This I have never seen, nor do I know anything more of the author, only that he was living in great esteem at Triers, in Germany, in 1594. From his *Concertatio Ecclesiæ*, which was dedicated to John Archbishop of Triers, did Thomas Worthington take most of his materials when he compiled his *Catal. Martyrum pro religione in Anglia occisorum*, which though but a sixpenny book when it first came forth, yet eleven shillings and more was given for it in a certain auction in 1682, as I shall tell you when I come to speak of the said Worthington."[40]

Dodd[41] writes that Father Bridgewater "was followed to Douay by several of his students from Oxford, that he afterwards went to Rome; from thence into Germany, where I find him at Triers, 1594. But in what capacity he lived my memoirs give no account. Some writers report that towards the latter end of his days he became a Jesuit. But Dr. Pitts and Alegambe's *Biblio. Script. S.J.*, omitting that particular, makes it dubious. His works are, (1) *Concertatio Eccl. Cath. in Anglia*, first published by John Fenn and John Gibbons, Triers, 8vo 1583; enlarged by Dr. Bridgewater in 4to, Aug. Trevir. 1594. (2) *Confutatio virulentæ disputationis Theologiæ* in quâ Georgius Shon, Professor Acad. Heidelbergensis conatus est docere Pont. Rom. esse Antichristum. Aug. Triers, 4to, 1589. (3) *An Account of the Six Articles* [see above]."

As to n. 2, Dodd is in error, having been no doubt misled by the compiler of the Catalogue of printed books in the British Museum, who attributes the work to Bridgewater, whereas it was written by Father John Gibbons.[42]

[40] See the "Life of Father Thomas Worthington," *Records*, vol. ii. series ii.

[41] *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 60.

[42] See Oliver, *Collectanea, S.J.*

The date of his death does not appear. The fact of Fathers Alegambe, Ribadeneira, and Southwell having noticed him among the writers of the Society, to whom alone their work is devoted, is among the strongest proofs that he really was a Jesuit.

Father Bridgewater is named in several places in the Douay Diaries.[43] Among others, "August 23, 1575. John Parker (who before leaving England was a servant of that illustrious man Mr. John Bridgwater, who lately abandoned the royal court and many great benefices and conveniences, and became a voluntary sharer in our common exile), returned to us and remained a few days upon our hospitality, waiting the arrival of some of his goods which he expected.

"1577, May 1st. Arrived here Mr. Body to study civil law, and was admitted to our community. With him came also a certain honest man called Rasing, a cantor of Wells Church [Cathedrali], who was dismissed from his post by the pseudo-Bishop on account of the Catholic faith. He now attends upon the venerable Mr. Bridgewater.

"1577, August 19th. Mr. Bridgewater came to us with his servant from Louvain.

"1577, August 26th. Mr. Bridgewater left us for Paris with his servant.

"1577, September 16. Rasing, the servant of Mr. Bridgewater, and Robert Moser, the servant of Mr. Hall, left for England.

"1577, October 31. Rasing, the servant of Mr. Bridgewater (with others) arrived from England.

"1578, November 14th. The reverend priest Mr. Bridgewater arrived from Paris, and with him G. Reshton, who had formerly waited upon the Rev. W. Harpsfeld when incarcerated by the heretics in England.

"1580, August 25th. The reverend priest Mr. Davis, and with him Mr. Bridgewater, left to-day."

The following belong properly to our brief notice of localities and missions in this district.

Bromyard.—Mr. Abington, recusant. In the Public Record Office[44] is a letter from Richard Bennett, Protestant Bishop of Hereford, to Secretary Salisbury, informing him that Richard Abington, of Bromyard, an obstinate recusant, was lying at

[43] *Records of the English Catholics.*
[44] *Dom. James I.* vol. xvi. n. 120 (1605).

a house called Poplar, near Blackwall, and keeps in his house a Jesuit named Stanley, *alias* Drury.

This was Father Robert Drury, *alias* Bedford and Stanley, who perished in the terrible accident at Blackfriars, on the 26th of October, 1623.[45]

Sarnesfield, near Weobley, once the residence of the Monington family, was formerly served by the Fathers of this district. A few of the missioners will be mentioned in the next volume, as none can be now traced prior to the last century.

The following is taken from the records of Herefordshire sequestrations.[46] The good widow Mrs. Monington was evidently a staunch Catholic, and the proceedings show the vexations to which the Catholic gentry were exposed in those times.

April 3, $164\frac{5}{6}$. Forasmuch as Elizabeth Monington of Sarnesfield, widow, a recusant, hath delivered to the committee a particular of her real estate, craving such allowance out of the same for her maintenance as by ordinance of Parliament is allowed to Papists . . . yielding herself to the Parliament's protection; and an inventory of her personal estate hath been taken by the sequestrator appointed for the use of the estate (for which she hath compounded); Now, therefore, we do hereby demise and grant unto the said Elizabeth Monington the site of the Manor of Sarnesfield, &c. &c., in the several parishes of Sarnesfield, Weobley, and Eardisland, &c. [Here follows a description of the estates], to hold from the 25th of March last for one year, paying to the committee for the use of the State £20 on the 24th of June, 29th of September, 25th of December, and 25th of March, free of all charges. If the said rent happen to be in arrear, or the said Elizabeth Monington do or shall at any time hereafter act, abet, contrive, or procure any act or thing against or contrary to the votes, ordinances, or proceedings of the High Court of Parliament at Westminster, or in aid or assistance of the malignant party to the said Parliament—then the grant to the said Elizabeth Monington to be utterly void.

The rent was raised in the following year; for on the 12th of March, 1646, we find a demise from the committee to Mrs. Elizabeth Monington, of the estates at Sarnesfield, &c., by the committee for one year at the increased rent of £80. It recites that the estate of the said Elizabeth Monington, widow, a Papist, was under sequestration to the committee, &c.

The history of this College and District will be resumed in the next volume of *Records*, treating of Oates' Plot and the Revolution of 1688.

[45] See *Records*, vol. i. p. 77. Mr. Abington and his son are mentioned in the Sheriff of Hereford's report, in p. 370 above.

[46] British Museum Add. MSS. 1617–8, p. 26.

Tenth Series.

Part II.

THE RESIDENCE OF ST. WINEFRID.

OR

THE NORTH WALES DISTRICT.

THE RESIDENCE OF ST. WINEFRID, OR THE NORTH WALES DISTRICT.

THIS Residence was usually known, in the days of persecution, as "Mrs. North Wales," or "Mrs. Flint," and was originally included in the ancient mission of North and South Wales. It was formed into a separate Residence, under the name and patronage of St. Winefrid, about the year 1670, and embraced the whole of North Wales and Shropshire.

The only missions or chaplaincies that can be traced by name as having been served in former times by the members of this Residence are—

Holywell.
Plowden Hall.
Powis Castle.
Welshpool.

There is, however, no doubt that the Fathers made long periodical missionary circuits through the district, to visit and administer the holy sacraments of the Church to the scattered and afflicted Catholics. The average number of Fathers was about six each year.

We give the following extracts from "An ancient Editor's Note-Book," connected with Shropshire, as illustrating the history of the times. Some passages which relate to the adjoining counties of Chester and Stafford are also added as belonging to the same category, although those counties strictly formed part of the Lancashire District. The date coincides with the latter end of the sixteenth century.

"A gentleman and his wife and another were indicted for hearing of Mass in Staffordshire, an. 1579, upon the accusation of their servant. Among other untruths, she deposed upon her oath that in the chamber where the Mass was said she saw an altar-stone. The gentleman showed forth a stone of alabaster, with two coats of arms engraved upon it, and said this was the stone she meant. 'No,' said she, 'the stone that I did see had on it the picture of a man, body, head, arms, and legs, and all.' The gentleman prayed the justices and judges judgment of her evidence, proving

further how lewd she was, and how she had been produced thither by a minister and some other his enemies. This notwithstanding, her evidence was allowed good, without any other witness, and they found guilty, condemned, and imprisoned six months."

"A plumber in Staffordshire, by name Francis Oliver, from a heretic converted to a Catholic, because in mending of a church he did not cease knocking while the service was saying was apprehended and brought before the Bishop. The poor man unlearned, having by chance read *Seaton's Logic*,[1] to the interrogatories of the Bishop and his chaplain made such syllogistical answers that they thought him a great clerk, and so brought him into their open court, where, to disgrace him, the Bishop said he was a shameful usurer. 'I was one, indeed,' said he, 'when I followed your religion; but now I have made restitution, and do detest it. That was the fruit of your religion, but this, of this reformation which I now profess.'"

"Thornes [a pursuivant] in Staffordshire,[2] hath driven away hundreds of cattle from Catholics at a time, even all that many householders had, and afterwards turned them out of their houses and kept possession against them, namely, Knolles, Widow Wade, George Cooke, William Poker, John Coher, Timothy Browne, Mr. Richard Fitzherbert, and many others."

"A proviso is made in every lease granted of any recusant's living, that neither the recusant himself that enjoyeth it, neither any other recusant, shall by any means have any commodity thereby, nor take the same to farm of the grantee."

"The livings of recusants are sometimes begged by three or four several men, and grants made to all of them. If he, or any of their friends for them, think good to deal for the lease, they must compound with them all, notwithstanding that only the first grant be good as against the Queen, but all allowed as current against Catholics."

"Known spies and catchpolls are the only means to procure liberty for Catholic prisoners, and this they do for priests or laymen, upon an agreement for some certain sum."

"Pursuivants in their searches many times, finding either jewels, plate, or money, they take it away, and the party without remedy for restitution, those in authority willing to

[1] "This must have been a translation of the *Dialectica Joannis Setoni Cantabrigiensis*, of which several editions appeared between 1563 and 1577" (Note by Father Morris).

[2] See account of this man's last end in *Records*, vol. iii. p. 227, "Father Grene's MSS. *F.*"

wink at such matters, thereby to satisfy them of their proceedings in that behalf."

"In Stafford imprisoned thirty, whereof six yet remain, the others for the most part dead."

"Mr. Baker and Mr. Bikerton, old priests, imprisoned in Shrewsbury."

"In Shropshire prisoners, four gentlemen, all spoiled of their living. Of them, one Mr. Thomas Flood had taken from him at one time a goodly farm, with all his stock, about a hundred and sixty sheep, besides other cattle."

"In Denbighshire four prisoners, whereof one John Hughes is condemned of high treason by the statute of persuasions."

"In Flintshire four, whereof one is a maid."

"Dr. Dracott long prisoner, at length getting a little liberty, went to Dracott [Staffordshire], and there died."

"In Carnarvonshire William Griffiths, a schoolmaster, upon the uproar at the death of the Queen of Scots, committed by his keeper to the dungeon in great misery; removed thence a fortnight after, as soon as he came into the fresh air, died."

"In Shrewsbury Gaol, July 15, 1590, Mrs. Ursula Forster died, having there worn irons, very much misused by the keeper, and not an hour before her death threatened with the dungeon."

"Mr. Wolsley, Maxfield,[3] Thornbery, and others condemned to death at Stafford, 1587, because Mr. Sutton, a priest,[4] and they were together in a chamber and the door shut, but they were not executed. [Men of menial occupation not permitted to work by others of the same art, because recusants, and if by chance sometimes they get work, they are denied payment, and no remedy in that behalf]."[5]

"One[6] George Ilsley, nephew unto L. Collier, an old priest, having conveyed unto him from his uncle absolutely a little temporal living which he enjoyed, Topcliffe and Thornes entered upon the same living, took away all his goods, committed the man to prison, pretending the cause to be for that he would not tell where his uncle was (notwithstanding that

[3] See *Records*, vol. iii. p. 232, "Father Grene's MS. *F.*" "Mr. Maxfield was probably the father of Thomas Maxfield, priest and martyr, who is stated by Dodd, vol. ii. p. 378, to have been born at Chesterton Hall, near Newcastle in Staffordshire, while his father and mother were both prisoners for recusancy in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, his father dying under sentence of death" (Note in *Troubles*, series iii. p. 8).

[4] The Rev. Robert Sutton was martyred at Stafford, July 27, 1587.

[5] This passage is erased in the original MS.

[6] "Ex propria sententia," in the margin.

this George was never Catholic), and so kept him in prison close two years. After his uncle taken, imprisoned, and there dead, they dismissed the man to his liberty, but not to his living before; suit made to all the Council, and certificate brought from the justices of the country for his conformity, but not prevailing."

"Divers poor men in Staffordshire, refusing to receive the communion, were convented to appear before Benton,[7] then Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. After some conference he told them they must enter into bond of a great sum to appear the next court, and caused his clerk to put into the bond cunningly that they should then further abide his order. Some of the men, not thinking any fraud, sealed those bonds. He thereupon, the next court told them the danger of their bond, ordering them not only to receive but to publish such recantations as he had penned, which for fear of their bonds the poor men did. The others that espied his drift, and refused to seal those bonds, he committed to prison, where soon after they became good Catholics. The recantation so spiteful as the Protestants misliked it."

In the same MS. ch. xviii. "Devotion of Catholics"—

"At Cold Hatton, in the parish of Hodnet in Staffordshire, divers houses by casualty set on fire on St. Mark's Day, every of the neighbours removing their goods out of those houses adjoining, one man only omitted to remove anything out of his house, whereat his neighbours marvelling, he said, 'I have fasted this day, as all my forefathers have done; let God work His will.' In sequel, not one house in all that town escaped unburnt besides that, and that remained untouched."

"Many miracles in North Wales."

"A young man of Staffordshire, one Maundy Thursday, providing flesh and setting it over the fire, his house with the fire presently burnt."

"Onslow, the Queen's Solicitor for the Marches, coming to Salop his county, meeting certain gentlemen at Shrewsbury in the Lent, they fell to eating of rashers made of bacon on the coals. The Solicitor died suddenly that night; the bacon, when he was opened, found raw in his stomach."

"It was said, he that was the busiest in pulling down the cross at Shrewsbury, brake his neck off a house shortly after."

[7] "Thomas Bentham died February 21, 1578" (Note in *Troubles* series iii. p. 12).

In chapter xix. under the head of "God's judgments"—

"One Robert Aston, parson of Mucklaston in Staffordshire, the first married priest that ever was in that diocese, one of Fox his confessors in his first *Book of Monuments*, denying upon his oath the receipt of an advowson delivered him by certain gentlemen of trust, was suddenly, with a just judgment from God, deprived both of his tongue and his wit; and living four or five years after, had neither tongue nor discretion to talk anything readily during his life."

"One Cherington, of the county of Salop, compelling his son to receive the communion against his conscience, being in mind a Catholic, he became thereby soon after out of his mind; but since, by the help of a priest, much amended, and, as thought, almost recovered."

"One Sir Walter Aston, of Staffordshire, a great persecutor, especially of Mr. Sutton the martyr, having twice at his examination stricken him, once to the ground, after the principal mean or agent of his martyrdom, was buried on May day next after.[8] A priest, by occasion being within some three miles of the house the same day, saw with many others such terrible lightnings, besides many monstrous thunder-claps, as had seldom been seen before, but only that day that Leicester was buried. Those lightnings seemed to ascend upwards from round about the house of Tixall into the air, and not contrariwise, like other lightnings; much like squibs for the fleeting upwards violently, but incomparably with greater light and terror."

"A Justice riding on Whitsunday to search and molest Catholics, fell from his horse, broke one or both of his legs. The same Justice, for his malice towards crosses, is called Justice Killcross. His wife is as malicious as himself, and rather more; for when she finds him not so willing as she would have him, she never leaves biting, pinching, scratching, and brawling with him until she have gotten him from his bed and seen him out of doors to that purpose, hoping at least that thereby he may get some chalices, or such commodity, the better to maintain their beggarly estate."

"One Blunt, a great preacher, hanged in Staffordshire, for such filthiness not fit to be spoken."

"One Mutton, sometime Sheriff of Chester, had no greater felicity than in the breaking of crosses and chalices, and such like, which he performed most when he was in his office, and

[8] See *Records*, vol. iii. pp. 231, 232.

would at the same time have broken the high cross in Chester, but denied by some present, he came after in the night and broke it. Shortly after, even as he came by the same place, he was suddenly stricken with sickness, and was thence carried home, where he died miserably, and his goods procured much trouble after his death."

"A preacher and chaplain of Dr. Walles, in Chester, in scorn of Tyburn and of a square cap, swore he would never wear a corner cap, and soon after hanged himself."

In the same MS., in the chapter "Unjust use of the laws," we read—

"A prisoner in Chester, the space of twenty-seven years, had all his living expended, having long before made a lease for his two daughters' preferment, this was found fraudulent, and the same granted in lease from her Majesty to a promoter.

"The same man's wife imprisoned for not acknowledging where she was purified [churched], and where her children were christened, the Chancellor in open court said she would be accounted a harlot and her children illegitimate."

"The Bishop of Chester[9] had two pursuivants, one dwelling in Lancashire, the other, named Gelson, in Chester. When he meant to send for any recusant, he used to send the pursuivant of the contrary shire, thereby charging the prisoner with extraordinary fees; as, if he were of Lancashire, then according to the rate of the pursuivant's house in Chester, 8d. a mile, *et sic e contrario*."

Under the head of "Loss of liberty," we read—

"In Cheshire, prisoners, in all eleven, whereof one, Mr. Hocknell, killed by his keeper."

Three Fathers who served this district prior to the year 1677 are selected for notice, viz., John Bennet, Richard Whitley, and Hugh Evans, *alias* John Hughes. Others, who were great sufferers in the persecution arising out of Oates' Plot, and the Orange Revolution of 1688, will be noticed in our next volume.

[9] "William Chaderton, made Bishop of Chester, November 9, 1579. Translated to Lincoln in 1595" (Note in *Troubles*, series iii. p. 10).

FATHER JOHN BENNET, *alias* PRICE.

THE following sketch of the life of this generous confessor of the faith, the Apostle of North Wales in the times of Queen Elizabeth and James I., is gathered partly from a manuscript in the Stonyhurst collection,[1] partly from Father John Bridgewater's *Concertatio Eccl. Cath. in Anglia*, and partly from Father Bartoli's *Inghilterra* and Father Tanner's *Soc. Jesu. Apost. Imitatrix.* The two last-named writers follow Father Bridgewater from the commencement of his narrative, viz., the public examination of Father Bennet at Hawarden or Harden, North Wales, before the High Sheriff, Sir George Bromley, and others.

Some slight discrepancies occur between the manuscript account and Fathers Bridgewater, Bartoli, and Tanner. The manuscript states that the seat of Father Bennet's early labours and arrest was North Wales, that he was arraigned at the assizes at Holywell, and thence removed to Ludlow Castle for torture and confinement, as being more out of the way of those of all ranks, with whom he was a great favourite. Fathers Bartoli and Tanner, however, make Worcestershire the seat of his early apostolical career and arrest, and Flint or Hawarden may have been as likely the place of his trial as Holywell.

Father John Bennet is said not to have been a man of brilliant talents and learning, but to have abounded in solid virtue, with great sweetness of manner, and a modesty and piety which might be described as angelical. There was a rare spiritual beauty in his expression of face. He had a most mild and pleasing style of address, and above all, a great and ready courage in all events and dangers. Thus furnished, he so successfully laboured for the salvation of souls, he brought the Catholics to such a degree of piety and constancy in the profession of their faith, and converted so many to the Catholic Church, that the Government officials began to suspect some priest of rare qualities was dwelling in those parts. They therefore dogged his steps with great pertinacity until at length he fell into their hands, together with some of his recent converts. It is related that his captors one day took him to the town of Bewdley, on the borders of Worcestershire, where they racked him so violently that he fainted through

[1] Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vol. iv. n. 71.

excess of pain. They threw cold water upon his face to revive him, and preserve his life for fresh torturing.[2] He was then sent under strong escort to Flint Castle, and on a particular day in the year 1583 was taken to Hawarden (or Harden), a neighbouring town and castle, for public examination.

At this point Father Bridgewater begins his history, which, supplemented by additions from the historians and the old manuscript named above, supplies materials for the following account. In the manuscript which is given first, the old spelling has been modernized.[3]

✠

Of Father John Bennet, S.J., who died in the service of the infected with the plague at London, 1625.

Father John Bennet was the son of Hugh John Bennet, of Brincanellan, in the county of Flint, gentleman, and was born at his father's house of the said place in the parish of Combe, within the bishopric of St. Asaph, near Holywell, about the year of our Lord 1548, and was taught the first rudiments of learning and afterwards further instructed in the town of St. Asaph. When he was grown a young man, and had thoroughly apprehended the malice of the heretical pravity which by that time bore sway over the whole kingdom, he forsook his country and went over beyond the seas [to Douay College], where having studied and been ordained priest he was one of the seven missioners (as himself used to say) that were first sent from beyond the seas to England. And because there were few or none that rightly executed the functions of true priests in the country of Wales, he voluntarily, for the honour of God, employed himself in that behalf, traversing Wales all over, especially the north parts thereof, and that for the most part on foot, with exceeding zeal and labour, confirming such as he found sound in true faith, and reconciling others that were fallen from it, until he was at last by order of Sir Thomas Mostyn apprehended as he was on foot passing by his house of Cloddeth in Carnarvonshire, about the year 1582, who conveyed him to William Hughes, who was then pseudo-Bishop of St. Asaph, and a fallen priest. He, out of his natural affection towards him, dissuaded him all that he could from his apostolical calling and profession of the Catholic

[2] Fathers Bartoli and Tanner, as above. In *Records*, vol. i. p. 636, allusion is made to this torturing at Bewdley, in a letter of Father Robert Parsons, which is there printed at length.

[3] Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vol. iv. n. 71.

religion, which he did so much the more eagerly by how much the tyrannical severity of that time did otherwise afford him small hope of life. Whereupon he offered him a good ecclesiastical benefice on condition that he would conform himself to the heretical profession. But the holy man, with much expression of a religious disdain and zeal, contemned as much the sacrilegious reward as he detested so execrable an impiety.

The pseudo-bishop nevertheless used him civilly, and treated him well for the space of two or three days, and when he saw no hope of perverting him he committed him prisoner to the gaol in Flint Castle, having first given him half a crown, and taken from him the case of holy relics that he wore about his neck, reserving the same for his own use, and wearing it himself thereafter. And it proved not unprofitable for him so to do, for it was the constant opinion of the neighbouring Catholics that by the virtue thereof he strangely escaped an imminent danger of drowning when returning home from a *Cyprian Lemmon* of his, he ventured to ride through a river at a time and place where the water was so deep that it was a wonder to all he could come forth alive. Such is the goodness of God, even to wicked apostates that use some respect to His persecuted servants, and have devotion to sacred relics of His saints. The holy Father being brought to Flint and there detained close prisoner (in the interim behaving himself not only singularly virtuous, but also with much demonstration of Christian fortitude and contempt of his life for the honour of God,) until the next great sessions [assizes] of that county, which that year happened to be kept at the town of Holywell, at which time he was removed thither, and upon Thursday in sessions week brought to the shire-hall, and presented before the court, where the chief justice commanded him (as the custom is) to hold up his hand at the bar, whereupon, extending forth both his hands on high, he made answer, speaking in British, "Behold both my hands against all the heretics of England," whereat the whole court and multitudes present, being astonished, applauded his magnanimous courage with a favourable exclamation. The memory of Catholic religion and affection thereunto was not in those days so extinguished in the gentry of that country but that most of them did what they could to save his life, whereof on that account he seemed very prodigal; and in fine they so effected that for that time he was reprieved, and only committed again to prison until those who then sat at the stern

of the kingdom's government judged expedient to remove him (together with three other noble confessors, whereof one proved afterwards a glorious martyr) to Ludlow, where a general court of justice for all the principality of Wales and the counties in the marches thereof is solemnly held; that the severity of the laws there enacted against Catholics, from a more public theatre, might be more spaciously spread over the face of the land, while in the meantime God intended thereby to propagate more amply this His champion's glory.

In his journey on this removal he happened to be lodged in a house where there was a room which was terribly haunted with evil spirits or hobgoblins, and they purposely allotted that chamber for his lodging, he being ignorant of their design therein. Wherefore in the deep of night, when the fearful noises and rumblings had awakened him, he rose out of bed (if so be he went to bed, for it was usual to him to spend whole nights in prayer and watching up), and using sacred prayers, exorcisms, and the accustomed ceremonies of the holy Church, he so freed that place as it was never more troubled with evil spirits or nocturnal terrors. Being brought to Ludlow, he was there not only more rigorously used than in his own county, but also several times was grieviously tormented. In particular it is very memorable what he there answered to a swaggering and forward minister that would needs dispute with him while he was tortured on the rack, for when he had given him some pertinent answers the insolent pedant still insisted with greater contempt and provoking virulence. Whereupon the holy man, turning to the executioners, said, "Well, seeing nothing will satisfy this babbling fellow but a loquacious dispute, I pray hoist him up on another rack, that from similar pulpits we may argue the matter on equal terms." In conclusion, having suffered many grievous torments and a long and painful imprisonment, he was at last by public authority banished the land, and so conveyed beyond seas, where the holy man remained no longer than was necessary to reinforce and corroborate himself with a fresh increase of a religious spirit. And so he soon after returned to his pious labours in Wales, where he spent the rest of his life with great pains and diligence in the continual exercise of his apostolical functions, assisting for the most part the poor or meaner sort of people, who about Holywell, and elsewhere in North Wales, flocked to him in such multitudes to receive the spiritual cordials and divine food which he freely and copiously ministered to them,

that in the depth of night he used to have an hundred of them in one assembly, which to him that will consider with what rigour the tyrannical laws against Catholics were then put in execution, will seem no small wonder. Indeed, the faithful people had an exceeding great esteem of him whom in his lifetime they commonly called "The Saint." Finally, after he had laboured about fifty years in the vineyard of Christ, with great profit, being almost eighty years old, he must needs crown all his apostolical merits by offering himself a sacrificed victim of charity for the spiritual weal of his neighbours, dying in the service of the infected with the plague that grievously raged at London in the year of Christ 1625, which service, as an especial favour, he earnestly begged, and obtained by order of obedience from his Superior, who could not deny it to one so laden with merit.

Thus the College of St. Xavier had the happiness to send to the Celestial Table this its ancientest member as the first fruit of its evangelical industries, which was long before thoroughly ripened for the immortal glory.

These are the most remarkable things concerning the life and virtues of this holy man, which by tradition from the most ancient priests and Catholics of this country we have learned, and have here related in the exactest manner we could. He that will have a more particular account thereof may see what the *Concertatio Anglicana* says of him under the name of John Bennet. As also the reports of the English Province and of the *Casa Professa* of the Society of Jesus at Rome. *Item*, what F. Joannes Rho in his *Variæ Virtutum Hist.* lib. vii. c. 13, § 4. And out of him F. Henry Engelgrave, Dom. II. Quadrag. of his *Lux Evangelica*, par. 2, under the name of John Benedictus, &c. "Indeed" [continues the same MS.] "it is much wondered at here in Wales, where the virtues of this holy man were so well known, that there is no mention made of him in the late *Historia* of Mr. Henry More. Only it may be imagined that living so many years in Wales, and so little a while before his death removed to London, and there dying in the service of the infected with the plague, they at London took no notice of his life in order to give account thereof above forth, conceiving that the Rector of the College of St. Xavier would carefully do it; but it happened that the then Rector, who was Father Joannes Salisbury soon after died himself, and so, as it may be supposed, it was omitted in both places. He commonly went in Wales by the name of Price."

We now turn to Father John Bridgewater's account of "The examination and racking of John Bennet, priest."

"In the year 1583, Hugh, the pseudo-Bishop of St. Asaph, Sir George Bromley, the High Sheriff of the county, and some others, met at Harden (Hawarden), Flintshire, to examine this person. The place in which they met happened to be a chapel, which Bennet observing, protested before all the people assembled that he did not enter there as to a church, or place of public worship. Not that he felt any repugnance to a place that had been formerly built and dedicated to sacred purposes by Catholics, but because he detested their profane rite in every respect. Certain noblemen who sat there, ill-brooking this protestation, insisted upon Hugh, the 'arch-synagogue,' reciting the Vesper or evening prayers, after the manner of the Zuinglians. To whom nodding assent, the said pseudo-bishop replied: 'Certainly, I think it can be done.' But Bennet hearing this, and beside himself with a certain holy indignation: 'This,' he exclaimed, 'would be the height of cruelty, not to be looked for from the most impious and savage pagan nations.'

"Upon this, a discussion arose about the Catholic Church, which Bennet positively asserted to be the Roman. Hugh, on the contrary, indeed, ingenuously admitted that formerly the Roman was the true Church, but that now the sovereign power was more veritable than the Church. To which Bennet replied: 'The Roman Catholic Church is now the same that it was in the time of the Emperor Constantine.' At the same time he began to quote the sacred writings of the Prophets, in which they declared that the Church should surpass in splendour all states of every nation and age. But these perfidious men, envious of the glory of the Roman Church, commenced a great clamour, and so broke short the thread of his discourse.

"*Hugh.* 'What say you, therefore, is the Church particular or universal?'

"*Bennet.* 'Cyprian the Doctor so testifies.' But the moment he mentioned Cyprian they motioned him to be silent.

"*Hugh.* 'What, Cyprian the Doctor? I well know what he declares.' Then this stupid minister, lest if he were silent his case might seem to break down, quoted certain passages from his writings—Urbi et Orbi, which appeared quite irrelevant. But conscious of his own incapacity, that he might cut off all opportunity of Bennet's reply, turning to Bromley, said:

'I have examined this man over and over again at St. Asaph's, and I have ever found him contumacious and refractory, as I find him now. Wherefore, since heretics are not to be disputed with, I here declare in virtue of my authority that he shall be made an example of, and I leave him in the hands of the secular power for coercion.'

"*Bennet.* 'I beg this, however, before I retire from you, that you will answer me one question.' Hugh hesitated for some time, and as it seemed, would willingly have refused; but fearing perhaps, that his refusal would seem to arise from no other reason than his distrust both of himself and of his cause, he at last summoned courage and ordered him freely to propose whatever he wished, provided only it met with the approbation of the noble High Sheriff. Then

"*Bennet.* 'You just now,' said he, 'conceded to me, that the Roman Church was formerly the true Church of Christ. If, therefore, you contend that it afterwards degenerated, or was changed into some other form, these six points arise for our consideration in every innovation of religion. (1) The new and strange doctrine introduced. (2) The name of the innovator. (3) The time he began to preach it. (4) The place whence it emerged. (5) By how great a number of persons it was first received. (6) And lastly, the character of the persons who, promulgating this recent doctrine, forthwith set themselves up in the very beginning as the Church of God. Because, if you demand of me to assent to you, and confess that the Roman Church once was sincere, but afterwards became degenerate and spurious, I expect that you show in your turn in what way you consider these marks of a corrupt Church are able to square with it?'

"Saying this, the minister Hugh was so struck dumb, that he knew not where to turn himself. Wherefore Bromley, deeming it of the highest importance in some way to prop up not only the tottering bishop, but also the cause of his own Church, demanded of Bennet whether he held it to have been ascertained beyond a doubt at what time the Ephesians and Corinthians, who had been converted to the faith by the Apostle Paul, fell off from the Church of God. The Catholic priest replied that the thing was very clear to him. Bromley denied it. Bennet then said: 'The Church of Christ had its rise in Jerusalem.' And taking this as his starting-point, he was proceeding to show the increase and progress of the new born Church *seriatim*, as described in the Acts of the Apostles. But Hugh, snatching

the words from his mouth, continued what the other had begun. When he had finished, Bennet said to him: 'All these things you have mentioned are most true. But I desire to know this from you, whether you consider that this Church, whose origin and progress you have described, is the Church of Protestants?'

"*Hugh.* 'The Church of the Apostles is the true Church of Christ.'

"*Bennet.* 'Certainly, but it is not your Church.'

"*Hugh.* 'Thou art yet a youth.'

"*Bennet.* 'True, but my faith is much older than yours.'

"*Hugh.* 'Thou art also a contumacious fellow.'

"*Bennet.* 'To confess Christ before man is not contumacy, but constancy.'

"*Bromley.* 'Come on; put these matters aside. Tell us what places have you frequented?'

"*Hugh.* 'I should be worse than all the Jews together were I to incriminate any one.'

"*Bromley.* 'But I tell you seriously that you shall be led to a place where, *volens aut nolens*, every thing will be disclosed that we seek of thee.'

"*Bennet.* '*Dominus mihi adjutor: non timebo, quid faciat mihi homo.*'[4]

"*Hugh.* 'It is indeed better to hope in God than in princes.'

"*Bennet.* 'If you know this to be so, why don't you act accordingly?'

"*Bromley.* 'Who sent you here?'

"*Hugh.* 'He is perhaps of the number the Prophet speaks of, "They ran, and I did not send them."'

"*Bennet.* 'This rather squares with thee than with me. For that I am rightly sent, I am enabled to build upon the foundation of an unbroken line of two hundred and thirty Bishops in succession in the Apostolic See, in all of whom there was not a Protestant, Calvinist, or Lutheran.'

"*Hugh.* 'All the better for the cause of Lutherans, Calvinists, and Protestants, that none of them——' And so he broke off in the middle of his speech.

"*Bromley.* 'Have you read a book written regarding the death of one Peter Elchus?'

"*Bennet.* 'I have read in Latin a short narrative lately of such a person, who was martyred by the Turks for the faith of Christ. In which indeed (if it is the same of which I speak)

[4] "The Lord is my helper: I will not fear what man may do to me."

it is related that he was pierced with many wounds, from which, however, not a single drop of blood flowed, until he received his last mortal wound.'

"*Hugh.* 'Yes, it is the same.'

"*Bennet.* 'Tell me, I beg you. When did God ever work a miracle of this kind for any one of your martyrs, of whom you so greatly boast?'

"*Hugh.* 'Our martyrs and yours are not the same.'

"*Bennet.* 'Very unlike, certainly.'

"*Bromley.* 'Reverend Bishop, this is not the business we have now in hand.' (Then speaking somewhat in an undertone: 'The Papists,' said he, 'do not despise these reports, but treat them as matters of great moment, and also collect and publish them at the proper time in the form of a book.')

"*Hugh.* 'Certainly, most illustrious Sheriff, this is not the business at present incumbent upon us.'

"*Bromley.* 'Come, tell us what that is which troubles you? If you have any scruple upon your breast, lay it open before us.'

"*Bennet.* 'Truly,' he replied, (at the same time putting his hand to his heart), 'if it relates to these, when I shall arrive at a place where there may be an opportunity of meeting a Catholic priest, I will open myself to him in the Sacrament of Confession. But I well know that you are not one.'

"*Bromley.* 'We will make no words about this now. But tell us this, for what end you came back to England, and by whom were you sent?'

"*Bennet.* 'I returned that I might administer the sacraments of the Catholic Church.'

"*Bromley.* 'Who is the head of the Catholic Church?'

"*Bennet.* 'Holy Scripture clearly shows this. For of whom Christ exacts a greater proof of love than from the rest, to him likewise Christ more abundantly allots a more eminent position, and greater privilege than the others.' As these things were spoken in reference to the Chair and authority of Peter the Apostle and his successors, Hugh, the pseudo-Bishop of St. Asaph, feeling that his own chair of pestilence would be touched if he proceeded in this line of argument, at first interrupted him by making a noise to prevent the people listening to his words. Then, turning to the Sheriff: 'Most illustrious Sheriff, it is necessary that this man be otherwise dealt with. Give orders, therefore, I beg, that the crowd depart.'

"*Bromley.* 'There are sufficient witnesses of what is done here.' The people present were wonderfully dismayed by this order, looking back at Bennet as they went out with sorrowful countenances, thinking that he was now sure to be condemned to death.

"*Hugh.* 'Let a clerk be sent for, to take down this man's words in writing.'

"*Bennet.* 'I desire this, that my words may be properly attended to by all. For I retract nothing that I have said. Indeed I would rather give you all my blood to drink, than that the blood of any one of you should be required at my hands.'

"*Bromley.* 'Who sent you?'

"*Bennet.* 'I was sent by the Pope.'

"*Bromley.* 'For what end?'

"*Bennet.* 'To administer the sacraments of the Catholic Church to all who demanded them.'

"*Bromley.* 'What say you of the Queen's Majesty?'

"*Bennet.* 'That I am her subject; and, as my duty is, I I pray to God for her, and have done so this very day before you were out of your beds. I earnestly beg of God to protect and convert her.'

"*Bromley.* 'What! convert? Do you therefore say that she is a heretic and schismatic?'

"*Bennet.* 'I do not say so. I draw no inferences, being a subject, as you are also. And as it is not for me to bring any charge against her, neither is it for you to judge about it. This is all I say, God preserve her from wrong, which I consider to be a pious prayer.'

"*Bromley.* 'To what purpose were you sent?'

"*Bennet.* 'I have told you twice already; that I might administer the sacraments of the Catholic Church (the Roman Catholic Church, I say), and that I might be the means of bringing back my fellow countrymen to the unity of the Church.'

"*Bromley.* 'Were you not sent to persuade or seduce her Majesty's subjects?'

"*Bennet.* 'I know no one in England who may not be subject to her.'

"*Bromley.* 'Therefore you were sent that you might be the means of bringing them back to the Catholic Church, and the obedience of the Roman Pontiff?'

"*Bennet.* 'Yes.'

"*Bromley.* 'Have you persuaded any, and who are they?'

"*Bennet.* 'I don't deny this indeed, nevertheless I will not bring either myself or any one else into danger.'

"*Bromley.* 'Then sign your confession.' This he instantly and most readily did as follows:

"'D. JOANNES BENNETUS, sacerdos.'

"Then the people cried out to him: 'God help you.' To whom the pious priest, in his turn, said: 'God grant you all the desire of amending your lives.'

"Night have come on, he was remanded to prison. On the following day, Father Bennet was put to a new and totally different kind of torture, of the same nature as that to which St. Nicetus was exposed, and a refinement of all the cruelties inflicted upon the champions of Christ for procuring their fall, and than which nothing could be more distressing to a modest and innocent priest. He was conducted to a solitary cell in the Castle, without any knowledge of what they were about to do with him; when, behold, a crowd of youths of high birth indeed, but of the most depraved and abandoned morals, rushed in accompanied by a buffoon or jester, and behaved in so indecent and disgraceful a manner that the Father for very shame would never relate it even to intimate friends, unless upon some pressing occasion; and in after life, even to his very last day, he could never think of their acts without shame and tears. Satisfied at length with their infamous sport they withdrew, leaving the Father to deplore the miserable shipwreck made by heresy of all sentiments of honesty and morality.

"After these insults, on the 19th of November, 1583, Father Bennet and his fellow-prisoner, Henry Pugh, after being bound with cords, were called to the bar for trial among a crowd of robbers and murderers. Bennet being ordered, according to custom, to hold up his right hand whilst the indictment was read, did so as high as he could, crying out: 'Behold my hand, as a testimony to Jews and Gentiles,' and he was proceeding to speak, when Bromley, who sat as judge, began to make a noise and interrupt him, lest a report of his words should reach the ears of the people. And turning to him with great indignation, said: 'Hold your tongue, babbler! I will meet you another time.' 'Whenever you please,' said the priest, 'I fear you not.' To which Bromley, in a very low voice, but nevertheless loud enough to be heard by some bystanders, replied: 'I will cause you to fear me.' And in order to prevent all opportunity of his speaking he immediately directed the gaoler to remove the prisoners; for the Father

possessed singular efficacy and power in refuting heresy, combined with a fearless spirit.

In the meantime, whilst these things were being done in the court, it was reported through the town that Bennet the priest and Henry Pugh would be called to the bar that day for trial. In consequence, many flocked to the place, both to hear their answers, and see the upshot of the affair. But when they came to the court and could not see the prisoners, on learning from those present that they had been remanded by order of the Judge to prison, they were greatly vexed. Divine Providence, however, so disposed events that this concourse of the people should not be altogether useless. For at midday, when the greatest number of the townsmen were present, to the great surprise equally of the people and of the Judge, Father Bennet was again brought by the gaoler into court with great parade, and placed before the bench. Although the occurrence was a serious annoyance to Bromley, he said nothing publicly, but only whispered some direction into the ear of the prefect of the court. What he said could not be gathered. But the result proved that it was some resolve about Bennet, for the prefect immediately calling the gaoler to him sharply rebuked him for having brought up the prisoner without the order of the Judge; and then the keeper without delay removed him from the court back again to prison. A little afterwards he was sent to Flint and thrust into a horrible dungeon, where, in addition to the miseries of the place, he for a long time dragged about two iron bolts of great weight fastened to his legs. At length he was transferred, by an order of the Privy Council, to a Council of the Marches, as it was called.[5] On January 15, 1584, he was summoned at eight o'clock in the morning before Atchins, the Attorney-General; who, after having for about half-an-hour loaded the priest of God with every species of insult (which is the almost invariable practice) at length adjudged him to be tortured on the rack, upon which he hung stretched until five o'clock p.m., a space of nine hours. After enduring this fearful torture, the wretch ordered him to be stretched four inches more to the terrible agony of his already disjointed body; but the noble sufferer only exhibited fresh courage of soul, not even by a single sigh betraying the intensity of his pains. During this time Townsend, a magistrate, and certain members

[5] The MS. narrative, already given, says that this meeting was held at Ludlow, on the borders.

of the Council came into the torture chamber, that they might be spectators of the racking.[6]

The noble confessor of Christ seeing them enter began to have hope of relief, for one of them was no stranger to the Catholic religion, and the other also sprang from the same line. So far otherwise was it, that instead of evincing any feeling of humanity or pity for the extreme suffering of the Father, they added only affliction upon affliction. For they at once answered his entreaties for pity and assistance with harsh and inhuman words. "It is not from us," they said, "that you can expect any help or comfort, since all these tortures are inflicted upon you not by our order, but by the command of the Queen and Council." To which the priest replied: "If no pity is to be expected from you I beg you to depart, and to leave me alone with Him Who hears the groans of the captive, and Who is both willing and able to aid those who are afflicted. Then, wishing to prove his savage cruelty by actions as well as by words, as they were going out, Townsend whispered into the ear of the executioner that he should immediately on their departure stretch the priest three or four inches longer, redoubling the severity of his torments. Such was the clemency of the infatuated Calvinist, Townsend, towards a Catholic priest.

The questions put to Father Bennet in his examination upon the rack were: With what persons he had held intercourse? Whose houses he had frequented? By whose alms he had been supported? What persons he had reconciled to the Church since his coming to England? All such questions they maintained in no way belonged to conscience or religion. They even asserted it to be the general practice throughout the whole kingdom, that no one should ever be injured or inconvenienced on account of religion, showing the coolness of their effrontery in denying the truth. The man who once casts off shame must needs assume the opposite, and become thoroughly impudent. Whilst the patient and faithful servant of Christ hung thus distended upon the rack, some insolent minister, attached to a nobleman's family, being hot-headed and inflamed with Protestant rage, rushed into the torture-chamber. He violently inveighed against the priest, charging him with superstition, and hypocrisy, and with

[6] Townsend was probably Robert Townsend, Esq., of Ludlow, the maternal uncle and guardian of George Gilbert. See his examination in *Records*, series viii. "Life of George Gilbert."

being a seducer of the people; to give some weight to his words he quoted a number of irrelevant passages of Holy Scripture. Father Bennet bore with his insolence for a long time, and made him no answer, as nothing had been said which deserved it. At length, seeing no end to his harangue, he addressed the rack-master who stood by, saying: "I see this redoubted Doctor of the Oxford University, so devoted to the study of theology and Holy Scripture, challenges me to a religious disputation; I beg you to hoist him up on a similar chair of teaching, opposite to me, that we may dispute on equal terms, and from like pulpits."

At length, abashed by these words, the man withdrew, murmuring to himself over his ill-success. Father Bennet, having, with invincible patience, undergone these and similar trials until the evening, was taken down from the rack at five o'clock, and then carried in men's arms and laid upon a bed. His feet and hands, and whole body, were so dislocated by the violence and long continuance of the torture, as to have become completely helpless.

Then, after ten days' time, Father Bennet was called up before the Solicitor-General, Amice, who thus addressed him: "Bennet, have you not made up your mind to better resolves? I have received a command from the Council not to allow you to persist in this your obstinacy, and continued refusal to disclose the names of those you have reconciled to the Church, and who support you, and whose houses you frequent," &c. To which the confessor of Christ replied: "And I, too, have received a command from the Lord Himself of the Council, not to fear those who can kill the body, but cannot slay nor hurt the soul; but rather to fear Him Who is able to cast both body and soul into Hell."

After many words on both sides, Amice dismissed the priest, threatening that on the morrow he should address him far differently, as the event proved. For between eight and nine o'clock a.m. Father Bennet was again placed upon the rack, and most cruelly tortured for upwards of three hours. Whilst subjected to these torments, Amice put to him the same questions: Whose houses he visited? Who supported him? The names of Catholics he knew? and such like points, which he again endeavoured to represent as having nothing to do with religion. He added how perilous a thing it would be to die for these *minutiæ*, which, if he did, his soul might be condemned to the eternal torments of Hell. At length he

added that the Father had nothing to fear by naming any of his friends, solemnly promising that no one should incur danger on this account; for it was not his intention in this examination to injure any mortal man, but only to execute the duty imposed upon him of eliciting the truth. But the prudent priest, acting on the proverb, *Cretenses esse semper mendaces*, and knowing that he is not to be trusted who has himself broken his pledge to God, firmly resolved rather to undergo all torments, and death itself, than to say a word that could endanger either the life or property of Catholics.

The Solicitor-General, seeing that nothing was to be got by this, went away while the sufferer was still on the rack, for the purpose of searching his cell. Having found his breviary, he returned with it. Bennet earnestly begged for its restoration, declaring that there was nothing to be found in it that could possibly be distorted into high treason. "Nay, indeed," said the Solicitor, "this book treats of invocation of saints, and therefore I will not give it back." "Well," said the priest, "for one prayer that I was accustomed to recite from the book, I will say ten." A Zwinglian minister was brought in, who also challenged to a disputation the servant of Christ already so long and courageously struggling with his exquisite torments. This he refused to accept, alleging his utter inability, under his present circumstances both of body and place. But he advised them to remember how shamefully they had declined Father Campian's challenge to dispute upon fair and equal terms. The Solicitor, greatly enraged at this rebuke, retorted upon the Father with a thousand reproaches, and then asked him: "What think you? How is it possible that the state of this kingdom can stand, if an opportunity is allowed you and your fellows to seduce the people from their allegiance to the Sovereign, and excite them to sedition and tumult?"

To this Father Bennet instantly replied: "And this very State, for the overthrow of which, as you believe, we are labouring, if my expectations and hopes do not deceive me, whether you will, or not, draws towards that ruin which we would urge on. For we strive for this one thing only, which is to overthrow the State of your false religion, in order to reinstate the Catholic and true one upon its ancient throne. This faith our ancestors for fifteen hundred years devoutly exercised, and for its restoration, by the help of God, we spend our labours, our blood, our sweat, and our time. Where-

fore, we, your sons, do you immortal service, though the fathers persecute us as malignant malefactors. Although each year you seize and butcher two or three of us, yet the number of labourers does not diminish but increase. Many also of the ministers of your own conventicles, despising and renouncing all the pleasures of this life, have willingly joined us and enrolled their names as members of the Catholic Church. Once enlisted in this sacred warfare, they apply, in common with us, with all their heart, desire, labour, and strength for this one end: *Ut denuo ædificentur muri Hierusalem*—'That the walls of Jerusalem may be again built up.' And I hope that many a one is now to be found girding himself to the work; and this the more, because of the barbarity of the torments which I here suffer."

The Solicitor-General, enraged at these words, turned from the confessor, and vehemently inveighed against the merits of good works. Thus they conversed, the Father being stretched upon the rack, and the solicitor pacing up and down the room. When this had continued for some time, the Father became more silent, and made no reply to the questions put to him. Interpreting his silence as contempt, the Solicitor fell into a violent passion. "Come," said he, "you stand out very obstinately, I can show myself to be as obstinate as you are;" meaning, perhaps, that he was resolved to walk up and down the torture-chamber as long as Father Bennet refused to speak when on the rack. Then he added: "Bennet, I see now that it is necessary for me to increase your pains." "You cannot increase my sufferings," replied Bennet. He then ordered that he should be yet more violently stretched, which was instantly done by the torturers; and amid these agonies he persevered until half-past twelve o'clock at noon. But at length, having examined the Father with such inhuman cruelty for three full hours, and having failed to extract the least matter from him on which to found an accusation either against himself or any one else, they took him down, and remanded him to prison; whence he was shortly after sent to London.[7]

He was finally condemned to perpetual banishment from

[7] This brutal torture is referred to in the letter of Father Robert Parsons to Father Agazzari, dated September 28, 1584, copied in *Records*, vol. i. pp. 633, seq. It is there stated to have taken place at Bewdley, a border town, by order of Sir George Bromley, the High Sheriff, and of Robert Townsend, Esq., of Ludlow, the judges or assessors appointed for the purpose.

his native land; and on September 24, 1585, was sent with thirty other priests on board a vessel, and landed upon the coast of France. He made his way to the English College at Rheims; and, although the Society of Jesus would have welcomed amongst its members a man laden with so many merits, his humility was such that he esteemed himself quite unworthy of this favour; not venturing to solicit it from the Father General, except through others, amongst whom was Dr. Richard Barrett, who succeeded Cardinal Allen as Rector of the College.[8] Having been admitted to the Society, he entered the novitiate of Verdun, September 6, 1586, at the age of thirty-six, and lived thirty-nine years after this, thirty-five of which he spent on the English Mission.

His sentence of banishment had been accompanied by the severest threats of punishment, as in cases of high treason, should he ever set foot again in England. Nevertheless, having completed his two years' noviceship, regardless of all danger, he petitioned for and obtained leave of his Superiors to return to his native land. This was, according to Father Bartoli, in 1590. Amongst the State Papers, Public Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.* vol. ccxliv. n. 5, is the examination of Thomas Clarke, a seminary priest, before the Protestant Bishop of Dover, January 7, 1593, who states:

"Being at Dunkirk, in company of some of Sir William Stanley's retinue, whereof some were priests, viz.: Worthington, Darbyshire, and Woodward, they persuaded him to go to Rheims, and promised that he should be there entertained, and Worthington wrote letters by him to Mr. Baily, then being chief of the College, where he was admitted, and remained about two years, and then was made priest by the Bishop of Laon, Michaelmas was two years, and presently after received commandment from Mr. Barrett, then President at Rheims, to come into England to reconcile the people there to the Church of Rome, &c., whereupon he with two other priests, then also came over into England, about Hallowtide next following [1590], whereof one was John Bennet, a Jesuit, and Welshman, and the other's name was Francis Clayton, born in Derbyshire, as he thinketh, which Clayton was made priest at Rome, and they landed at a place upon Tyne, Newcastle, called the Shieldes, being carried in a French bottom. He met with the said John Bennett at [Krew?], who came, as

[8] Bartoli, *Inghil.* lib. iv. p. 127, Lettere del Dr. Barretto del 3 di Novembre, 1585.

he thinketh, from Paris, and departed from him the next day after they were landed, being lodged the first night in a salthouse at the Shieldes.

"And the said Francis Clayton and examinant went to the house of one Mr. Trollop in Thornley, or Thornton, in the bishopric of Durham, where they met Mr. Richard Holtby, a Jesuit, to whom they were specially directed, with whom examinant continued for about a week, and had a frieze jerkin made for him by Mr. Holtby's procurement, but what became of Francis Clayton or of the said Bennet he knows not. He says he brought no letters, *super altare*, or such like, for that they needed none, because the Jesuits have authority to make and consecrate such stuff as should be needful. . . . He said Mass about twice at the said Mr. Trollop's."[9]

As it had pleased God by means of Father Bennet's great constancy in sufferings, to animate the English Catholics to a love and defence of the faith, so now He willed to make use of the labours of His servant for the increase of the number of the Catholics, in whose assiduous and unwearied service he continued with an alacrity beyond his years, and a truly angelical spirit which the very calamities of the time nourished, until seventy-five years of age. As appears by the MS. eulogium already given, Father Bennet died a martyr of charity in the voluntary attendance upon the plague-stricken in London.

Finally, adorned with every merit that could grace the Apostolical missionary,—insults, fetters, tortures, labours, zeal of souls, and other heroic virtues, he died a saintly death in London, on Christmas Day, 1625, æt. 75, in religion thirty-nine years, to the great grief of the Catholics, and enjoying the highest reputation with all, according to a letter from the Father Provincial to the Very Reverend Father General, *Vir pius, et sancto simillimus, confessor antiquus, non tam doctrina, quam praxi et integritate celebris.* Father Bennet made his profession as a Spiritual Coadjutor, October 28, 1603.

In Gee's list "of Romish priests and Jesuits resident about London," of which the date is 1623, he is called "John Bennet, a secular priest." This could scarcely have been intended for the Reverend John Bennet, the agent of the clergy in Rome, who was at or about that time in Douay.[10]

[9] Frequent entries regarding these two Seminary priests, the Reverends Thomas Clarke and Francis Clayton, occur in the Douay Diary (*Records of the English Catholics*).

[10] See a copy of this list in *Records*, vol. i. Appendix.

In a MS. at Oscott College, "The Ancient Editor's Note Book,"[11] Father Bennet is thus referred to :

"The power of priests.—Mr. Bennet, a priest in Flintshire, brought before the Council of the Marches, and by them committed with another Catholic to close prison. They were put into a chamber where some wicked spirits had been accustomed to frequent. At their first being in that chamber, their trenchers, or what else stood on the board, would fall down on the floor hard by; then would they be thrown every night further than other. At length they seemed to be thrown with great force the full length of the chamber, and ever they would light upon the wall next the side of the bed where Mr. Bennet lay. In the end, Mr. Bennet made the sign of the Cross upon those things so accustomed to be thrown, and they lay ever after unmoved; but some other thing, either not signed by forgetfulness, or in the chamber unknown to them, would be so cast, and this continued for a week, in the beginning of the night, until Mr. Bennet, finding the means to make holy water, and sprinkling the chamber round about, they were troubled no more, saving that in the next chamber in the depth of the night, they should hear a trampling, sounding as though one went upon stilts."[12]

Frequent mention is made of Father Bennet in the Douay Diaries.[13]

First Diary. "March 29, 1578. John Benett, diocese of Chester, was ordained priest with twelve others. [Among whom were John Hart, Alexander Briant, and Richard Holtby, all afterwards of the Society.]

"1580. Sent into England this year (with twenty-eight other priests) John Bennet, St. Asaph."

In a subsequent entry the day of his leaving the College with his companions is given.

"1580. May 2, Mr. Bennet, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Shevell, and Mr. Biar."

Among the unpublished documents[14] we find the following entry :

"Mr. John Bennett most cruelly tortured in Wales, being afterwards sent into exile and admitted to the Society of Jesus, now again passes into England by the order of Superiors."

[11] Printed in *Troubles*, series iii. pp. 52, 53.
[12] This is no doubt the case to which we have already alluded.
[13] *Records of English Catholics.*
[14] *Records of English Catholics*, Appendix, p. 291.

"1585. October 8. To-day Mr. Francis Shaw, Mr. And. Fowler, Mr. Rowsam, Mr. John Bennet, and Mr. Thomas Freeman came to us, banished by an edict of the cruel Queen."

"1585. Of seventy-two, this year sent into exile (with others disposed of elsewhere), the following twenty-four abode in this College (either to be sent back to the English Mission, or to be otherwise employed in the same work, as should be arranged by the reverend President), viz.—

Thomas Worthington (who shortly after undertook to explain Holy Scripture at table).
John Collington.
Thomas Stevenson.
William Smith.
Samuel Conyers.
William Hartley.[15]
William Warmington.
William Dean.[16]
Edward Rishton.
Robert Nutter.[17]
John Benett.
Stephen Rowsam.[18]
Lewis Hughes.
John Adams.[19]
John Vivian.
Thomas Simpson.
Andrew Fowler.
Thomas Pilcher.[20]
John Meredith.
Nicholas Garlick.[21]
Edmund Sykes.[22]
John Marsh.
John Hewett.[23]
Thomas Freeman.

Thus we see that Father Bennet, though not himself crowned with the martyr's laurel, was at least an intimate companion of martyrs, nearly one half of the above fellow-exiles having suffered death for the faith.

The following autobiographical account of the Reverend Edward Morgan, a convert of Father Bennet, is extracted from Records of the English College, Rome. Mr. Morgan was hung at Tyburn for his profession of the Catholic faith, April 26, 1642, N.S. He had been admitted to the Society of Jesus on October 25, 1609, but was compelled to leave the novitiate on account of ill health.

[15] Hanged near the theatre, London, October 5, 1588.
[16] Hanged at Mile End Green, August 28, 1588.
[17] Hanged at Lancaster, July 26, 1600.
[18] Hanged at Gloucester, March or July, 1587.
[19] Hanged at Tyburn, October 8, 1586.
[20] Hanged at Dorchester, March 21, 1587.
[21] Hanged at Derby, July 24, 1588.
[22] Hanged at York, March 23, 1587 or 1588.
[23] Hanged at York, October 5, 1588.

"1606. My name is Edward Morgan (in Confirmation John), *alias* John Singleton. I am, I believe, about twenty years of age, if not more, and was born in a village called Bettisfield, in the parish of Hanmer, Flintshire, where I was brought up until about sixteen years of age, when Walter Fowler, Esq., whose mansion was near Stafford, took me into his house, from whence I daily went to school at Stafford with two of his sons. After nearly two years, this same kind benefactor enabled me to go to Douay College, where I remained about two years and two months, and was thence sent to Rome. My father, Thomas Morgan, and my mother, Johan, are both converts to the Catholic faith. He is of the middle class, commonly called yeomen. I have four sisters, of whom God in His mercy has taken two to Himself. For some years I lived in heresy, until my father was converted and received into the bosom of holy Church with the help of Divine grace, and through the persuasion and assistance of a certain Catholic gentleman with whom he was on terms of intimacy; and soon after he led me likewise to the same truth, and took me to that venerable confessor of God, Father Price, *alias* Bennet, S.J., by whose aid I was received to the sacraments of the Catholic Church, at the very time that the Earl of Essex was beheaded in the Tower of London." He then offers himself to any state of life that Superiors may judge fitting for him.

The Diary of the English College states that he entered in the name of Edward Singleton, *vere* John Morgan, on October 10, 1606, and took the usual College oaths on June 24, 1607. Having received minor orders, he entered the Society October 25, 1609, but was obliged to leave again on account of ill health, and prosecuted his studies at Valladolid. He was ordained priest at Salamanca, and sent into England, and there suffered imprisonment with great constancy for about fourteen years, and at length on April 26, 1642, was martyred at Tyburn for the Catholic religion."

Bishop Challoner gives an account of this blessed martyr in his *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*. The facts, however, given above are new, and may form a supplement to what he states. In *Records*, vol. i. p. 279, a list of priests confined in the various prisons of London in 1632, names him incorrectly "John Morgan, Fleet." He remained in the Fleet for fourteen or fifteen years, suffering much from the loathsomeness of the place and the want of all

necessaries, more particularly during the last two years. He made a long address to the crowds at Tyburn, in which he suffered constant interruptions from the Protestant ministers. His words made a deep impression upon the people, who were astonished at his great courage, cheerfulness, and constancy. He suffered in his fifty-seventh year.

FATHER RICHARD WHITLEY.—From the loss of records we are unable to mention any particulars regarding this Father, with the exception of the following brief notice of him in the Annual Letters of the English Province, for the year 1651: "Vir grandævus et emeritæ senectutis; verus Israelita, in quo non erat dolus." After many years of indefatigable labour in Wales, he died in London, 1651.

FATHER HUGH OWEN, *alias* JOHN HUGHES, was a native of Anglesea, born 1615. The Diary of the English College, Rome, says that he was admitted under the name of John Hughes, an alumnus of that College, December 25, 1636, æt. 21 years and six months. He was ordained priest at St. John Lateran, March 16, 1641, and left Rome for England, September 28, 1643. "Vir patientiæ singularis egregie se gessit," is the character of him written in the Diary. He entered the English Province in 1648, while a missionary priest in England. In a Catalogue for 1655 he is mentioned as then serving in the College or District of St. Francis Xavier, and the Welsh Mission. He died at Holywell in 1686. Dr. Oliver is mistaken in saying he was at Brussels in 1655. The person he alludes to was a Temporal Coadjutor of the Society. It appears that, some months previously to his death, he had fallen off his horse on returning from Mr. Salisbury's (a recent convert to the Catholic faith), whither he had gone to administer the sacraments to the family. Besides the ordinary fast every Friday, when he took a moderate collation at night, he used to abstain from all food until Sunday at noon. He never went from home for the purpose of recreation, and never played at cards or similar games. He had practised fasting from his youth.

He was the author of a MS. report in Welsh, dated July 6, 1668, describing the cure of Roger Whetstone, then about sixty years of age, from inveterate lameness on August 20, 1667, by drinking the water of St. Winefrid's Well. This poor man came from Bromsgrove, in Worcestershire, and after

being a Quaker and an Anabaptist became a good Catholic. His son, about eleven years of age, was christened in the Catholic Church, after full instruction, unto whom the greatest personages in the kingdom were pleased to be patrons.[24]

Father Owen published some treatises *tacito nomine*, "On the grievousness of mortal sin, especially of heresy," London, 1668; also a Catechism in Welsh, London, 1668, and the Prayer-book called the *Key of Heaven.*

Two Fathers of the Society were connected by birth with the District of North Wales, viz., Fathers Thomas Pennant (*alias* Conway), and William White.

Father Thomas Pennant, *alias* Conway, was a native of Flintshire, of good family, born 1579. He entered the Society of Jesus 1613, was a Professed Father, and died July 8, 1633. He was a student at the English College, Rome. In his statement on entering the College he says: "My name is Thomas Pennant. I am aged twenty-five, and was born at Bightan, in the county of Flint, whence the house of my father takes its name. I learnt rudiments at two towns in the same county, Harden [or Hawarden] and Gwaynerscor, for about six years and a half; besides having a private tutor for two years at home. I then went to the Queen's Court, where I lived for several weeks. Thence to a certain druggist, named Brierton, a famous man, and of respectable family, for the sake of learning the business. There I lived for four years; but at length, this profession being anything but agreeable to myself and friends, especially my mother, I left Mr. Brierton, with his consent. Both of my parents are descended from ancient and leading families in Flintshire. My mother's name was Conway. I have three brothers and four sisters, and many relations on both sides in these parts, leading men, three or four being knights, some gentlemen, all well off, besides six or seven who hold offices at Court. I studied my rhetoric at St. Omer's College. I was always a Protestant, or, to speak more correctly, an atheist, till my twentieth year. The principal means leading to my conversion was Father Robert Parson's Book of Resolutions [*Directory*], and to him, under God, I must ascribe my conversion to the Catholic faith; for having read his book, I resolved to abandon the vanities of the world, and four days after I left London for St. Omer's, and thence determined to proceed to

[24] MS. at Stonyhurst College.

Rome to consult the author of that book as to the mode of life in which to serve God. But, by the will of God, and for my greater good, as I hope, I was forced to delay my journey by the Fathers of St. Omer's, and for one year I undertook the care of the sick, and prepared their medicine for them. The Fathers then perceiving that I was not deficient in rudimental learning, admitted me among the scholars, and I studied there for three years."

The Diary of the English College, Rome, states that he entered in the name of Thomas Conway, *vere* Pennant de Bightan, as an alumnus, on October 19, 1604, being then about twenty-five years of age. He took the usual College oath on August 10, 1605, and after receiving the previous orders, was ordained priest on April 12, 1608, and having completed his higher studies and theology, left the College for England on April 21, 1611.

Father Coffin, in a letter dated May 28, 1611,[25] mentions his departure from Rome. Gee likewise names him in his list of priests and Jesuits in and about London as "Conway the Jesuit."[26]

He is also referred to as Father Thomas Conway in the MS. "Relation" copied in the College of St. Francis Xavier, p. 334, where he is said to have succeeded Father Robert Jones, as director of the Lady Frances Morgan, converted by that Father.

Father William White was born in North Wales in the year 1632; was a student at the English College, Rome; entered the Society in 1658, and, according to Dr. Oliver, is said to have died in England on February 26, 1688. We possess very little information regarding his life in the Society. In 1679, at the time of the Oates' Plot, he was a missioner in the North Wales District, and is mentioned in a letter that will be quoted hereafter, as one of three Jesuits who were left in North Wales after that terrible storm which nearly uprooted the entire mission of North and South Wales. On entering the English College he made the following statement: "My name is William White. I am son of John White and Maria Edwards. I am in my nineteenth year, and was born at my father's house, called Nigligul, in the county of Carnarvon. I have studied my humanities at Ghent, in Flanders, where for

[25] Stonyhurst MSS. vol. iii. n. 102.
[26] See *Records*, vol. i. Appendix.

five years I was instructed in the discipline of a good Catholic, and in the *belles lettres*. My parents are of the upper class of society, but, alas! are heretics. I have many friends, rich and well educated; but these are for the greater part likewise infected with the heresy of Calvin. I have four brothers and two sisters, but none of them are as yet brought into the household of the faith. I was until twelve years old (1644) a heretic; but at length, thanks be to God, by the efforts and advice of Father Parry, priest of the Society of Jesus, I received the light of the Catholic faith. I left England five years ago, and have come to Rome to this College, that I may be of some service in labouring for the conversion of heretics in my own country."

The Diary of the English College states that he entered as a convictor among the alumni, aged nineteen, on October 16, 1651, took the College oath the 2nd of June following, and was ordained priest on May 21, 1657. He departed for England, April 25, 1658, and after some months entered the novitiate of the Society at Watten.[27]

The Rev. David Lloyd, of a respectable Carnarvonshire family, was the nephew and convert of a Father of the Society, and eventually became a priest, and was drowned on his way to England, in 1650. On applying for admission to the English College, Rome, he gave the following account of himself: "My name is David Lloyd. I am in my twenty-third year, and was born in the diocese of Bangor and county of Carnarvon, at my father's house called Rosgill. I was educated at various schools in the same county from my seventh to my thirteenth year. My parents are respectable, of moderate but sufficient means. My father, descended from the house of the Lloyds, by no means an ignoble one in those parts, died about ten years ago. My mother, of the family of Bodwell, is yet alive, and is a heretic. I have an uncle, Father Buckley, of the Society of Jesus, and an only aunt, who with her husband and children are Catholic; but all the rest of my relations, brothers and sisters, are heretics as far as I know. When I was thirteen years of age, I first went to the Shrewsbury Grammar School, and afterwards to the Worcester College School, where I studied my humanities for three years. I then removed to Winchester College, which was in high repute, and there spent four years in the same course; for the last nine months before

[27] In Father Christopher Grene's writing.

coming hither I was in the College of St. Omer. When still in my twentieth year, and blinded by heresy, my Jesuit uncle invited me in various letters to cross the sea, and on receiving these, at the advice of certain Catholics who were most friendly to me, I threw off my Winchester gown, and resolved to hasten out of England, partly from a wish of visiting my uncle whom I had never seen, and partly, as is natural to youth, from the desire of travelling and seeing foreign countries. I made, however, a very firm resolution to close my ears against the arguments of Catholics, and always adhere to the heresy of my youth. I set sail and landed at Calais, and from thence proceeded to Liege, the English novitiate of the Society of Jesus, where at that time my uncle was Master of Novices. Here the infinite bounty of God, after a few days, conquered my perverseness. Hardened and obstinate as I had become in evil, I was changed—not by any merits of mine, but because my God desired of His great mercy to draw me out of my long-continued darkness, and to infuse the brightness of His light and truth into my blinded heart." He then finally desires to embrace the ecclesiastical state of life, if found worthy; and gives a brief account of the great struggle he had undergone for a length of time with the enemy before coming to this conclusion.

The English College Diary mentions him as Daniel Brown, *vere* David Lloyd, then in his twenty-first year, admitted among the Pope's alumni by Father Thomas Fitzherbert, on October 11, 1622. He took the usual College oath on May 1, 1623, and received minor orders in that year; was ordained priest April 13, 1626, and left for the English Mission, August 24, 1629, with the highest character for observance of College discipline during the whole of his seven years' residence. He was afterwards Procurator for many years of the College at Placentia. On his return to England he was drowned in the Channel, about the year 1650.

Thomas Owen, belonging to another respectable Carnarvonshire family, was a convert of Father Henry Thunder. He states in his examination on entering the English College, Rome: "My name is Thomas Owen; I am twenty-two years of age, and was born at Aber, Carnarvonshire. I went to school at Bangor at the age of seven, and studied there till seventeen. Then I went to Jesus College, Cambridge, where I spent three

MOSTYN OF TALACRE.

- Richard ap Howell de Mostyn. Tem. Richard III. 1483. = Catherine, daughter of Sir Thomas Salusbury, Knt., of Lleweny, co. Denbigh.
  - Thomas, from whom the Mostyns of Mostyn.
  - Pyers Mostyn of Talacre, co. Flint. = Ellen, daughter of Thomas Griffiths, of Pant-y-Llong-du.
    - Pyers. Died S.P. = Lowry, daughter of John Conway, Esqre., of Bodrhyddan.
    - William of Talacre. Married about 1540. = Anne daughter and heiress of Henry ap Harry of Basingwarke or Greenfield, Flint, by whom he acquired the property in the neighbourhood of Basingwarke Abbey.
      - Edward Mostyn of Basingwarke. = Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Morgan, Esqre., of Golden Grove, co. Flint.
        - Younger issue.
        - Sir John Mostyn, Knight, of Talacre. Died 1640. = Anne, daughter of Sir Henry Fox, Knight, of Lehurst, co. Salop. She married secondly, in 1641, Sir George Petre, Knight.
          - Sir Edward Mostyn of Talacre. Born at Basingwarke April 5, 1628; educated at St. Omer's College, S.J., and the English College, Rome; left Rome for England in 1649; created a baronet April 28, 1670. = Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Downes, Esq., of Bodney, co. Norfolk. He married twice subsequently, but left no issue by either— (1) Ellen, daughter of —— Dracot, Esqre., and widow of Thomas Poole, Esqre.: (2) Mary, sister of Richard Viscount Molyneux, and widow of Sir George Selby.
            - Sir Pyers Mostyn. Died November 15, 1720. = Frances, daughter and co-heiress of Sir George Selby, of Wentington, co. Durham, by Mary his wife, sister of Lord Molyneux.
              - Edward Mostyn. Predeceased his father, unmarried.
              - Sir PYERS MOSTYN, S.J. Born 1690; educated at St. Omer's College, S.J.; entered the Society of Jesus January 5, 1707; served the Mission of Wigan, and died there August 29, 1735, æt. 45. Succeeded to the title on the death of his father, November 15, 1720.
              - (1st wife) Mary, daughter of Thomas Clifton, Esqre., of Lytham, by whom no issue.
              - George. Succeeded to the title on the death of his brother Pyers, August 29, 1735. = (2nd wife) Teresa, daughter of Charles Towneley, Esqre., of Towneley. She died March 27, 1766.
                - From whom the present descent.
              - Other issue.
            - Elizabeth. Born 1653; a Teresian Nun at Lierre; professed 1670, as Mother Lucy of the Holy Ghost; died 1707.
            - JOHN MOSTYN, S.J. Born 1657; entered the Society of Jesus October 18, 1693, æt. 36; served the Mission of Lydiate for nearly 20 years; died there June 3, 1721, æt. 64.
            - Edward Mostyn.
            - Margaret. Born 1658. On the death of her husband she became a Teresian Nun at Lierre; professed as Margaret Teresa 1694; died 1743, æt. 85.
          - John Mostyn. Born 1632 (see his short Autobiography in Text). = Frances, daughter of Edward Pennant, Esqre.
          - Margaret. Born 1625; professed a Teresian Nun (Discalced Carmelites) 1645; died in the odour of sanctity 1679. Her remains are preserved in veneration at Carmel House Convent, Darlington.
          - Elizabeth. Born 1626 or 1627; professed Teresian Nun in same Order 1645 (in Religion called Ursula); died 1700.
          - (1st) —— Poole, Esqre. = Mary. = (2nd) Sir William Gerard.
            - Sir James Poole.
            - William Poole. = Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Estcourt, co. Wilts.
              - Mary Poole. Born 1696; professed Teresian Nun at Lierre 1713 (in Religion Sr. Teresa of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph); died 1793, æt. 97 (in Religion 81).
              - Frances. Born 1697; professed Teresian Nun at Lierre 1713 (in Religion Frances Xaveria of the Immaculate Conception); died 1763, æt. 66.
            - Bartholomew Fettyplace.
            - ANDREW MOSTYN, S.J. Born 1663; entered the Society of Jesus February 1, 1691; died at Worcester April 14 or 15, 1709, æt. 46.
            - Anne. Born 1663; a Teresian Nun at Lierre; professed 1683 as Mother Mary Anne; died 1715.
          - Anne. = Darcy Savage, Esqre.
          - Henry. Died young.

During the time that Henry Duke of Richmond was planning the overthrow of the House of York he passed concealed from place to place in order to form an interest among the Welsh, who favoured his cause on account of their respect to his grandfather, Owen Tudor, their countryman. While he was at Mostyn a party attached to Richard III. arrived there to apprehend him. He was then about to dine, but had just time to leap out of a back window and make his escape through a hole, which to this day is called "The King's Hole." Richard Ap. Howell joined Henry at the Battle of Bosworth, and after the victory received from the King, in token of gratitude for his preservation, the belt and sword he wore on that day; he also pressed Richard greatly to follow him to court, but he nobly answered like the Shunamitish woman, "I dwell among my own people." The sword and belt were preserved at Mostyn until within these few years (see Pennant's Whitford and Holywell, 1796, quoted in Burke's *Peerage and Baronetage*).

years uselessly. My father was Robert Owen, of Bodsilin, Carnarvonshire, Esq.; my mother was Laura Coytmor, daughter of William Coytmor, of Coytmor, Carnarvonshire, Esq.; both are heretics. I have six brothers, four of whom are heretics, and eight sisters, all heretics, of whom six are married. I took my degree of B.A. at Cambridge. I was moved to embrace the Catholic faith by the exhortation and pious example of a relation, a Catholic priest, I think of the Order of St. Benedict; but I was not then perfectly converted. I fled from my country to escape the endeavours of my brothers and sisters to induce me to remain in heresy; and at St. Omer's College I was received into the Church by Father Henry Thunder. My departure from England was attended with some little difficulty, but through the goodness of God, by changing my name and dress it was effected."

The English College Diary states that he entered as an alumnus, in the name of Thomas Dilingham of Carnarvonshire, on November 27, 1619, and left again April 29, 1620, on account of an impediment which hindered his embracing the ecclesiastical state, and for which he felt himself to be but little suited.

THE MOSTYN FAMILY.

Edward and John, two brothers of the old Flintshire Catholic family of the Mostyns of Talacre, were educated by the English Fathers at their College of St. Omer, from whence they proceeded to the English College Rome, for their higher course of studies. We annex a short pedigree to illustrate the text.

(1) Edward Mostyn, born in the year 1628, gives the following account of himself on entering the English College, Rome, in 1647: "My name is Edward Mostyn. I am the eldest son of my father, who died when I was but twelve years of age. He was called Sir John Mostyn, Kt., and lived in Flintshire. My mother was Anne, daughter of Sir Henry Fox, Kt., who six years ago married Sir George Petre, Kt. As far as I gather from others I shall be nineteen years of age on April 5th, and was born at Basingwerke,[1] and being taken

[1] Basingwerke (or Basingwarke) was the abbey between Holywell and the estuary of the Dee. (See the old monastic lines quoted by Butler in his notice of St. Winefrid—"Ad Basingwerke fons ortus," &c.)

from home three years ago into France, on account of the terrible troubles in England, I went to Ghent, in Flanders, and there made my humanity studies for a year and a half, more or less. I have two brothers in Flanders, now studying at the English College of St. Omer. I have four sisters, two in the English Convent, Antwerp, and two in England, all firm Catholics. I was always a Catholic, and was sent by order of my parents into these parts, that I might, as a convictor in the College, diligently apply myself to my studies." He signs himself Edward Seaborne.

The Diary of the English College states that he entered on November 23, 1647, and after two years left for Naples, and thence returned to England. Edward was the eldest son and heir of John Mostyn, Esq., of Talacre, by Anne, daughter of Sir Henry Fox of Lehurst, county Salop, Knight. He was created a baronet, April 28, 1670, and married, first, Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Downes, Esq., of Bodney, in the county of Norfolk, by whom he had, according to Burke's *Peerage*, five sons and three daughters, two of whom, namely Elizabeth and Anne, became Teresian nuns at Lierre, and the third, Margaret, married Mr. Fettiplace. Upon the death of her husband she joined her sisters, becoming a Teresian nun at the same Convent of Lierre. Piers, his eldest son and successor, married Frances, daughter and co-heiress of Sir George Selby, as mentioned in the pedigree. Sir Edward's second wife was Ellen, daughter of Mr. Dracot, and widow of Thomas Poole, Esq. His third wife was Mary, sister of Viscount Molyneux, and widow of Sir George Selby. There was no issue of the two last-mentioned marriages. Sir Edward was succeeded by his son, Sir Piers Mostyn.

(2) JOHN MOSTYN was born 1632. On entering the English College, Rome, he says: "My name is John Mostyn, *alias* Seaborne. I am son of John Mostyn and Anne Fox, his wife, both of families of rank. I am in my eighteenth year, and was brought up in the county of Flint. Nearly all my friends on my father's side are Protestants, but on my mother's Catholic. My parents suffered greatly from the heretics, and are yet in that condition to which they were reduced by them. I have made my humanity studies as far as poetry at Ghent and St. Omer's, under the Fathers of the Society of Jesus. I was always a Catholic, and left England in my thirteenth year. My friends have suffered much on account

of the Catholic faith." (Signed) John Seaborne, *alias* John Mostyn.

The English College Diary says that he entered the College in the name of John Seaborne, æt. 18, as an alumnus on October 28, 1650, Father Thomas Babthorpe being Rector. He left the College on April 18, 1653, for Padua, where he studied for the medical profession. According to Burke, he died unmarried, but this, as shown upon the pedigree, we believe to be incorrect.

Three members of the same family entered the English Province of the Society of Jesus, viz. :

JOHN MOSTYN, the second son of Sir Edward, by his first wife Elizabeth Downes of Bodney, who was born in the year 1657, and entered the Society at Watten, October 18, 1693, being then thirty-six years of age. The Rev. Thomas E. Gibson in his recent work, *Lydiate Hall and its Associations*, thus notices this Father, together with his family, in his account of the missionary priests at Lydiate :

"Father John Mostyn (1704—1721) was of the excellent Catholic family of Talacre, Flintshire, being son of Sir Edward Mostyn, first baronet, and Elizabeth daughter of Robert Downes of Bodney, Norfolk. John was born in 1657, and admitted to the Society, October 18, 1693, his younger brother Andrew having preceded him in taking that step. Two sisters likewise devoted themselves to a religious life, and died in the odour of sanctity ; their remains are kept at the Convent of Mount Carmel, Darlington, where they are held in great veneration, and where is also preserved an edifying account of the life of the elder (Margaret) written by her confessor.[2] In 1701 Father John Mostyn was serving the District of St. Mary's including Oxfordshire, &c., and in 1704 he was despatched to Lydiate. Here he resided till his death in 1721. . .

"There are several entries regarding Mr. Mostyn in the Blundell of Crosby Diary. 'January 18, 1708. Mr. Aldred (F. Aldred, S.J., the chaplain of Mr. Blundell at Crosby) went to Lydiate to see Sir Pierce [? Edward] Mostyn's son. January 23, 1709. I went to Lydiate and heard Mr. Mostyn hold forth. September 10. My wife, Mrs. Poole, Mr. Aldred and I, went in the coach to Lydiate to see Mr. Mostyn. 1711. I went to

[2] The Life of this holy nun, originally compiled by her confessor, the Rev. Canon Edmund Bedingfeld, has been recently published, with a Preface by Father Coleridge, in the Quarterly Series.

the Hall of Lydiate and made Mr. Mostyn a visit. September 26, 1714. My wife sent a large Lives of the Saints to Lydiate which she had borrowed of Mr. Mostyn. February 27, 1715. My wife and I went to prayers at Lydiate, but came full late enough, and dined there with Mr. Mostyn.' . . .

"It is somewhat singular that Mr. Blundell, who seems to have jotted down everything, never alludes to the death of Father John Mostyn, which took place at Lydiate in 1721. He was buried at the abbey, but the tombstone no longer exists. Part of it was visible in 1830, as Baines speaks of a defaced stone to the memory of Rev. John Mosson, the usual country way of pronouncing the name."

Father Andrew Mostyn, the third son of Sir Edward, was born in the year 1663, and entered the Society in 1691, in his twenty-eighth year. He laboured in the Worcestershire mission, and died, we believe, at Worcester, on the 14th or 15th of April, 1709, at the age of forty-six.

Father Sir Pyers Mostyn, baronet, was the second son of Sir Pyers, the second baronet, and nephew of Fathers John and Andrew. He was born in the year 1690; and entered the Society at Watten, January 5, 1707, having completed his early studies at the English College, St. Omer. He served the old Jesuit mission of Wigan for some years, and died there August 29, 1735, at the age of forty-five. He is no doubt the Pyers Mostyn named in Burke, who upon the death of his father, Sir Pyers Mostyn, November 15, 1720 (his elder brother Edward having predeceased his father unmarried) succeeded to the title as third baronet. Burke merely records the death of Father Pyers in 1735, unmarried, when the title devolved upon his brother.

The extraordinary sanctity of their venerable aunt, Mother Margaret, appears to have attracted no less than three of her nieces and two great nieces to the same holy Order of St. Teresa, viz., the three daughters of Sir Edward Mostyn, Margaret, widow of Mr. Fettiplace, Elizabeth and Anne, who all became religious in the Convent at Lierre, and Mary and Frances, daughters of Mary Poole, the third daughter of Sir John Mostyn and Anne Fox his wife.[3] Mary, the elder of the two attained to the great age of ninety-seven. She was born September 29, 1696, "at seven months from the alteration [her mother fell into] on account of her husband being seized

[3] See Pedigree.

and hurried off in the night to prison, it being then very troublesome times in England, which gave Catholic families very much to suffer."[4] It is related of her that, when a very little child, visiting the Convent at Lierre, and seeing the large portrait of her great aunt, Mother Margaret, she exclaimed, "How very impertinent of these nuns to dress my grandmamma up as a nun." The likeness must have been striking between the two sisters, Mother Margaret and her grandmother, Mrs. Poole.[5]

The annual reports for this district up to 1677 are very brief, owing to the difficulties of the times. Some portion of them are given in the account of the Mission of Holywell, as applying to that locality alone. They will be continued subsequently to the year 1677, in the records of the Oates' Plot persecution, and the Revolution of 1688.

1672. There were this year six Fathers in the Residence of St. Winefrid; and thirty-five conversions to the Catholic faith are recorded. Among these was a young lady who had been received into the Catholic Church in London. On her return to her friends she was treated by them with great severity, and exhibited a singular example of Christian patience and constancy. Her father having in vain tried every other means to shake her constancy, ordered her to go to a Protestant minister by whom being nothing moved after daily arguments, insults, and abuses, her father's anger was so greatly roused that he cut her off from a large fortune, which he had previously willed to her; and she was at that date leading a poor and humble life, but with great joy and consolation, and a courageous heart.

1673. There were five Fathers this year, by whom, says the report, an abundant harvest was gathered. The number of conversions was fifty-two. The miraculous cure of two lame persons by the use of holy water is mentioned. Amongst those converted and baptized was a medical man, twenty-eight years of age, born of Anabaptist parents, and himself one of the same sect. Whilst he was professionally attending a Catholic he took up some Catholic books, from a careful perusal of which he conceived a great opinion of the true faith. Then after having been fully and carefully instructed by our Fathers, he asked to be admitted into the Church. He had sixteen

[4] Communicated by the Reverend Mother Prioress of Carmel House Convent, Darlington, from Lives of the Sisters.

[5] *Ibid.*

brothers and sisters, and as he well knew they were unbaptized, he made inquiry about his own baptism, and ascertaining that he had never received that holy Sacrament, he was baptized in the presence of a great concourse of Catholics.

Ancient Well of St. Germanus.—Among the ancient miraculous wells abounding in Wales was formerly one in a retired corner of a field, part of a small estate called Tycock, or the Red House, Montgomeryshire, once the property of this Residence. The field was called "Funnan Hernon," *i.e.* the Well of German (St. Germanus the great anti-Pelagian Apostle, who was certainly in the parts of North Wales preaching and labouring against that heresy). For many years the well was a ruin, overgrown with brambles. Overhanging it was a pollard yew tree of unusual size. From the slow growth of the yew, it seems not improbable that this tree may have been cotemporary with St. Germanus. Down to a recent date the people of the neighbourhood frequented this well, finding the waters a remedy for cutaneous diseases: so tenacious in some instances is the hold kept by the faith and its traditions. It is feared that this ancient relic of the ages of faith has been destroyed by the railway-line.

HOLYWELL.

This ancient place, ever dear to Catholics on account of its sainted patroness, the glorious virgin and martyr, St. Winefrid, and for the innumerable favours obtained even to the present day, through her powerful intercession with God, is one of the oldest missions of the English Province, and was for a long period the head quarters of this Residence. In the person of Father John Bennet we can trace it back to the latter part of the sixteenth century.[1]

[1] The title to a small property in the parish of Dymerchion, or Tremerchion, Flintshire (partly the site of the present College of St. Beuno), is traced back as early as 1662, when by a deed dated March 20, 1662, James Lovett, of St. Andrew, Holborn, Middlesex, goldsmith, and Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Peter Ellis, of Bryngwyn, co. Flint, gentleman, conveyed it to Thomas Walpole, of Staple Inn, London, gentleman, and John Woolfe, of London, gentleman, in consideration of £246. The Lovetts were well known goldsmiths in London. In Gee's list of priests and Jesuits in and about London (1624), *Records*, vol. i. Appendix, is mentioned "Fr. Lovett, brother to the three Popish goldsmiths of that name." This must have been Father George Lovett, who was born 1576, entered the Society 1611, and died at the novitiate in London, August 1, 1640, æt. 64. The above-named James Lovett was probably his nephew. The same Gee's list also includes amongst the Popish booksellers, "Master Lovett in Holborn."

The mission premises of the Society in Holywell were formerly known as "the Old Star," Mr. Pennant, in his history of Whitford and Holywell (1795), says: "In the town of Holywell are three places of worship besides the church; two for the Roman Catholics—one of which supports a secular or parish priest, the other a gentleman of the late Order of Jesuits. Both of their cures are endowed with lands vested in trustees. Each of their houses has been a species of hotel, probably designed for the reception of pilgrims of better rank. One was called 'The Cross Keys,' and the other 'The Star.' I remember at one or other of these, Edward Duke of Norfolk, and other visitors of distinction."

The Cross Keys ceased to be used as a chapel in 1802, when it was sold, and the purchaser pulled it down and erected upon its site a good residence. This property adjoining to the Old Star (the present Catholic presbytery and chapel,) was recently purchased, and is now used as a convent for the nuns who have charge of the schools, and likewise of the Catholic hospice lately established for poor pilgrims, by the unwearied efforts of the late Father Maurice Mann, for many years the missionary priest at Holywell.

In some MS. notes of the late Father John Thorpe,[2] we read, "August 1, [1718], Edmund Gage [Plowden], to Eberson: The Commissioners now sitting at Preston sent a party of Dragoons with Hitchinore, the fallen priest, at their head to Holywell, where they plundered the two Popish chapels. The 'Star' had pretty good luck, and got most of the effects out of the way in time. An old gentleman, Mr. Wilmot, was taken at the Cross Keys, but soon bailed."

The old register book of St. Winefrid's chapel (the Old Star) contains many entries relating to distant localities, showing the extensive circuits which the missionary Fathers formerly made. On the authority of the Rev. S. Blackwell, the Old Star house was regarded as a place of security and harbour of refuge in times of persecution. The late Father Francis Lythgoe, for many years the resident priest at Holywell, says in a letter, dated 1833: "It appears that in 1739, and probably much earlier, we were in possession of a large house and garden in Holywell, the present presbytery, which had been called the Star Inn, and continued to be called 'The Star,' or 'The Old Star.' The priest resided in this house, and a room in it served as the chapel. In 1799–1800, the greater

[2] Stonyhurst MSS.

part of the old house was pulled down, and a new one with a chapel erected. The old stables of the inn were converted into dwelling houses." The present chapel was built in 1832.

In a MS. called "Abstract of writings,"[3] relating to the title to "The Star Inn, in Holywell," we find that by two deeds both dated 15, Car. I. 1639, certain tenements with a dwelling house and garden in Holywell were conveyed to George Petre, Esq., of Greenfield, county Flint; and by a deed dated 19 Car. I., July 4, 1643, the said George Petre and Anne his wife convey the same premises to "the Honourable John Petre, Esq.," who, by a deed dated May 17, 1653, conveyed the same to Hugh Lewis of Gray's Inn, London, Esq., and Robert Gray of London, gentleman. By another deed dated 20 Car. II., $166\frac{8}{9}$, Mrs. Ann Petre, wife of the said George Petre, and Thomas James of Greenfield, gentleman, purchased from Thomas Davenport of Holywell, innkeeper, a certain messuage, garden, &c., in Holywell, near the Star Inn. The house was used as a stable, and was a boundary to the tenement of the Star; the garden, &c., was about two acres. By deeds dated May 16, 17, 1669, the last-named premises were conveyed by Mrs. Petre to William Vavasour, Esq., of London (probably Father William Vavasour), and George Walker of London, gentleman. There is reason to believe that these were the names of persons standing for the Fathers of the Residence, and that the property is the same which now forms the site of the chapel and presbytery.[4]

[3] This formed part of the papers removed from the Residence at Holywell by Father West, and now lying at the Catholic Presbytery, Hornby, near Lancaster, under the circumstances named in p. 333, note.

[4] THE PETRES OF GREENFIELD NEAR HOLYWELL.—The Hon. George Petre, twelfth child and eighth son of William second Lord Petre, by his wife Lady Catharine Somerset; born at West Horndon, August 15, 1613; married Anne, daughter of Sir Henry Fox of Lehurst, co. Salop, Knight, and widow of Sir John Mostyn of Talacre, Knight. George Petre died at Wexford, September 26, 1647, and was buried at Basingwerke Abbey, otherwise Greenfield, co. Flint. The following is the inscription on his tomb there:

Here lyeth the body of George Petre,
late of Greenfield, in Flintshire, sone
to William Lord Petre, Baron of Inglestone
in Essex, and married Ane, ye relict of
John Mostoin, Esq., being the daughter
of Henry Fox, Esq., who for the Roman Catholique
faith and loyalty to his Majesty left his country,
and spending his time with great edification
to his neighbour, died at Wexford ye 26 day
Of September, An. Do. 1647, aged 34.

In several deeds of entail at Thorndon Hall, from 1674 to 1690, Edward Petre, son and heir of Hon. George Petre, late of , co. Flint, is named. Hon. Edward Petre, fourth born son of William second Lord

A detailed history of the town of Holywell would be out of place in our Records; but a few points may be mentioned illustrative of its history.

The topographer, Gorton, observes that "The Well of St. Winefrid, the fountain and prosperity of the place, gushes up within an area of two yards in diameter. It throws up eighty-four hogsheads per minute, has not been known to freeze, yields a supply which forms instantly a tolerable river, nor is it subject to any material increase or decrease from the drought or moisture of the seasons. Over the well, which is inclosed by octagonal sides, stands a temple in an exquisitely enriched Gothic style;[5] the ceiling is of carved stone, ornamented with sculptured pendants, and supported by light coupled pillars, which form a Gothic open arcade around the fountain. The legend of St. Winefrid was represented in the different sculptures, and the arms of the noble house of Stanley emblazoned here and there, but all are now indiscernible, and the ceiling is hung with relics, hand-barrows, crutches, &c. The temple is still remarkably beautiful, and a choice specimen of florid Gothic of Henry VII.'s reign, by whose mother it and the little chapel over it were erected. The water, after gushing up within the octagonal inclosure, flows rapidly away beneath a low archway into a rectangular bath, twelve feet by seven, in which pilgrims continue to immerge in the fond hope of a miraculous consequence." This fond hope has not been deceived, for no miraculous well in Christendom has been favoured with greater prodigies both of nature and grace from its very commencement until the present time.

Chambers, in his *Encyclopædia*, says that the spring sends forth twenty-one tons weight of water per minute.

Petre, born in 1603, also married in Wales Elizabeth Griffiths of Bagilt. She died 1672, and was buried at Holywell. He died 1664, and was buried at Ingatestone. This Hon. Edward Petre had a son Edward, who married Mildred Pennant of Bagilt, co. Flint, which Mildred died at Wappora, co. Flint, 1685, and was buried at Holywell. Edward Petre died in London, August 4, 1706, and was buried in St. Pancras. He left only a daughter, who married Roger Dicconson of Wrightington, county Lancaster. In an entail deed of 1699, Edward Petre of St. Andrew, Holborn, is named, and I believe him to be this Edward. He is also the Edward Petre of Wappora, co. Flint, named in another deed dated October 9, 1680. The Hon. John Petre was, it is likely, the brother of George Petre of Greenfield. He was born 1605, and died 1669, and was buried at Ingatestone.—[Communicated by the Hon. Mrs. Douglas, sister of Lord Petre.]

[5] It is indeed a gem of the Tudor architecture, which we owe to the piety of Margaret, Countess of Richmond, the mother of Henry VII. No visitor can fail to notice its similarity in style to the Lady Chapel in Westminster Abbey, commonly called Henry VII.'s chapel.

Bishop Milner, in his account of the miraculous cure of Winefrid White, June 28, 1805, observes, after narrating the history of St. Winefrid, the legend of her martyrdom, and the origin of the well, that whatever may be thought of the legend in other respects, we have certain proofs from it that the well was visited at that remote period, as it has been ever since, by persons who sought the cure of their various disorders there, in the same manner as the Jews did at the time of our Saviour, at the Pool of Bethsaida; likewise that the stones in this well were many of them streaked with red, like blood, and that the moss growing round it possessed a remarkable fragrance, as is still the case. He then describes the building, and says that the spring gushes forth at the rate of about one hundred tons per minute.

Dr. Challoner, in his *Britannia Sancta*, relates the three great miracles at the time of the Saint's martyrdom; viz., the wonderful spring issuing at the spot where her head fell—the terrible judgment then and there executed by God upon her murderer, Prince Caradoc, and the greatest marvel of all, the raising of the martyr to life again.

Dugdale says the relics of St. Winefrid were translated from Wales, 1128–40, by Herbert the third Abbot, to his monastery at Shrewsbury. Another account says: "They were translated from the parish church of St. Gutherin to Shrewsbury Abbey, by Robert the Prior, her historian, in 1138. The shrine of the saint was plundered at the dissolution of the Abbey, and what became of the relics is not known. They were probably scattered to the winds by the early Protestant Reformers." Dugdale also remarks that "Willis, in a MS. note on his *Mitred Abbeys*, says 'The family of Langley' (who was a tailor of Salop), and who on the 23rd of July, 38 Henry VIII. [1532] had taken a grant of the site of the monastery from Watson and Herdson, to whom the King had granted it, 'never prospered after they had dug up the bones, &c., interred in the church, and sold the foundation stones.' The man that dug up St. Winefrid's coffin was struck with lameness, as they affirmed to me."

In the archives of the Archdiocese of Westminster is a paper addressed to Mr. Lewis, London, regarding Holywell. It is without date, but was written probably about 1733. It says, regarding a relic of St. Winefrid, "I know not now where her relics are; but heard lately that one of her holy fingers is now in the English College, formerly a hospital, in Rome,

where it is carefully kept and finely enchased. Mr. Sabran [Father Lewis Sabran, Provincial in 1709–12], who sent it there, had it from the first Marchioness of Powis."

The same paper also states: "There are not now in the town or parish of Holywell the thirtieth part of the inhabitants of the old faith (as Roman Catholics are commonly called there); and most of them both poor and mean. Neither are there in Anglesea, Carnarvon, Merionethshire, Denbigh and Flint counties put together, the five hundreth part; that is not one to thirty, or five hundred Protestants. Though the county of Montgomery is now reputed part of North Wales, I know not how it is inhabited."

Regarding the site of the ancient monastery of St. Winefrid, the late Father Henry Beeston says in a note to Dr. Oliver, September 3, 1834: "I was at Holywell last week with Father Francis Lythgoe. He tells me that he has been able to ascertain from some old persons the site of the monastery where St. Winefrid consecrated herself to God. He intends to have the place examined. . . . The spot is about three quarters of a mile to the north-west of Holywell, having a fine view of the sea, and the mouth of the River Dee." Father Lythgoe himself says in some notes upon the Holywell mission: "The convent in which St. Winefrid consecrated herself to God, seems to have been almost lost sight of for many years. It was by the purest accident that I heard of it. A poor man going on crutches, about eighty years of age, mentioned to my school-master that he was well acquainted with the place. He said that he had been employed as cow-boy by Mrs. Chambers of Greenfield, and that on one occasion she pointed out to him the spot where the convent had stood. It is in a field directly behind the residence of Mr. George Potts Roskell [Stokyn]. There is a road leading directly to this field, which has no communication with any other field." In a letter of the same Father, dated April 1, 1869, he says: "The land belongs to the family of Talacre. I spoke to Sir Edward Mostyn at the time, and he seemed inclined to take up the question with great vigour, and to have the place thoroughly examined. He died, however, soon after, and then I addressed myself to his son, Sir Pyers Mostyn, who seemed equally anxious about it. As I left Holywell for Liverpool soon after, I had no opportunity of furthering the thing, except by explaining the matter to my successor. I imagine nothing has yet been done."

The great resort of Catholics to the Holy Well in the days of the fiercest persecution, and the anger of the Protestants occasioned thereby, may be estimated from the following letters of Sir John Bridgeman to the Privy Council in the years 1626, 1629, and 1636, taken from the Public Record Office, London.

Dom. Charles I. vol. xxxviii. n. 73, 1626. Endorsed October 23, 1626. "From the Mayor of Poole touchinge such as resorted to St. Winefrid's Well."

To the Right Hon. the Lords of His Maᵗʸˢ. Privy Councill.

Right Honᵇˡᵉ.,—According to yr. lōpps comandement, signified by yr. honᵇˡᵉ lrēs of the last of April last, I have taken the best course I could for restraint of the resorte of psōns ill affected in religion to St. Winefrid's Well in Fflintshire, both by binding the lodgers of straingers there to discover the names of their gueests to the nexte Justices of the peace, and by a watch there kept, which course, as I finde by examination at this last greate sessions hath taken so good effect, that where heretofore there was for all the sumer tyme usual resort thither of people in troupes both men and women, many of them being of note by way of pilgrimage, where Masse was often saide as it is affirmed, there hath not been any such repairs thither this last sumer. And for recusants in my circuit, I humbly advertize your lōpps that the Sheriffs by process have brought in some to these last sessions, of whome many have taken the oath of allegiance, and some have also conformed themselves by hearing Divine service and sermons in my presence, and some desired time to conform themselves, are bound to appeare the next sessions. Only two in Flintshire and one in Denbighshire being dangerous recusants, and common seducers of others obstinately refused to take the oaths whereupon they are convicted in a premunire according to the statute 3rd of K. James; and soe I humbly take my leave, resting

At your lōpps commandement

J. Brydgeman.

Pole in com. Montgomery,
October 28, 1626.

Dom. Charles I. vol. cli. n. 13, 1629. Endorsed, "A note of Papists and priests assembled at St. Winefrid's Well, on St. Winefrid's day, 1629."

The Lord Wᵐ. Howard; the L. of Shrewsburie; Sir Tho. Jarrett [Gerard], Sir Wᵐ. Norris, Sir Cuthbert Clifton, Mr. Preston of the Manner,[6] Mr. Anderton of Lostocke, Mr. Westbie of Westbie, Mr. Anderton of Clerton [Clayton], Mr. Anderton of Foarste, Mr. Jarrett [Gerard] of Ince, Mr. Bradshaw of Haye [Haigh Hall], Mr. Harrington of Heigletonhye, Mr. Blundell of Crosbie, Mr. Scarisbricke of Scarisbricke, Sir John Talbot of Bashshaw, Mr. Latham of Mosborow, and his five brothers, who are all priests; the Lady Foakeland [Falkland], and with her Mr. Everard the priest; Mr.

[6] This Mr. Preston was the father of Sir Thomas Preston, Bart., S.J., and received his title from Charles I.

Price, Mr. Cleiton, priests ; Sir Thomas Jarrett hath two priestes resident in his house, namely Pettinger and Umpton.[7] At Sir William Norris's house two, namely Richardson and Holland ; at Sir Cuthbert Clifton's two priests, Anderton and Smith ; also Mr. Arrowsmith's clothes and the knife that cut him up are at Sir Cuthbert Clifton's house.

Mr. Preston of the Manner hath two priests at his house, viz., Michitt and Sefton ; and Mr. Mayfield, the priest, is arch deacon under the Bishop of Chalcedon of Speake, near the sea-side ; with divers other knights, ladies, gentlemen and gentlewomen of divers countries to the number of fourteen or fifteen hundreth ; and the general estimation about a hundred and fifty or more priestes, the most of them well known what they were.

Dom. Charles I. 1636, vol. cccxlvi. n. 25. Endorsed, February 10, 1636. From Sir John Bridgeman concerning pilgrims to Holywell."

To the Rt. Hon. the Lords of his M^ties^ most Hon^ble^ Privy Councell.

Rt. hon^ble.^,—According to your lpp's lrēs of the 9 of December last, whereby I am required to use all meanes to hinder the pilgrimages to Hollywell in the county of Flint, and to give account of my proceedinge therein in convenint time, and also to make certificate to your lpps of any persons of ranke or quality whome I should finde to frequent the same wells in that superstitious way of pilgrimage, I have written to the Justices of the peace nexte adjoininge to the wells requiring them (1) to suppresse all the unnecessary alehouses thereabout, being the usual receptacles of those persons. (2) To binde all the innholders, victuallers and others who are used to lodge strangers there, by recognizance to take certain notice of the names and dwelling-places of all such as shall resort to their houses, and to make true certificate thereof, at every great sessions of that county. And (3) that they cause strict watches to be kept during the usual tymes of repayer to the well, which are in springe and in summer, which is as much as I do conceive can be done for the present untill I may repayre thither myselfe, which I purpose (God willinge) to doe the weeke after Easter next, and then to view the place, and to take the best course I may, either by muringe up the head of the springe where the superstition (as I am informed) is used, or otherwise by all the good meanes I can accomplish his Ma^ties.^ most gracious comands therein.

And soe I humbly rest

Att your lpps comandement

JO. BRYDGEMAN.

Ludlow, February 3, 1636.

The Annual Letters of the English Province for 1642–3 record that a benevolent Catholic nobleman undertook to provide a spacious house for the accommodation of the many Catholics who resorted to St. Winefride's Well, celebrated

[7] Umpton the priest was probably Father George Latham.

for the wonderful cures obtained there through the prayers of that holy virgin and martyr; and he signified to the Fathers his intention that they should at all times have admission to this establishment. When this intention became known, some adversaries of the Society began to offer every opposition to the work. They everywhere reprobated the design as highly injurious, especially at the present time, and only calculated to exasperate Protestants. They went so far as to denounce the undertaking to the magistrates, whom they assured that the building in reality was intended for a College of Jesuits. Though they succeeded in procuring a temporary suspension of the work, one large room was completed; and at the ensuing assizes, the Judge applied to the nobleman and obtained the use of it, for holding his court. And it is worthy of remark that some of those very persons who had been most active in opposing the original destination of the building, were brought to trial within this court on charges affecting their lives.

1674. The report for this year records the following miracle at the Holy Well.

In confirmation of the Catholic faith, the following remarkable occurrence happened to one Cornelius, a youth of the age of seventeen, son of John Nichol a poor man of Cardiganshire, near the town of that name. At the close of the past year, he contracted a malignant disease from which he lost the use of his knees and ankles, so that he was unable to move himself out of one position. For six months blisters, incisions, and other remedies had been applied, but without producing any beneficial results. Wherefore, despairing of medical or surgical aid, he resolved to implore the assistance of St. Winefrid, virgin and martyr, and to make a devout pilgrimage to her Holy Well. But since his friends were utterly unable from poverty to pay the expense of a journey of ninety miles, he was, through the aid and exertions of charitable persons, passed on from house to house in a cart. This was not the work of mere chance; but was providentially designed that there might be many eye-witnesses of his crippled state. After he had arrived at the town, named from its miraculous fountain, about the hour of Vespers on the 11th of June, he was the next morning assisted into the well full of the hope which he had maintained during his entire journey, of recovering his former health and strength. Scarcely had he entered the water, when he found himself instantly able to

THE PLOWDENS OF PLOWDEN, SALOP.

Extract from Pedigree, showing sons who entered English Province, S.J., and daughters who entered various Religious Orders.

Roger Plowden the Crusader, who was at the siege of Acre, A.D. 1194. After nine in descent, viz., Philip, four Johns in succession (the second 9th Edward II.), Edmund, John, Humphrey, and Edmund,

Francis Plowden of Plowden and of Shiplake, near Reading, co. Oxon. Born 1562. He was second son of Edmund Plowden, the famous lawyer, by Katherine, daughter of William Sheldon, of Beoley, Worcester, Esqre. Born about 1562; died in 1652, æt. 90; buried at Shiplake. = Mary, daughter of Thomas Fermor, Esq., and sister of Sir Richard Fermor, of Somerton, Oxon.

Richard Butler de Callan, co. Kilkenny, Ireland, Esq. = Katherine, daughter of Thomas Audley de Morton, Esq. Married secondly Francis Plowden, Esq. On his death she became a Nun O.S.B. at Ghent (see Plowden Pedigree).

A. Butler. A professed Nun in the Benedictine Convent at Ghent; professed August 6, 1637, as Dame Ursula; died in 1685.

BUTLERS OF ASTON-LE-WALLS.

George Butler, eldest son and heir of Alban Butler, Esqre., by Sibell, daughter of George Raleighe, of Thornborough, co. Warwick. = Elizabeth, daughter of Edmund Odingsells, of Long Itchington.

Richard. | Thomas. | Anne. = Ralph Calcott. | Mary. = Edw— Lewis. | Alban. = Anne, daughter of Frederick Poulton, Esqre., of Bourton. | Frances. = Thomas Highford. | Elizabeth. = Richard Everard.

Elizabeth, only daughter and heiress. = Francis Plowden, Esqre., of Plowden.

Thomas, S.J. (*alias* Salisbury). Born 1594; entered Society of Jesus 1617; professed 1630; seized by pursuivants at Clerkenwell, March, 1628, with other Jesuits (*vide* Text); died in London February 13, 1664, æt. 70.

Mary. = Sir Henry Kerville, of Wiggenhall, St. Mary's, co. Norfolk.

Katherine. = John Chamberlain, Esqre., Sherborne Castle, Oxon.

Anne. = Sir Arthur Lake, son of Secretary of State to James I.

(1st wife) Elizabeth, daughter and heiress to Alban Butler, Esq., of Aston-le-Walls, co. of Northampton, by whom the Plowdens acquired that property. = Francis. "He had a son and four daughters. Died September 10, 1661" (*Mon. Slab in Shiplake Church*).

(2nd wife) Katherine, widow of Richard Butler de Callan, co. Kilkenny, Ireland, Esqre., daughter and co-heir of Thomas Audley de Morton, co. Norfolk, Esqre. On the death of her second husband, Francis Plowden, she joined her daughter, Dame Ursula Butler, at Ghent, and was professed a Nun O.S.B. January 27, 1667, at the age of 60, as Dame Scholastica.

Edmund, of Wansted, co. Hants, styled in his will (July 29, 1655) Sir Edmund Plowden, Lord Earl Palatine, Governor and Captain-General of Province of New Albion in America. = Mabel, daughter of Peter Morrimor, Esq., and grandchild of John Chatterton of Chatterton, Esq.

With descendants.

Margaret. Became a Nun in the Augustinian Convent, Louvain; professed April 1, 1625, æt. 17; died May 29, 1665, æt. 58 (in Religion 40).

Edmund Plowden, Esqre., of Plowden, Shiplake, and Aston-le-Walls. Born February 1, 1616; died May 20, 1666. = Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Cotton, Esq., of Bedhampton, Sussex.

Mary. = Edward Massey, Esqre., of Puddington, co. Chester.

Katherine. = Sir Daniel Treswell, Baronet. Died August 28, 1671.

Elizabeth. Born 1638. Professed Nun in the Augustinian Convent, Louvain, July 17, 1656 (called in Religion Marina); died November 1, 1716, æt. 78 (in Religion 60 years, Prioress 25 years).

Daughter.

Elizabeth. = Walter Blount, Esq., Mapledurham, Oxon. Died in France.

Francis. He was Comptroller of the Household of James II., and followed the Court to St. Germains, and died there. = Mary, daughter of the Hon. John Howard, son of William, Viscount Stafford, who suffered death for the faith on Tower Hill, December 29, 1680 (vide Bishop Challoner's *Memoirs*). She was sister and in her issue heiress of John Paul, last Earl of Stafford. She was lady-in-waiting to the Queen Mary Beatrice at St. Germains.

Richard. Died in Ireland.

Joseph, S.J. Born 1655; entered Society of Jesus September 7, 1676; died a martyr of charity in attending sick and wounded soldiers February 6, 1692, æt. 37.

George, S.J. Born 1651; entered an alumnus of the English College, Rome, October 14, 1670; ordained priest at St. John Lateran's, April 4, 1676; left Rome May 4th following; died at Pontoise March 16, 1690. Made a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, by King James II., January 11, 1687. Called a Jesuit in the Plowden MS.

Edmund. Marriage settlement dated July 12, 1661; died November 23, 1677. The Simeon Pedigree in p. 606, states that Edmund Plowden, Esqre., of Plowden and Shiplake married a daughter of Sir John Simeon. We find no trace of this marriage among the Plowden documents. Miss Simeon may have been a first wife of Edmund, dying early *sine prole*. A connection between the families seems probable, because two of the Fathers Plowden, S.J., took the name of Simeon as their *alias*. = Penelope, one of the daughters and co-heiress of Sir Maurice Drummond. She brought the Carmarthen property to the family on her marriage. Died April 28, 1699.

John Cotton. Lived in London; buried in St. Paul's Cemetery.

Francis. A Secular Priest. The Abbè Plowden, who wrote several religious works. He lived and died in France.

Mary. She brought the Stafford title to the Jernigham family. = Sir George Jerningham, of Cossey.

Louisa, who lived at the Palace of St. Germains after the death of Queen Mary B.

(1) Philip Draycott, Esq., of Painsley, co. Stafford. = Dorothy. Died at Liege 1736-7. = (2) Sir William Goring, of Burton, Sussex, Bart.

Francis, S.J. Born November 20, 1662; entered Society of Jesus in the name of Simeon December 2, 1682; professed 1698; Procurator at Paris 1701-4; died at Watten June 23, 1730, æt. 74.

Richard, S.J., second son. Born 1663; entered Society of Jesus 1679; professed 1697; Rector of College S.J. Liege, 1704, of St. Omer, 1708, and of English College, Rome, 1712-15; chosen Provincial of the English Province 1715-6; in 1719 again Rector of Liege, and in May, 1725, of St. Omer's until 1728; died at Watten, September 15, 1729, æt. 66.

Edmund, S.J. Born 1664; entered Society December 2, 1682, in the name of Perrot; he also assumed the *alias* of Gage upon the English Mission; professed February 2, 1702; Rector of St. Ignatius' College, London, 1727; in 1730, Rector of College of Liege; died at Ghent, September 3, 1740, æt. 77.

William. Died 1668. = (1st wife) Mary, daughter of —— Morley, of Sussex, Esqre. She died in child-bed, with the child. There is a tradition in the family that she and the infant were poisoned by the medical man and nurse, bribed for the purpose, in order to prevent the succession in her issue to certain property.
(2nd wife) Mary, daughter of John Stonor, Esqre., of Watlington Park, Oxon, and granddaughter to the Lady Mary Talbot, only surviving daughter of Francis, Earl of Shrewsbury. Date of marriage settlement, July 23, 1696.
= (3rd wife) Mary, daughter of Sir Charles Lyttleton, of Hagley, Worcester, Baronet.

Thomas Percy, S.J., youngest son. Born 1672; entered Society June 7, 1693; professed 1707; Rector of the English College, Rome, 1731-4; Rector of the House of Tertians, Ghent, 1735-9, and of the College, S.J., St. Omer, 1739—1742; died at Watten September 21, 1745, æt. 73.

Mary. Died at birth with her mother, June 19, 1702.

Aloysius. Died an infant.

(1st husband) Thomas Foley, of Stourbridge, Esq. = Penelope. = (2nd husband) Richard Whitworth, Esqre., of Stafford, brother of Charles, first Baron Whitworth.

Frances. = Robert Aglionby Slaney, Esqre., Hatton Salop. Died 1751.

William Ignatius. Born at Plowden, of Mary Stonor, second wife, July 30, 1700; died August 27, 1754. = Honble. Frances Dormer, daughter of Charles, Lord Dormer, fifth Baron of Wenge, Bucks, May 1, 1726. Died at Berwick, January 18, 1753.

John Trevanian. A merchant. Died at Liege 1758.

Charles. Died 1713, at Worcester, of small pox.

Edmund Lyttleton. Died 1713, at Worcester, of small pox.

Maria. Died April 10, 1739. = Anthony Wright, Esqre., of Wheelside, Sussex.

Barbara Ann. = Thomas Cameron, Esqre., M.D., Worcester.

Edmund. Born at Idsworth, February 16, 1727; succeeded to the estates 1754; died January 9, 1768. = Elizabeth Lucy, daughter of William Thompson, Esqre., Leicester Square, London, and granddaughter of Sir Joseph Berkeley Lucy, of Broxbourne, Herts, Bart. Died at Bath, July, 1765.

Dorothy Mary. Born at Idsworth, April 3, 1728. Godfather and godmother, Lord Dormer and Lady Goring. Became a Nun O.S.F. at Bruges, December 17, 1747, as Sister Frances Benedict; died at Bruges, April 11, 1774, æt. 46.

Elizabeth. Born at Idsworth, June 18, 1729; became a Nun of the Holy Sepulchre, Liege (Sister Mary Bernard) April 9, 1747; professed November 10, 1748, æt. 19; died at Liege, October 14, 1787.

William. Born at Plowden February 19, 1731; died an infant.

John. Born at Plowden, January 12, 1732; died at Amsterdam on his way from Rome to England, May 18, 1754.

Frances Mary Xaveria. Born January $1\frac{3}{22}$, 1732, at Plowden. = Robert Taaffe, of Cambray, Esqre.

William Joseph Aloysius. Born at Plowden, March 31, 1735; died seven months old.

Anne Mary. Born at Plowden, February 11, 1737. = Edward Haggerston, Esqre., of Ellingham, Northumberland.

Francis Talbot. Born at Plowden, August 1, 1738; died a child, 1744.

Robert, S.J. Born at Plowden, January 16 or 27, 1740; entered Society of Jesus 1756; ordained Priest October 7, 1763; was a professed Father; died at Wappenbury, co. Warwick, on June 17, 1823, æt. 83 (vide Text).

Mary. Born at Plowden, March 20, 1741. = Robert Garvey, Esq., of Rouen.

Charles, S.J. Born at Plowden, according to the Catalogue of Province, May 1, but according to the Plowden MS. August 19, 1743; entered the Society of Jesus at Watten in the name of Simeon, æt. 16, in 1759; ordained Priest 1770 in Rome; was professed in 1803, and appointed Master of Novices at Hodder; in September, 1817, declared Provincial and Rector of Stonyhurst; in 1820, went to Rome to General Cong.; died suddenly on his return at Jougné, June 13, 1821.

Barbara. Born at Plowden, August 18, 1745; became a Nun O.S.F. at Bruges, September 4, 1763, æt. 18, as Sister Catherine Mechtildes; died at Taunton Convent, 1816.

Katherine. Born at Plowden, October 21, 1746; became a Nun at Bruges September 4, 1763, as Sister Isabella Felicitas; died at Winchester, December 16, 1801.

Francis Peter. Born at Plowden June 28, 1749; educated at St. Omer's College, S.J. He entered the Novitiate S.J. at Watten, September 7, 1766; was a Master at the College S.J. at Bruges in 1771-3. At the time of the Suppression of the Society in 1773, not being in Holy Orders, and released from his religious vows, he chose the secular life. He died at Paris, January 4, 1829, æt. 80 (see Text). = Dorothea, daughter of George J. Griffith Phillips, Esqre., of Curaegwillinag, Carmarthenshire.

Had issue five children, and four grandchildren, children of his son Francis.

Edmund Joseph of Plowden. Born in Golden Square, London, May 23, 1756; christened by Father Thomas Nandyke, S.J.; died April 4, 1836, and was succeeded by his nephew, William Henry Francis. = Anna Maria, daughter of Robert Burton, Esq., of Longnor, Salop, and niece of Lord Berwick.

William Xaverius. In the medical profession. Born at Plowden 1759. = Mary, daughter of Simon Winter, Esqre., of London.

Mary Margaretta. = Charles Throckmorton, Esqre., who took the name of Courtnay, and on the death of his brother became Sir Charles Throckmorton, Bart. Died S.P.

Elizabeth Lucy. = Sir Henry Tichborne, Bart., and had issue.

Lucy Mary. = Anthony Wright, Esqre., of Wheelside, Essex, and had issue.

Frances Xaveria. = —— Sheldon, Esqre., who afterwards took the name of Constable of Burton Constable. Issue one daughter, who died.

Mary Teresa. Died an infant.

Anna Maria. = John Eyton, second son of Thomas Eyton, Esqre., of Eyton Salop. Had issue.

Charles Joseph (second son). Banker at Rome. = Eliza, daughter of George Bryan, Esqre., of Jenkinstown, Ireland.

Anna Maria, usually called Mary.

William Henry Francis, of Plowden (eldest son). Succeeded his uncle, Edmund Joseph, April, 1836. = Barbara, daughter of Francis Cholmeley, Esqre., of Brandsby Hall, co. York. Died at Boulogne, June 26, 1853.

Barbara Mary.

Harriet. A Nun of the Order of St. Vincent of Paul, or Sister of Charity. Died in Paris, June 26, 1865.

Ellinor. Canoness of St. Augustine of the Perpetual Adoration, Newton Abbot, Devon.

William. Died an infant May 3, 1839.

Alice. A Nun of the Order of the Sacre Cœur. Died in Rome, October 14, 1866.

Mary. A Sister of Charity. Died at Crosby, near Liverpool, December 27, 1864.

Constance. = Francis, eldest son of —— Froes, Esq., of Donnerville, co. Salop. Married August 28, 1877.

Gertrude Mary.

Sibyl Maria. Sister of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul.

Laura Mary. Married July 16, 1873. = James Thunder, Esqre., younger son of Michael Thunder, Esqre., J.P., of Lagore, co. Meath, Ireland.

William Francis, son and heir. Born at Boulogne, June 3, 1853; married October 12, 1874. = Lady Mary Dundas, daughter of the late Honble. John Dundas, and sister of the present Earl of Zetland.

Blanche Mary, who died young.

Charles William Joseph.

Francis Hugh Joseph.

Roger Herbert Joseph.

Cyril Joseph. Born July 27, 1875.

Bernard William. Born August 15, 1877.

William Edwin. Born May 21, 1876.

Francis Charles. Born September 26, 1877.

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e water, when he found himself instantly able to

stand firmly and to walk without support, and soon recovered perfect strength without the trace of any lameness or debility. After delaying for some days in the town, he returned home well and strong; and his wonderful cure was attested by many witnesses.

In the archives of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster is the fragment of a letter without signature, but dated Holywell, June 23, 1733, written to Mr. Heigham, in Drury Lane, and stating: I have heard of many and stupendous miraculous cures done here on Protestants, but of my own knowledge I saw one Catherine Harket, in the parish of Rockliffe in the county of Cumberland, come here on an ass in June, 1721, her sister Mary coming with her to help her on and off the ass, which they sold after she was cured, and returned well home, and two years after, one from Carlisle told me she was well and in service there.

The year after, a man came here from Edinburgh on crutches, left them on one of the pillars of the well, and returned without them; but somebody in less than a month after stole or took them away. These persons were Protestants.

We reserve the further account of St. Winefrid's Residence for our next volume of *Records*, containing the period of Oates' Plot and the Revolution of 1688.

PLOWDEN HALL, SALOP, AND THE PLOWDEN FAMILY.

Of this old mission or chaplaincy of the Residence of St. Winefrid, we have little or nothing to record from our archives beyond the names of a few of the missionary Fathers who served it, and who will be noticed below. But we cannot allow the opportunity to pass by, of noticing briefly the ancient and staunch Catholic family of Plowden of Plowden Hall, a family, as Dr. Oliver remarks, "fruitful in religion of both sexes," for it furnished from its sons no less than nine members to the English Province, most of them distinguished for their virtue and talents; while from its daughters eleven entered various orders of nuns. The following brief account, with the annexed pedigree, has been compiled from a manuscript written by a member of the family, entitled, "The Lives of the Plowdens of Plowden Hall." The writer has kindly permitted the the insertion of some extracts taken from it.

As we shall see, the family was not exempt from a share in the persecutions and annoyances to which Catholic recusants were exposed by the penal laws.

"Roger de Plowden, the first recorded ancestor, served in the Crusades under King Richard Cœur de Leon; he is said to have been present at the siege of Acre in 1191, and for some distinguished service to have received the augmentation of two *fleurs de lys* to the family arms, borne ever since by his descendents. He was father of Philip de Plowden. . .

"The late Dr. Cox, of Eaton Bishop, Herefordshire, told William Plowden, the present Squire of Plowden, that Father Charles Plowden, the Jesuit, had related to him how he perfectly recollected seeing when a child a suit of armour hanging up in Lydbury Church, which was said to have belonged to Roger de Plowden, the crusader, who, when in the Holy Land, was imprisoned by the Saracens, and made a vow that, should he obtain his liberty, he would build a chapel at Plowden, and the north chapel in Lydbury Church was said to have been built by him, and has belonged to the family ever since. There are two old candlesticks in the church now (1869), which have been there since the Reformation."[1]

The next member we notice is Edmund Plowden, the distinguished lawyer. His admirer, Sir Edward Coke thus speaks, in concluding the fourth part of his *Institutes*, "We will conclude with the aphorism of that great lawyer and sage of the law, Edmund Plowden, which we have heard him often say, 'Blessed be the amending hand.' He was the father of Francis Plowden, of Plowden and Shiplake, Oxon.

"Edmund Plowden was born in the year 1517. He took to the study of the law in the twentieth year of his age, the twenty-eight year of the reign of Henry VIII. (1537). He was one of the readers of the Middle Temple, and took the degree of Serjeant-at-Law in the reign of Queen Mary. He was held in such high esteem on account of his great learning and noble qualities, that Queen Elizabeth offered him the post of Lord Chancellor, upon condition of his renouncing the Catholic religion, which he conscientiously refused. The letter from the Queen to Edmund Plowden, offering him the Chancellorship, was carefully preserved among the family papers at Plowden until the commencement of the present century, when it was unfortunately lost."[2]

[1] Plowden family MS.

[2] In a subsequent note, the author of the Plowden MS. says, "It was lost in Edmund Plowden's (my great uncle's) lifetime.

The following answer of Mr. Plowden to Queen Elizabeth, the author of the MS. says, is to be found in the State Paper Office.

"'Hold me, dread Sovereign, excused. Your Majesty well knows I find no reason to swerve from the Catholic faith in which you and I were brought up. I can never, therefore, countenance the persecution of its professors; I should not have in charge your Majesty's conscience one week before I should incur your displeasure, if it be your Majesty's royal intent to continue the system of persecuting the retainers of the Catholic faith.'

"Her Majesty admired the firm frankness of her serjeant, and, in yielding to his remonstrance, deprived herself and the nation of the service and credit of an able, disinterested, and upright judge.

"Edmund Plowden was a member of Parliament during Queen Mary's reign. At that time the majority of persons composing the Houses of Peers and Commons seemed only anxious to maintain the possession of the rich Church lands with which Henry VIII. had bribed his aristocracy. Yet all ought not to be included in one sweeping censure, for a noble minority of good men, disgusted at the penal laws which lighted the torturing fires for the Protestants, seceded bodily from the House of Commons, after vainly opposing them; this glorious band was composed of Catholics as well as Protestants, and was headed by the great legalist Serjeant Plowden, a Catholic so firm as to refuse the Chancellorship when urged to take it by Queen Elizabeth, because he would not change his religion." [3]

He was regarded with great suspicion by the Privy Council, and his name occurs in several places among the State Papers in the Public Record Office. Probably on account of his high legal standing and character they were afraid to proceed to extremities against him.

In *Dom. Eliz.* 1569, vol. lx. n. 47, we find a report from the Sheriff and Justices of the Peace for Berkshire, to the Privy Council, of their proceedings in procuring subscriptions for observance of uniformity of Divine service, &c. The sheriff and magistrates had assembled at Abingdon on November 17, 1569, and amongst them was Edmund Plowden. The meeting had been called in consequence of a letter of the Bishop and

[3] Copied from an anonymous pamphlet in possession of William Plowden, Esq.

Privy Council. All present signed the report, "Allowing and agreeing to the contents of the said letter, except the said Edmund Plowden." His reasons for declining are then fully stated. He had not heard of the said letter before the meeting, or of its contents; the matter was sudden to him, and "sithence, the subscription acknowledged religion," he thought it "his part, before he subscribed, to consider the matter whereunto he should subscribe; and thereto he said it was requisite not only to consider the said statute, but also most chiefly the said book touching the Uniformity of common prayers, which was very long; and, for the multitude of other matters that he and the rest of the justices had to settle there, he had no time then to consider the statute and book; but at the next meeting, appointed to be held at Reading on the 26th of November, he said he would attend there, and in the meantime consider the statute and book, and tell them his resolution."

There can be no doubt about his resolution, for in *Dom. Eliz.* same vol. n. 47 II., we find a bond dated December 20, 1569, of Edmund Plowden, of Shiplake, to be of good behaviour "to our Sovereign Lady the Queen and all her highness' subjects, and to appear when called upon, on notice given." This bond was doubtless the fruit of his refusal to subscribe.

In *Dom. Eliz.* 1578, vol. xxv. n. 118,[4] is a list of the names and addresses of certain Papists in London, with particulars of those who keep chaplains, attend Mass, &c., and amongst others, "Mr. Ployden, who hears Mass at Baron Brown's, Fish Street Hill."

In *Dom. Eliz.* 1580, vol. cxliv. n. 45, endorsed, "The Complaint against Mr. Plowden," are articles exhibited to the Privy Council against Edmund Plowden, of the Middle Temple, Esq.

First, that he came to church until the Bull came in that Felton was executed for, and the northern rebels rose upon, and after that he hath utterly refused both service and sacrament, and every other means to communicate with the Church.

Secondly, he being admonished by order from the Queen and Council, and thereupon should have conformed himself, or have lost his place in the House, he continued, and grew worse, and gat by friendship the admonisher to be put out of Commons, that did no more than the Council's order required and bade him.

Thirdly, he hath openly lately said that the New Testament is

[4] A copy of this list is given in *Records*, vol. i. series i. p. 48, note.

a book of riddles, and that the Canonical Scripture is like a fool's cap, and may be set every way.

Fourthly, he hath lately openly and reproachfully (King Henry VIII. being commended for rooting out the Pope and his power) called him a great slouch, and said that he was like a bull in a common, and that Justice Montague was his butcher, to execute whom he would.

Fifthly, before letters came from your honours to the Lord Bishop of London, and his letter with a copy of your honours' letter accordingly being sent to the Benchers of the Middle Temple, requesting to be certified of Papists, according to your honours' said letter, in conference this term about the execution thereof, he opposed himself openly against such Benchers as furthered that certificate and reformation, according to your honours' pleasure, as it were preferring the hard time of Queen Mary, before the happy and merciful time of her Majesty in that behalf, if that should be done that your honours' letter required.

Sixthly, upon the names of four known or suspected for Papists, who were by good search of such as were appointed to that purpose, presented to the Benchers, whereof some have forsaken the realm, as it is affirmed by such as seem to know it, none at all were certified, himself being notoriously known, also left uncertified by his means.

Seventhly, he practiseth that none should be called to the bench but such as will bear with these abuses, and this term obtained that three coming in antiently before others are kept back without other cause but that they have been, and are thought to be, too earnest in causes of religion, and yet neither of them to be justly touched with any offence against any of her Majesty's proceedings, nor other notorious crimes, nor with insufficiency; and picked out three of less standing, that he can rule, and that will bear with him.

Eighthly, by his practice and friendship that he procureth, and the severity and sincerity of other houses, the Middle Temple is pestered with Papists, and not to be amended without your honours' special aid.

Whereupon, the most of that society, and all the best assorted in religion, except some two or three of his dearest and most familiar friends, have an earnest desire that it would please your honours to hear and examine the premisses, and that if it please your honours, for his civil guise, to tolerate him, notwithstanding these abuses, yet that he be not suffered to govern in the house (more than he is suffered to govern in his country), for the cause aforesaid, and for that he applieth all his force and friendship to support religion and the profession thereof, and to prefer Papists and their superstitions; and that he may be called to answer before your honours to the premisses, and that such order may be taken for reformation thereof, as to your Godly wisdom shall seem best.

"In the reign of Queen Elizabeth it was death for a priest to be found in England, and severe punishment for any body to assist at Mass.[5] One day, when Edmund Plowden was residing on one of his estates, it is related that some ill-

[5] Statute 27th Elizabeth.

intentioned persons came to inform him that Mass was about to be celebrated in a certain house in the neighbourhood, should he wish to assist thereat; upon which he hastened to the place appointed, and was seen to make the sign of the cross and read his prayer-book. He was shortly afterwards summoned and tried for this offence; but when he came to cross-examine the witnesses, being suspicious of foul play, he demanded of the supposed priest who had officiated, whether he could swear to being a priest; upon which the other answering in the negative, Edmund Plowden replied, 'The case is altered—no priest, no Mass; no violation of the law.' 'The case is altered, quoth Plowden,' became afterwards a common proverb."[6]

Edmund Plowden was the author of a well known work, *Commentaries and Reports*, 1571. A copy of this work is in the library of Plowden Hall, and in the margins of the leaves are many autograph notes of the great lawyer.

He died on February 6, 1584, and was buried in the north aisle of the Temple Church, London, where may be seen his mural monument. The reader is referred to Camden's Annals in the time of Queen Elizabeth, 1584, for Mr. Plowden's character.

The late Mr. Simpson, in his Life of Father Edmund Campian,[7] names Edmund Plowden as having been present at the trial of the martyr and his fellow sufferers. "The pleadings had taken about three hours, and the jury consulted for nearly an hour before they agreed on their verdict. In this interval some one brought Campion a glass of beer to refresh him after his labours. The greater part of the lawyers and gentlemen present thought an acquittal was certain, at least for Campion; 'but judges and jury,' say Laing, 'had all been bought, and the desire to gratify Cæsar prevailed,' Mr. Popham, the Attorney-General, having plainly signified to them what the Queen's will was. Edmund Plowden, the famous lawyer, himself a Catholic, had come with the rest to see the trial; but one of the judges, not liking that he should report it, or even witness it, sent word to him to leave the court. As he was himself in question for religion he thought it prudent to obey."

"The present house at Plowden, where Mr. Sandford died, [in 1587] was added to by his brother-in-law, Edmund Plowden. It is of lath and plaster whitewashed, with gable ends and high

[6] Plowden MS. as above. [7] P. 307.

chimneys, the floor, staircase, and doors of solid oak, and many of the walls also are of oak panelling; the rest were originally covered with tapestry, some of which still remains, and is in a good state of preservation; the house is full of nooks and corners; there is a priest's hiding-hole (now called by that name) in the closet of one of the bedrooms, where the boards of the flooring are so arranged as to be easily removed, and underneath is a trap door by which a small ladder leads down into a dark hole, where there is just room enough for a man to change his position with ease from a standing to a sitting posture; there is a shelf on which the concealed priest might keep his food.[8] Besides this hiding-place there is an escape about the width and form of a chimney, reaching from one of the top bedrooms down to the ground floor of the house, by which a man might be lowered by means of a rope.[9]

"There is a small chapel in the house dedicated to St. Francis of Assisi, in which is a beautiful painting of the saint."[10]

Of William Plowden of Plowden, great grandson of Edmund the lawyer, we read in the same MS., "William fought hard for his exiled sovereign James II., at the battle of the Boyne, in 1690, where he distinguished himself by his valour."

Baker, in his history of Northamptonshire, says, "William, the grandson of Edmund Plowden, was a colonel in King James's Guards, whose fortunes he followed into Ireland and France; but after a short residence at the Court of St. Germain's was, through the interest of his wife's uncle, the Duke of Shrewsbury and the Countess of Sunderland, permitted to return to England and take possession of the family estates, his three elder brothers having died without issue.[11] He rebuilt the mansion at Aston and lived there a few years, but being a Catholic became an obnoxious man to the violent Whigs of the neighbourhood, particularly to a Colonel Montague, who then resided in the present Lord Guildford's house at Chipping Warden, and not having taken the oath of allegiance

[8] Tradition states that one was actually concealed there for a fortnight, whilst Cromwell's soldiers were posted outside the gates, but in the end left without being able to discover him (Plowden MS. as above).

[9] There is another outlet over the chapel through two trap-doors on to the roof, where a person might escape between the eaves of the house. Also a portion of the flooring of the chapel is so formed as to lift up, and covers a hiding-place below for concealing the sacred vessels (*Ibid*).

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] These were Fathers Francis, Richard, and Edmund (*alias* Gage). They were then *civilly*, not *naturally* dead.

to King William, his six coach horses, by virtue of an act recently passed against non-jurors, were seized on entering Banbury, and impounded by a magistrate, as being worth above £5 each. He immediately quitted Aston in disgust, and it has been deserted by the family ever since. William was so annoyed that he caused the manor-house at Aston to be pulled down with the exception of one wing, which he converted into a farmhouse, and which remains to this day."[12]

Francis, second son of Edmund,[13] married Mary, daughter of the Hon. John Stafford Howard, younger son of the martyred William, Viscount Stafford, who suffered for the faith upon Tower Hill, December 29, 1680, a victim of the Oates' Plot persecution. Francis was Comptroller of the Household to King James II., and followed the exiled King and Court to St. Germain's, where he died. His wife is the Mrs. Plowden mentioned in Miss Strickland's Life of Queen Mary Beatrice, to whom she was one of the ladies in waiting. Their children were born and brought up in the palace. Miss Strickland observes, "It is fortunate that James and his Queen were fond of children, and indulgent to them, for their royal abode at St. Germain's was full of the young families of their noble attendants, who, having forsaken houses and lands for their sake, had now no other home. There were little Middletons, Hays, Dillons, Bourkes, Stricklands, Plowdens, Staffords, Sheldons, and many of the children of their Protestant families also, who might be seen sporting together in the parterres, in excellent good fellowship, and forming a mimic court and bodyguard for the little prince, whose playmates they were and the sharers of his infantile pleasures. These juvenile Jacobites were objects of the tenderest interest to the exiled King and Queen, who, when they went to promenade on the terrace were always surrounded by them, and appeared like the parents of a numerous progeny."

We refer the reader to a pleasing tradition mentioned by the same author, in describing the King's apartments at St. Germain's, connected with Mrs. Plowden and her young, but high-spirited, daughter Mary.

The Plowdens of Plowden are connected with the Northumberland Percys. A member of the latter family entered as a convictor among the alumni of the English College, Rome, for his higher studies. His own account is: "1618. My true name is William Percy, *alias* Percie, I am twenty-

[12] Plowden MS. [13] See Pedigree.

one years of age, and was born at Ryton in the county of York. My Father is Thomas Percy, of Ryton, Yorkshire, Esq.: he was twice married: first to the eldest daughter of Roger Wivell, of Osgorbie [? Osgodby], Yorkshire, Esq.; the other was the only daughter of Sir Marmaduke Wivell, of Barton, in the county of Richmond, Knight. My father and stepmother, both still living, are schismatics; my mother, who is dead, was, I think, a heretic. I have only one brother, a schismatic, and five sisters, of whom two are Catholics, two heretics, and one schismatic. My chief relations on my father's side are Richard Ffarmer [Fermour], of Somerton, Oxfordshire; Francis Plowden, Esq., of Shiplake, in the same county; William Winscomb, Esq. [? Winchcombe], of Woke, in the same county; and Robert Percy, of Midhurst, in the county of Sussex, a gentleman of high family, who alone is a schismatic; all the rest are Catholics. On my mother's side, Roger Wivell, Esq., Charles Tankard, Esq., and Thomas Bilbucks, Esq., of Witherby, Yorkshire. I made my humanity studies at York. I was a heretic until seventeen years of age; but after that period, living with my relative Sir Richard Fermour, Knight, I gradually inclined towards the Catholic faith, and became a schismatic, and so remained until I arrived at Brussels, where for some days living on familiar terms with a religious of the Society of Jesus, whose name was Owen Shelly, and being converted by him, I embraced the Catholic faith, on August 28, 1618. It is my desire to enter the ecclesiastical state."

(Signed) "WILLIAM PERCIE."

The Diary of the English College, Rome, states that he entered as a convictor among the Pope's alumni, at the age of twenty, in the assumed name of Roger Wivell, on October 9, 1618, and died piously in the College on October 26, 1620, æt. 22.[14]

[14] The writer of the Plowden family MS. states, "There is a portrait of Percy Earl of Northumberland at Plowden Hall, of the date 1661. I believe his grandfather (ninth Earl of Northumberland) married Dorothy, the sister (? or the daughter) of Queen Elizabeth's favourite Essex, and widow of Sir Thomas Perrot. I always considered that the above portrait must have come to us through the Drummonds, who were related to the Perrots; Penelope Drummond married Edmund Plowden, and was the mother of Father Thomas Percy Plowden and his three Jesuit brothers" (See Pedigree). Regarding the family of Wivell of Yorkshire, named above, Mr. Peacock in his *Yorkshire Catholics*, in a list of recusants presented to the Bishop's Court (p. 76), mentions "Robert Wivell of Burton, gentleman; the Lady Anne, wife of Sir Marmaduke Wivell, Knight, possessed with a palsy; Jane, wife of Christopher Wivell," &c. Christopher Wivell was the eldest son of Sir Marmaduke.

Father Thomas Plowden (*alias* Salisbury), was, as the annexed pedigree shows, the eldest son of Francis Plowden, Esq., of Plowden Hall and Shiplake, and grandson of Edmund the lawyer. He was born in 1594, and educated, most probably, like the rest of his relatives, at the English College, St. Omer. Thomas Plowden entered the Society of Jesus in 1617, being then twenty-four years of age, wisely preferring the gracious invitation of his Lord to "sell all he had," to embrace the evangelical counsels, and so to "be perfect," rather than follow all the prospects of earthly welfare that lay before him. He was solemnly professed of the four vows in 1630; and was sent upon the perilous English Mission about the year 1623. We find him named in Gee's list of Priests and Jesuits in and about London 162$\frac{3}{4}$,[15] "Father Ployden a Jesuite." In a list of English Jesuits found among the many papers that were seized by the pursuivants of the Privy Council at the London Residence in Clerkenwell, together with six Fathers and several Brothers in March, 1628,[16] he appears among the resident Fathers of the house, as "P. Thomas Salesburie." In the narrative of "The Discovery," drawn up by Sir John Cooke, Secretary of State, by order of Parliament, it appears that Father Thomas Plowden was among the Fathers seized. Sir John Cooke was evidently unable accurately to make out who he was, and concludes him to have been a Weedon, or Acton.

In the Catalogue of the English Province for 1655, we find Father Thomas still among the London Fathers; he is described as Thomas Salisbury, a native of Oxfordshire,[17] "then thirty-eight years of age, solemnly professed on October 15, 1630." He had already filled various responsible offices in the Order, such as Superior, Minister, and Procurator, and had been thirty-two years upon the mission. He died in London, February 13, 1664, at the age of seventy.

Wood[18] evidently refers to Father Salisbury in concluding his notice of Sir Thomas Salisbury, Bart.: "The reader is to know that there hath been one Thomas Salisbury, who translated into English *The Learned Man Defended and Reformed*, &c., London, 1660, 8vo. written originally in Italian by Daniel

[15] Gee's *Foot out of the Snare*. A copy of this list is given in *Records*, vol. i. series i. Appendix.

[16] See a full history of this stirring event in *Records*, as above. The papers seized form a large volume, State Papers, *Dom. Charles I.* n. 99.

[17] Born probably at Somerton, the residence of the Fermours in that county.

[18] *Athen. Oxon.* p. 30. Edit. 1721.

Bartoli, a learned Jesuit, as also mathematical collections from Gal. Galilei, &c., but his surname differing in one letter from *Salesbury* he must not be taken to be the same with Sir Thomas above mentioned, who was in time before him, and an active man in the King's cause in the beginning of the rebellion of 1642, for which, though he died soon after, his family notwithstanding suffered for it."

As the pedigree shows, Father Thomas Plowden's sister Margaret and his niece Elizabeth (*alias* Marina) both entered religion in St. Monica's Convent of English Augustinianesses at Louvain. As their history is connected with Father Thomas, we give the following extracts from the Chronicles of the Convent.[19]

In the year 1625, on the 1st day of April, was professed Sister Margaret Plowden, daughter of Francis Plowden, Esq., of Plowden, Shropshire, whose father was a famous lawyer, and a Catholic. His son also followed the law. Her mother was sister to Sir Richard Fermour, and both of them good Catholics, and kept always priests. This daughter was her mother's darling, as being the youngest of her children. It happened upon some occasion that she made a promise unto God, that if one of her daughters would be religious she would willingly give her to God, especially this daughter, because she loved her best; wherefore Almighty God also calling the child to His service, the good mother brought her over herself, being but twelve years of age, and presented her to God in this cloister, where she had some kindred, as the Superioress and Procuratrix Sister Mary Skidmoor. Notwithstanding, although this gift of hers was voluntary, nevertheless nature played her part on both sides, with abundant weeping at the parting of mother and daughter, which moved much the bystanders who saw it; and so leaving her in the cloister she returned to England, having made this journey to visit Our Blessed Lady of Sichem,[20] and to offer to our Lord her dearest child, who continued a scholar about four years, and at the age of seventeen made her profession.

In 1653, Sister Margaret Plowden was made Procuratrix.

1652. This year came more to be scholars for the Order. The first of them was niece to Sister Margaret Plowden (her eldest brother's daughter) who, although she had many allurements and persuasions in other cloisters, as she passed by, yet her uncle who

[19] The copies are taken from the Plowden MS.

[20] "Sichem, near Louvain, now a mere village, was formerly, before the first of its many sieges, a thriving town. It was the birthplace of the Very Rev. Father Beckx, the present General of the Society of Jesus. The Blessed John Berchmans was born in the neighbourhood, and one of his favourite walks seems to have been to the celebrated pilgrimage of Our Lady of Montaigu, which is to this day much resorted to and treated with much veneration by the Belgians" (Note by the author of the Plowden MS.) See also *Records*, vol. ii. series ii. p. 111, Memoir of Father William Worthington, for a striking miracle in his favour by Our Blessed Lady of Sichem.

brought her over (Sister Margaret's brother, a Father of the Society) would not permit her to be taken up, but that she should first see this place. So she came in very *unresolved*, yet afterwards going to visit our Blessed Lady of Sichem, upon a sudden she made a resolution to stay here, and desired earnestly to take the habit, which was granted her soon after.

1656. On the 17th of July was professed Sister Marina Plowden, niece to Sister Margaret, and daughter unto her eldest brother Francis Ployden, Esq., of Shropshire, who was first married to an heiress, by whom he possessed a house in Northamptonshire, named Aston, of the Walls, and by her he had one son and a daughter. After her death, he married the widow of one Mr. Butler, of Ireland, and by her had two daughters, the youngest whereof was this, named before her profession Elizabeth. Both he and his wife were constant Catholics, and suffered much for religion. When the troubles began in England, between the King and his Parliament, and Catholics were chiefly plundered, then did this good gentleman feel well his part of the misery, living then at his house named Shiplake, in Oxfordshire, which was finely seated hard by the river of Thames, whence he might, when he pleased, go by water into divers shires, as also go to London, and there he lived then with divers of his friends with him, so as they were about sixty in number, and keeping a good house they would then sometimes kindly entertain the bargemen that came that way, who gave them but an ill return for it, giving notice to the Parliament forces, and belying Mr. Plowden, by saying that he mustered men for the King. A great company came and set upon the house, shooting at it, so as all that lived there were fain to fly in haste, and they plundered the house and took all away. After that Mr. Plowden was forced still to fly from one place to another, for to keep himself out of their hands. Then he came and lived awhile at Reading, until that was also besieged and taken by the Parliament, yet upon condition that those within, who would, might safely depart away. Whereupon Mr. Plowden's household, taking their chiefest goods, and five hundred pounds, with them, departed in a coach out of the town. But when they were come forth, the Puritan Earl of Essex said to his soldiers: "Come, boys, plunder now;" so they took the coach with all their goods and money, leaving them only the clothes on their backs, and they came then and lived at Oxford, until that town also was surrendered. After that they were fain to retire themselves to their house named Austum [Aston], and to live very privately, where they were so beloved by the tenants, that they redeemed for them the house and goods which were sequestered, who repaid them again. They lived but poorly by reason of the troubles, not daring to have anything but what was merely necessary, being still in danger of plundering. They were much beloved of their neighbours, by reason, that Mr. Plowden, having skill in law, did help them in their business, and his wife, who was skilled in surgery, did very charitably assist them in their necessities.[21]

[21] Francis Plowden and his wife, the parents of Elizabeth (Sister Marina) Plowden, were both constant Catholics, and suffered much for their religion. Mr. Plowden being once accused by a false brother, who was his cousin, that he had a priest in the house, the searchers came, thinking to have found him; but the priest escaped by a secret place they had made in the house for that purpose, and thus the pursuivants were on that occasion disappointed of their prey.

At this place did Father Plowden, a Jesuit (his own brother), live with them, who would sometimes speak to his niece Elizabeth of religion, but she had then no mind thereto. Yet it pleased Almighty God to call this child by such means as He Himself ordained—letting her fall into such discontent of mind, as she determined to get away from her parents over seas. Speaking first to her father, who liked it not, but bade her go to her mother, which she did, saying first that she would go over to learn qualities and language; but her mother answered that she might learn all she would in England. Whereupon she told her she would be religious, who, hearing that, said, "Nay, child, then I will not hinder thee," being a pious woman. She told her uncle of it, who said there was even the next Sunday a good opportunity to depart, and would himself bring her over. As they passed by Ghent he was forced to let her go to the Monastery of English Benedictinesses, where she had a sister professed.[22] She and others wished her much to remain there, but her uncle brought her on hither.

Being now somewhat undecided as to being a religious here, or at Ghent, she wished to remain awhile among our convictresses, but soon growing weary of living among the young people, she said she would go and visit Our Lady of Sichem, and then resolve what to do. Upon her return, she said she would be a scholar for the Order, and remained three years so. At her clothing they sent her a gown of cloth of silver, and at her profession gave her a sufficient portion for this house. So now, being seventeen years of age, she was professed, adding to her former name Marina.

May 29, 1665. Departed this life Sister Margaret Plowden, who had been bedridden for two years of a most painful ulcer, in the fifty-eighth year of her age and fortieth of profession. A person of great integrity and good judgment. . . .

November 1, 1716. Died our beloved Reverend Mother Marina Plowden, aged seventy-seven years. She had been suffering about six months, but with most sweet patience and resignation. . . . She had a long sharp agony which she very much heightened by her ardent aspiration after God, having her senses to the last. She was a woman of consummate virtue, most exact in all duties, even from her first coming, and had been employed in all the chief offices, giving always great satisfaction therein, but most especially when Superior, by her sweet, impartial, and tender care of her subjects. Her conversation was so winning and cordial that it was impossible not to love her. She had also a most sweet friendly and gracious countenance, so that strangers admired her greatly, and considered us happy in having such a Mother. Although her strength was much broken by infirmities, yet she observed the rigour of the Order, both by day and by night, till her last sickness. Our dear departed Mother left a large and flourishing community.

The following note was added by the writer of the Plowden MS. in 1871:

In the Augustinian Convent at Newton Abbot, Devon, where the above notices are carefully preserved, are a handsome chasuble,

[22] This was her half-sister, —— Butler, daughter of her mother by Mr. Butler, the first husband. She was professed on August 6, 1637, as Dame Ursula, and died in 1685 (See Plowden Pedigree).

and three antependiums, richly embroidered in silks and gold. On the former of these is worked the Plowden arms on a raised ground, and one of the most aged of the community states that she well recollects the embroidering to have been originally grounded on cloth of silver, and afterwards transferred to the present rich silk, so that most likely that cloth of silver was the very dress which Elizabeth Plowden wore on the day of her profession, and the family arms denote that it was a gift from some member of the Plowdens.

Sister Margaret Plowden is named in Father Morris' *Troubles*:[23] "This year (1655) Mr. Constable, our Reverend Mother's cousin, who in former times of the wars in England boarded here without, and had taken a great love to our house, came over of purpose only to see his cousin and all his friends, and stayed here some time with his two brothers, one of whom was a Benedictine monk. Then he returned home again, for he was now a married man and had two children. The Lady Gage also came over to visit Our Blessed Lady of Sichem, and to see her niece, our Procuratrix, Sister Margaret Plowden. She promised to send us one of her daughters when she should be of years." [24]

The Plowden manuscript mentions a GEORGE PLOWDEN, son of Edmund, great nephew of Father Thomas Plowden, and brother of Father Joseph noticed below, who likewise entered the Society of Jesus. He is stated to have died at Pontoise on March 16, 1690. In the Diary of the English College, Rome, he is mentioned as George Plowden, son of Edmund, aged nineteen years, and to have arrived at the College on October 14, 1670, entering as an alumnus. After receiving minor orders he was ordained priest at St. John Lateran's on April 4, 1676, and left the College on the 4th of May following, having completed his studies. From loss of records we have no means of tracing the date of his entering the Society, nor of his subsequent career. He was certainly in England at the accession of King James II. (1685), for we find him among the Fellows sent to Magdalen College, Oxford,

[23] "St. Monica's Convent," series i. p. 310.

[24] Another member of the Plowden family entered the Benedictine Convent of English Dames at Brussels, as we learn from the following communication from Dame Mary, O.S.B., St. Scholastica's Abbey, Teignmouth: "There was a Plowden professed at Brussels, O.S.B. (now East Bergholt), but I could not trace her descent. Her Christian name was Mary Anne, daughter of Peter Plowden, gentleman, of Clerkenwell in Hampshire." She entered the convent school as a pupil on November 25, 1727; was invested with the holy habit January 3, 1730, and made her solemn profession on February 24, 1732, as Dame Mary Benedict, at the age of twenty-two. She died March 15, 1748.

by his Majesty on the advice of the arch-traitor Sunderland. He was admitted on January 11, 168$\frac{7}{8}$, and retired on or after October 25, 1688.[25]

FATHER JOSEPH PLOWDEN was the third son of Edmund Plowden, Esq., great nephew of Father Thomas, and next elder brother to George. He was born in the year 1655, entered the Society at Watten on September 7, 1676, after completing his humanities at St. Omer's. He seems to have been a camp missioner. His career was a short one, as he died in France at the early age of thirty-seven, on February 6, 1692, a martyr of charity when attending the sick and wounded soldiers.

FATHER FRANCIS PLOWDEN was the eldest son of Edmund Plowden, Esq., of Plowden, by Penelope, one of the daughters and co-heiresses of Sir Maurice Drummond, Bart. He was nephew to Fathers Joseph and George, and was born on November 20, 1662, and after making his humanity studies at St. Omer's, entered the Society December 2, 1682. He assumed the *alias* of Simeon, and was raised to the degree of a Professed Father in the year 1698. In 1701—1704, &c., he was acting as Procurator at Paris, and in 1728 was living at Antwerp. His death occurred at the novitiate at Watten, June 23, 1736, in his seventy-fourth year.

FATHER RICHARD PLOWDEN, the next brother to Francis, was born in 1663, and after studying humanities at St. Omer's, entered the Society at Watten in the year 1679, and was professed of the four vows in 1697. He was a man of superior merit, and gifted with a special talent for governing. For several years he was Professor of Philosophy at Liege, the House of Divinity of the English Province, and in 1704 was appointed Rector of that College. After governing it for four years he was appointed Superior of St. Omer's College, and in the spring of 1712 became Rector of the English College, Rome. In 1715 he was chosen Provincial of the English Province. While filling this office he was arrested on July 30, 1719, at his chamber in London, early in the morning, by a Justice of the Peace, who was accompanied by a constable. We

[25] We have been favoured by the Rev. Dr. Bloxam, of Beeding Priory, with a list of James II.'s Catholic Fellows of Magdalen College, from his valuable records of that College. We reserve it for the Records of St. Mary's Residence (or the Oxfordshire District), in our next volume.

learn this from a letter of Father Edmund Plowden (*alias* Gage) to Father Thomas Eberson in Rome, dated August 3, 1719.[26] Upon this, Father Edmund, who was then Procurator in London, changed his own abode. The letter adds: "He (Father Richard) has not yet been examined by the Secretary of State, but we suppose he will be to-morrow. We don't know what is alleged against him, or who is the informer." Father John Thorpe (in his extracts of letters from Rome) says: "Mr. Richard Plowden has made his appearance at the Quarter Sessions, and is bound over to its next sitting, when we hope he will be discharged."

At the expiration of his term of office of Provincial he was reappointed Rector of Liege. Four years later he had a second term of office as Rector of St. Omer's, dating from May 22, 1725.

On Thursday night, October 4, 1725 (as he states in a letter to Father Eberson, the Rector of Liege, dated October 7, 1725, and kept in the Prov. Archives), "A fire broke out in our study-place about half-past eleven o'clock (p.m.), and burnt with such violence that in a little time all the building was consumed. From thence it communicated itself to the great square, or new building of the College on both sides, and ran on with such prodigious force that there was no stopping it, and by four in the morning the whole square was burnt down, and nothing left standing but the walls. With much ado we saved the church, the sodality, and that wing where the kitchen is. The scholars' infirmary and bass court were not touched; and this is all that remains of our College. By a great mercy of God nobody was hurt, though several had but just time to save themselves. It is a melancholy sight to see such a College reduced to this condition. God's holy will be done. However, we are resolved to go on, and not break up nor send any scholars away; and I trust in God we shall make a shift till Providence furnishes us means to rebuild."

In a second letter to the same Father, October 21, 1725, he says: "No endeavours shall be wanting on our side to support ourselves in a tolerable way for the present, and to try to procure wherewithal to resettle the College *in statu quo*."

Great were his exertions to provide conveniently and comfortably for his large community. In a letter to the same Father, dated May 4, 1727, he says: "To-day we dine for the first time in our new refectory, which is very handsome, being

[26] Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.*

something higher than it was, and paved with marble and other stones, and a new wainscot all round; the ceiling is also much better than it was. We hope to have the sodality ready for next Sunday, to resume our devotions there." (The community had been obliged to use the sodality chapel for the refectory.)

In a letter from Father Richard Hyde (who succeeded Father Plowden as Rector, May 13, 1728) to Father Eberson, dated November 11, 1725, we read that "this accident could not have happened at a worse time, or have been more destructive in all its circumstances. We had not above £180 in the house; all our winter clothing for Fathers and scholars was ready made, and all lost; all the scholars' bedding, with most of the community's, was burnt; all their gowns, books, musical instruments, all lost; so that I count the loss of moveables greater than that of the house. A magazine of books, *in albis*, which were in the room that used to be the first Prefect's, saved the church; for they being very closely corded up, the fire could never pierce them, and the engine continually played from the streets on them. We begin the foundation of the new schools to-morrow, and if God sends money I hope they may be finished by the end of next May."

On May 13, 1728, Father Richard Plowden retired from the office of Rector of St. Omer's, and on September 15, 1729, died at Watten, æt. 66.

Father Edmund Plowden, *alias* Gage and Perrot, the next brother, was born in the year 1664, and, after his early studies at St. Omer's College, entered the Society with his brother Francis at Watten, on December 2, 1682, in the name of Perrot.[27] After teaching a course of humanities at St. Omer he was sent upon the English Mission, where he appears to have spent most of his time in the College of St. Ignatius, or the London District, and was known by the *alias* of Edmund Gage. He was for a long time Procurator of the English Province, and on August 28, 1727, was appointed Superior of the London District, and on January 18, 1731, became

[27] Probably after Sir John Perrot, a connection of the family, once a favourite courtier of Queen Elizabeth, but afterwards tried and condemned to death upon a trumped up charge of speaking some words against the Queen. He was not executed, but died in the Tower, September, 1592, some say of a broken heart; but a tradition exists in the Plowden family that it was from *hemlock*, whether administered by his own hand, or by another, is not explained. [Note in Plowden MS.]

Rector of the College of Liege. He died at Ghent on September 3, 1740, æt. 77.

FATHER PERCY, or THOMAS PERCY, PLOWDEN, the youngest son of the same Edmund, was born in the year 1672, and after his humanity course at St. Omer's entered the novitiate at Watten on June 7, 1693. He made his solemn profession in 1707. In the spring of 1731, he was appointed Rector of the English College, Rome, and held that responsible post until the autumn of 1734. On January 21, 1735, he was constituted Superior of the House of Tertians at Ghent, and on October 22, 1739, Rector of St. Omer's, which office he filled until July 31, 1742, when, retiring to the novitiate at Watten, he died on September 21, 1745, æt. 73. He was remarkable for his devotion to our Blessed Lady, which he sought to spread in the hearts of the faithful by a translation of Father Segneri's *Devout Client of Mary*, to which he wrote an excellent preface.

In a letter of Father Percy Plowden to Father Browne, Rector of Liege, dated Ghent, August 13, 1739, he records a striking miracle in the following terms: "I have been almost all the last week taken up at the monastery, assisting the Lady Abbess, who has been in a dying condition all this time, and the three last days I lay in the monastery. She was given over by the doctors, has had all the last sacraments; and the recommendation of the soul said to her. But, by God's mercy, and by good prayers, and the intercession of St. Aloysius, whose multiplied bread I had given her to take three times, she is considerably better, free from her fever, and, if no new accident happens, I hope in a fair way of recovery."

FATHER ROBERT PLOWDEN, the sixth son of William Plowden, Esq., and of a family of fifteen in number, was born at Plowden Hall, either on the 16th or 27th of January, 1740, and after receiving his early education at St. Omer's, having previously been for a short time at a school in Edgbaston, he entered the novitiate at Watten in 1756, and was ordained priest on October 7, 1763. For some time he was confessor to the Teresian nuns at Hoogstraet. His first mission in England was Arlington, Devon (the seat of the Chichester family), which he served for ten years, and he was then placed in a wider field of labour at Bristol, of which mission he may be considered as the principal founder. The chapel on his arrival was a wretched room in a still more miserable locality, a

dismal court called St. James' Back. It could contain only from sixty to eighty persons. He built and opened St. Joseph's Chapel in Trenchard Street, June 27, 1790, besides the presbytery and schools; and to his indefatigable zeal and exertions the missions of Swansea, and of the South Wales District, were greatly indebted, and almost owed their existence. He served the mission of Bristol for nearly thirty years, being much beloved and respected by his flock. He was then removed to Swinnerton, the residence of the Fitzherberts, and on July 4, 1820, to Wappenbury, Warwickshire, where he ended his long and laborious life on June 17, 1823, at the advanced age of eighty-three.

Father Robert was remarkable for candour and frankness of character, he was disinterested and zealous, and a bountiful friend to the poor. He was a keen theologian, and an unflinching defender of the purity of faith and doctrine. The dangerous and trying times in which he lived brought him into close friendship and alliance with Bishop Milner, who may justly be called the Athanasius of England. Some years after his death a monument was erected to his memory by his great nephew, William Plowden, Esq., in the churchyard of Wappenbury Catholic Chapel.

Memoriæ
Roberti Plowden, S.J., Sacerdotis, Viri animi candore, zelo, doctrinâ conspicui. Vixit annos LXXXIII. Decessit XV. Kal. Julii MDCCCXXIII.
Gulielmus pronepos monumentum posuit.

Father Charles Plowden, brother to Robert, was born at Plowden Hall on August 19, 1743, according to the Plowden MS., but on the 1st of May in that year according to the Catalogue, S.J. At the age of ten he was sent to a school at Edgbaston, and soon afterwards, on July 7, 1754, went to St. Omer's, from whence, upon the conclusion of his humanity course, and in the year 1759, at the early age of sixteen, he entered the novitiate at Watten. After the usual course of teaching and theological studies he was ordained subdeacon at St. John Lateran's, in Rome, in Ember Week, September, 1770, by the Patriarch of Alexandria. He received the diaconate on the 29th of the same month from the Cardinal Vicar Colonna, and on the following day the priesthood from the Bishop of Pienza, then in Rome. He said his first Mass at St. Aloysius' altar, in the church of the Roman College on the 7th of October.

At the time of the Suppression of the Society in 1773, he

was Minister at the English College at Bruges,[28] and on the destruction of the College by the Austro-Belgic Government he was detained prisoner, with other Fathers, for some months.[29] Having been released, he returned to England, and during the interval of the Suppression was much at Lulworth Castle, as tutor and chaplain. In November, 1794, he rejoined his brethren at Stonyhurst, whither they had retired some three months before, on being driven from Liege by the French Revolution. Here, "by his acquaintance with the world, by his classical taste, his extensive information, his indefatigable industry and punctuality, his tender and solid piety, his consummate talent in forming young men to a spiritual life, he essentially promoted the credit and welfare of that establishment." [30]

Upon the first *viva voce* restoration of the English Province, in 1803, a novitiate was opened at Hodder Place, near Stonyhurst, and Father Plowden was appointed Master of Novices, and there wrote a series of exhortations to novices, which has been always held in the highest esteem. On August 7, 1814, the English Province was formally restored by a Papal Bull,[31] and on September 8, 1817, Father Plowden was declared Provincial, as successor to Father Marmaduke Stone. At the same time he was appointed Rector of Stonyhurst College. In 1820 he was summoned to Rome for the election of a new General of the Order, in the place of the

[28] This was the old St. Omer's College, transplanted to Bruges upon the violent expulsion of the English members S.J. from St. Omer in 1762, by the Parliament of Paris. Two houses were opened at Bruges, the one called "The Great," and the other "The Little" College.

[29] Father Joseph Reeve, who was personally engaged in the removal from St. Omer to Bruges, wrote a full narrative of that event. And Father Charles Plowden did the same in regard to the violent destruction of the Bruges Colleges. Both of these valuable MSS. are preserved in the Stonyhurst collection, and will be more fully noticed in our next volume.

[30] Oliver's *Collectanea*.

[31] The following interesting account of the publication of the Bull of Restoration in the Gesù is taken from a private letter by Mr. Griffiths to Father Joseph Tristram, in the Archives of the Province (Portfolio 8, n. clxxiii.): "September 23, 1814.—Dear Sir,—I take the liberty to send you an extract from a letter just received from the Rev. Mr. White. 'There has been further intelligence from Bishop Milner, which I shall communicate to you in short. Bishop Milner was present at the solemn Restoration of the Jesuits on the 7th of last month (August), and said Mass in the Church or Chapel del Gesù, after His Holiness had celebrated. There were present one hundred and twenty, or one hundred and fifty (I forget which) of the Order of Jesuits; and two Marquises, with some other noblemen, enrolled themselves on that occasion. During the time the Bull for the Restoration of the Society was read His Holiness lay prostrate, and when it was concluded, rose from the pavement, or steps, bathed in tears.

Very Reverend Father General Brzozowski, who died on the 5th of February of that year, and was succeeded by the Very Reverend Father General Aloysius Fortis. On his return home he died suddenly at Jougnè, on June 13, 1821, æt. 77. He had travelled eight days in good health, and found himself so well on the 12th of June that he proposed to continue his journey that night; but not being able to pass the Custom House until seven o'clock the next morning, he stopped and retired to rest. About four o'clock the next morning he told the attendant that he had slept well, and the person proceeded accordingly to make the necessary arrangements for the journey. On returning to the room, and calling Father Plowden, he was surprised at receiving no answer, when, on opening the curtains, he found him dead! "But" (as Dr. Oliver says of his old friend), "he, who had so well taught the art of dying to others, was well prepared to meet death.

Peace to the memory of a man of worth,
A man of letters and of manners too."

He was buried in the parish cemetery, and by some strange mistake was taken for a *General*, and buried with military honours! This mistake probably arose from some vague report afloat that he had been at the election of the Father General of the Society. On his tomb is the following inscription—

D.O.M.

—

Memoriæ Patris Caroli Plowden, Angli. S.J. Sacerdotis,
Viri
Miro candore animi
Pietate tenerrimâ
Scientiâ summa et multiplici
Zelo et labore indefesso
Conspicui.
Qui Româ ad suos contendans
Morte correptus est
(a Jougnè)
13 Junii Ann. Salutis, 1821.
Ætatis 79.

—

R.I.P.

Father Plowden's death was no doubt caused by apoplexy, and he appears to have foreseen it; for, having undergone during a length of time great anxiety and trouble in the complicated trials and difficulties to which the resuscitated English Province had for years been exposed, he says in a letter written a few days before his death, that his "head and heart are almost

equally broken." "Father General forbids me to despair," he adds, and offers himself as a victim to God, should He in His mercy save the province in her cruel persecutions; "but, alas! that victim has nothing worth acceptance." It pleased God, however, to accept the offering, and in a very short time to fulfil the prayer, and come to the relief of the afflicted province.

The following biographical sketch, supposed to have been written by his ever faithful and bosom friend Bishop Milner, appeared in the *Catholic Advocate* of July 15, 1821:

The Rev. Charles Plowden died on 13th of last month, on his return from England to Rome. The Very Rev. Charles Plowden, S.J., was descended in a direct line from the celebrated counsellor of his name in the reign of Elizabeth, who by his superior talents and learning foiled Dr. Horne, with the other enemies of the Catholics in the attempt to bring his predecessor in the See of London, Bishop Bonner, within the penalties of the Act of Supremacy, and thereby oblige Parliament to pass a *post factum* law, enacting that the established clergy should be deemed, and *should be* bishops and priests. The subject of this memoir did not fall short of his renowned ancestor in acuteness of perception or solidity of judgment, or firmness in the true faith. Abandoning at a tender age the comforts of his paternal home at Plowden Hall in Shropshire, he embraced the mortified and devout course of life subsisting in the English College of St. Omer, and afterwards at Bruges. In these celebrated establishments he exulted like a giant in his course, outstripping his comrades in every literary and virtuous pursuit and animating his pupils to similar exertions.

At length the Jansenistical ministers of the Emperor Joseph having completed abroad the irreligious destruction which the unbelieving ministers of Louis XV. had begun, our accomplished missionary returned to his own country to devote himself, under the direction of his Superiors, to the divine work of saving souls. Being placed by them in the distinguished family of the Weld's of Lulworth Castle, Dorsetshire, he manifested the efficacy of his instructions and example in the eminent piety and other virtues which the several members of that family evinced, no less than three sons and as many daughters of it successively relinquishing the blandishments of their distinguished situation in the world, in order to devote themselves to a life of retirement, mortification, and devotion. In fact the Rev. Charles Plowden was a model of every moral and religious virtue; in particular he was distinguished by the fervour and punctuality of his devout exercises as a priest and religious, by his zeal to promote the happiness of his fellow-creatures, and by his humble and perfect submission to his several superiors in Church and State. A violent contest arising about the year 1790, between certain distinguished lay Catholics in England, under the guidance of the well-known Charles Butler, Esq., on the one hand, and the Vicar-Apostolic and other Catholics on the other, concerning the oath and restrictions proposed as conditions for the first degree of the emancipation, the learned and zealous missionary consulted the real interests of the former

no less than the just authority of the latter, by demonstrating in his "View of the Oath," and "Answer to the Second Blue Book," and his "Reply to the Memoirs of Panzani," and his other works, the heterodox and schismatical nature of those proposals, and of the attempt made by certain titled members of the Catholic Committee to induce the body they professed to represent to tread in the footsteps of the deistical and revolutionary assembly, who at that time cast off the necessary authority of the Pope in the appointment of Catholic bishops; and when Dr. Gibson and Dr. Douglas were appointed to that station and dignity in the Northern and the Southern Districts of England, he prevailed on his friend Mr. Weld to open his splendid castle and chapel of Lulworth for their reception and consecration, whilst the houses and chapels of the other distinguished Catholics of England were shut against them, and their jurisdiction by many denied. He afterwards procured by his influence over the great and good Bishop Walmesley, Senior, V.A. of England that a Synod should be held in England, in which the errors alluded to above, together with those of Dr. Geddes, the Rev. Joseph Berington, and other innovators of the day, were pointed out to the faithful and severely censured, the publication of which censure was deputed to his friend Dr. Milner.

His upright and active mind was uniformly and equally employed during the remainder of his life in promoting the glory of God, the advancement of religion, and the peace and welfare of his country, as his writings will demonstrate, should his friends, to whom they belong, determine on publishing them. Yet with all these claims to general affection and support, it was the will of our All-wise Father to permit that His faithful servant should be tried by severe persecutions, and this on the part of those very personages whom he had most zealously and efficiently served; for while some eminent but ill-informed ministers of State employed every resource in their power to annoy him, and his friends, as the supposed enemies of the country and of society, amongst other men of power at Rome, were obliged to withdraw their rightful protection from him, so many of his Catholic brethren and Superiors, and especially those who are most indebted to him, combined to misrepresent him and his brethren as disorderly appugnators of that ecclesiastical authority and hierarchy, and of the peace of Catholics, of which he and they were the zealous advocates and firm support. It was this latter calumny and persecution which chiefly broke the great mind and feeling heart of the illustrious Charles Plowden, without, however, diminishing the submission of his soul to the Divine ordinance, which immolated this good man on the altar of the cross under the imputation of crimes the most repugnant to his disposition and conduct. R.I.P.

Father Plowden was a writer of remarkable power. The reader is referred to Father De Backer's *Biblio. des Ecrevains S.J.*, and to the late Dr. Oliver's *Collectanea S.J.* for a list of some of his numerous productions. A complete collection of his works exists in the "Campbell Library," St. Stanislaus College, Beaumont, near Windsor. This valuable and

select library was the gift of the late Rev. Henry Campbell, of Grafton.

The English Province can boast of but few members more remarkable for talents, learning, prudence, and every religious virtue combined with solid and unaffected piety. He lived in a time momentous alike for the Catholic religion, and for the restored English Province. He was, as we have seen, involved in the temporary suppression of the Society, which had been forced upon Rome by the bitter enemies of religion and order, and which was so quickly followed by the terrible epoch of the French Revolution.[32] In conjunction with Fathers Marmaduke Stone and William Strickland, names ever dear to the members of the English Province, Father Charles Plowden was a principal helper in the renovation and reconstruction of the English Province. To write a complete life of him would occupy a volume, and would be nothing less than a history of his times, and of the desperate life and death struggle of Catholicity in England, during one of the most insidious and dangerous assaults upon its liberties to which it had ever been exposed, and in defence of which Father Charles and his faithful friend Bishop Milner stood boldly out, if not absolutely alone, yet in the foremost ranks.[33]

Francis Plowden, the youngest brother,[34] was likewise educated at St. Omer's, and, following the example of his brothers, entered the Society at Watten, September 7, 1766, aged seventeen. In the Catalogues of the Province for 1771—1773 he is named as a Master at the College, Bruges, and is called "an approved scholastic." When the Bull of Suppression came into force at Bruges, before he had, like his brothers, received Holy Orders, finding himself released from his first or simple vows of religion, and his prospects of religion thus cruelly nipped in the bud, he followed the example of several other scholastic Jesuits and returned to a secular life, having spent seven years in the Society.

[32] See the *Suppression of the Society of Jesus in Portugal*, by Father Weld.

[33] A large collection of Father Charles Plowden's letters and manuscripts together with Bishop Milner's letters are preserved in the archives of the English Province.

[34] See Pedigree.

CHAPLAINS AT PLOWDEN HALL.

THE earliest Father of the Society we can trace from our records as residing at Plowden Hall is—

FATHER EDMUND PLOWDEN, *alias* GAGE, already noticed. According to a book of addresses kept by the Provincials of those times, which dates from 1720 to 1730, or thereabouts, his address was "at Plowden Hall." As we have seen, he was Procurator of the Province, and in 1727–30 was Superior of the London Residence. The Plowden MS. observes that he most probably accompanied his brother William to Plowden, to take leave of his nephew and family before leaving England, and, no doubt, said Mass daily for them in the little chapel of the Hall.

FATHER GILES POULTON or PULTON, *alias* PALMER, was chaplain in 1737. He has been already partially noticed in the Poulton Family, *Records*, vol. i. pp. 164–5. It will be recollected that he was a native of Northamptonshire, son of Ferdinand and Julia Poulton, and born September 7, 1694. After studying humanities for six years at St. Omer's College, and his higher course at the English College, Rome, he was ordained priest on the 8th of April, 1719, and entered the novitiate at Watten on September 24, 1721. Soon after his noviceship he was sent on the English Mission, and was missioner or chaplain at Belgrave, near Leicester (Mr. Byerley's), where he was raised to the degree of a Professed Father, in 1731. We do not know in what year he went to Plowden Hall. He left it about 1746, and became Socius Master of Novices, and Spiritual Father at Watten. He died in London on January 3, 1752.[1]

FATHER GEORGE HALSALL was at Plowden in 1744. He was a native of Lancashire, born September 17, in the year 1714, son of James Halsall, and his wife Anne Bowker, both Catholics. After his early education, probably at St. Omer's, he entered the English College, Rome, as an alumnus for his higher studies, on August 17, 1732, and took the usual College oath on the 1st of May following. After

[1] Some account of the Pulton or Poulton family, which gave so many members to the Society, is found in *Records*, vol. i. series i. "The Poulton Family," with Pedigree.

receiving the minor orders, he was ordained subdeacon on the 31st of May, deacon on the 24th of June, and priest (having received a dispensation of thirteen months on account of age) on July 20, 1738. He left Rome for the novitiate at Watten on August 28, 1739, and was admitted to the Society on the 29th of November in that year. After his noviceship, he went to Liege for a year's repetition of theology, and in the autumn of 1742 was sent on the English Mission. He probably went direct to Plowden Hall, but his career was brief. He died there of fever on July 31, 1744, æt. 30.

Father Redford, of Powis Castle, the Superior of the Residence of St. Winefrid, in a letter to Father John Williams of Holywell, dated February 24, 1744, says: "It was but lately that Mr. Halsall, of Plowden, told me that on his way to Lancashire last summer calling at the Raven Inn, Wrexham, and making use of my name, they told him that when I was there last year I had given them a piece of foreign gold for more than its value." He then desires Father Williams to rectify it. In another letter from the same to Father Williams, dated August 9, 1744, he says: "I was setting out on a journey, but was stopped at Plowden to attend eight days on Father Halsall, in evident risk, the fever being contagious." In Lydbury Church is the following epitaph: "G. Halsall, Sac. S.J. ob. 18 Jul. 1744, æt. 30. R.I.P."

Father John Parker was probably the next in succession. He was a native of London, born February 11, 1715, and entered the Society on March 23, 1736. He was the first missioner at Alnwick after the English Province took charge of that congregation, in 1756, and died there January 13, 1770, æt. 55.

The name of Father Parker appears as one of the witnesses to Lady Dormer's will (her daughter Frances had married William Ignatius Plowden, Esq., of Plowden). This was in September, 1751. One of the items in the will has reference to him. Lady Dormer bequeaths unto her son Robert "all my Church stuff. Also my little Mass-book. My wooden cross inlaid with mother-of-pearl, and a brass image of our Saviour upon it. My picture of our Blessed Saviour on the cross, now in Mr. Parker's room at Plowden."

Father John Royall probably succeeded in 1756. He appears to have baptized four of Mr. Plowden's children

between 1757 and 1765. In 1767, he was living at Swinnerton, as chaplain to the Fitzherberts.

Father Royall was born in America, September 22, 1729, and entered the Society in 1747. He was at Canford, Dorsetshire, in 1765, probably after leaving Plowden Hall, and was there raised to the degree of a Professed Father in that year. He died near Bosworth,[2] April 17, 1770. He appears to have arrived there in 1768.

Father Joseph Tyrer, appears to have been chaplain at Plowden Hall in 1768, and is named in the MS. which furnishes these details, in connection with the burial of Edmund Plowden, Esq., in that year. He left Plowden in December, 1777, for St. Winefrid's mission, Holywell, which he served for many years, and was found dead in his bed, December 22, 1798. He was born May 12, 1734; entered the Society at Watten in 1753, and was professed of the four vows in 1771.

Father Thomas Falkner was the last member of the English Province whom we trace at Plowden Hall. He was a remarkable man. He may have succeeded Father Tyrer early in 1778. A Catalogue of the English Province for the year 1773, gives October 6, 1707, as the date of his birth: he entered the Society May 13, 1732, and took his last vows January 6, 1749. This is the first mention we find of him as attached to the English Province, for he no doubt entered the Society in the Paraguay Province, South America, and was only transferred to the English Province on his return from abroad, about 1771–2. He is mentioned in the Catalogue as serving at or near Hereford, in some family unnamed, but we believe he resided with Mr. Berington at Winterest, near Hereford. He was a native of Manchester, and is said to have been a pupil of the celebrated Dr. Richard Mead. After practising as a surgeon at home, he made a voyage to Guinea, and subsequently sailed for the Brazils in the *Assiento*, as surgeon. This was about 1731, in which year he was happily converted to the Catholic Church, entered the Society of Jesus, and was employed upon the Mission of Paraguay. This we gather from a treatise on the Patagonians, compiled from the relation of Father Falkner, by Penant, and printed at the private press of George Allen, Esq., at Darlington, 4to, 1788. The compiler in a short preface gives an account of his visits to Father

[2] Husbands-Bosworth, then a seat of the Fortescue family.

Falkner at Spetchley Park, the seat of the Berkeley family, near Worcester, about 1769 [1771]. I found him to be a man of about seventy years of age, active in mind and body, brusque in his manners, having never shaken off those he had acquired in his thirty-eight years among savages. He very freely communicated to me everything he knew respecting those people. Falling dangerously ill at Buenos Ayres he experienced such charitable and courteous attentions from the hands of the Jesuits there, that he not merely became a convert to Catholicity, but also begged admittance to the Order. He was duly received, and eventually qualified for the painful, but most meritorious and honourable life of a missionary among the savage tribes of South America, in whose service he laboured diligently for nearly forty years. Returning to England after the ungrateful and barbarous expulsion of himself and his brethren from those countries by the Spanish and Portuguese Governments, he seems first to have gone to Spetchley Park, thence to Hereford, and finally to Plowden Hall, as we have already mentioned, and died there January 30, 1784, æt. 77.

Dr. Oliver[3] says: In looking over some letters of Father John Thorpe, residing at Rome, to Father Charles Plowden, I find the following notices of Father Falkner. April 10, 1784, Father Thomas Falkner's death has been notified to his Spanish and American confrères: they had much regard for him, recount many things in his commendation, and desire me to inquire about the writings and valuable papers which they suppose him to have had. Amongst these they specify a large collection (four vols. in folio) of botanical, mineral, and such like observations made by himself on the products of America. They wish to hear of their being published in England.

October 20, 1784. The Spanish Fathers here (Rome), hope to find among Father Falkner's papers his well known treatise on American distempers cured by American drugs.

July 23, 1788. I am again required by our South American exiles, to procure, if possible, what writings have been left by Father Falkner.

A French translation of a book printed by him in English is said to be in the hands of some Jesuits at Bologna. Please to get what intelligence you can of this matter for the sake of many of his scholars, who highly venerate his memory.

September 13, 1788. Our Spanish American fathers are glad to hear that some fragments of Father Falkner's writings

[3] *Collectanea S.J.*

are to be found, and they hope they are within your reach. They who knew him in South America retain a very high esteem of him, and of his knowledge of that country; they expect to find many things both useful and entertaining in his loose and scattered papers of whatever language.

Father Raymond Caballero[4] asserts that Father Falkner had edited *Volumina duo de anatomia corporis humani, quæ plurimi sunt pretii apud hujus artis peritos.*

The English work of Father Falkner is entitled "Description of Patagonia and the adjoining parts of South America, containing an account of the soil, produce, animals, vales, mountains, rivers, lakes, &c., of those countries: the religion, government, policy, custom, dress, arms, and languages of the Indians, and some particulars relating to the Falkland islands; illustrated with a new map of the southern parts of America, engraved by Mr. Kitchen, Hydrographer to the King." Hereford, printed by Pugh, and sold by Lewis, Russell Street, Convent Garden, 1774. 4to, pp. 144.

Some mention of Powis Castle and Weshpool, old missions of the residence of St. Winefrid, will be made in the next volume of *Records* containing the period of Oates Plot and the Revolution of 1688.

[4] *Supplementa Biblio. Scrip. S.J.* p. 32, part. ii. Romæ, 1815.

Eleventh Series.

PART I.

THE RESIDENCE OF ST. MARY,

OR

THE OXFORDSHIRE DISTRICT.

THE RESIDENCE OF ST. MARY OR THE OXFORDSHIRE DISTRICT.

This was another of the Residences constituted at the same time with that of St. Stanislaus' by Father Richard Blount, the first Provincial of the English Province. It embraced the counties of Oxford, Northampton, Bucks, and Bedfordshire. The following places, among many others now lost to memory, were served by the members of the English Province.

At Mr. Bentley's (Northamptonshire).
Britwell (Sir George Simeon, Bart., 1650).
Haseley Court (Great Haseley).
Oxford.
Somerton.
Tusmore.
Salden, Bucks.
Warkworth, Northamptonshire.
Waterperry, Oxon.
Woodstock.
Harrowden, Northamptonshire (Lord Vaux).
Kiddington, Oxon.
Mapledurham.
Sandford.

The number of missionary Fathers until 1677 (to which period this history extends), ranged from sixteen to eight. The subsequent period will be noticed among those suffering times for the English Province, Oates' Plot and the Revolution of 1688.

Extracts from Catalogues of the Province for 1642 and 1655, showing the missionary Fathers of those times.

RESIDENTIA STÆ. MARIÆ CUM MISSIONE NORTHAMPTON.

1642.

Nomen.	*Patria.*	*Ætas.*	*Temp. in Societate.*	*Gradus.*
Alex. Fereclotius (Sup.) ...	Londin.	... 67	... 38	... Prof. Maii 27, 1619.
Joannes Craythornus ...	Ebor.	... 52	... 31	... Prof. Jan. 1, 1625.
Guido Hollandus ...	Lincoln.	... 55	... 27	... Prof. Julii 24, 1628.
Thomas Randus ...	Oxon.	... 67	... 42	... Prof. Dec. 6, 1618.
Thomas Farmerus ...	Bucking.	... 48	... 21	... Prof. Sept. 6, 1632.
Georgius Conerns ...	Ebor.	... 67	... 38	... Prof. Maii 22, 1622.
Edmundus Nevillus, jun....	Lancast.	... 37	... 16	... Prof. Aug. 3, 1640.
Michael Grayus ...	Lancast.	... 39	.. 20	... Form. Aug. 6, 1640.
Thomas Pearce ...	Devon.	... 35	... 3	...

1655.

Nomen.	*Patria.*	*Ætas.*	*Temp. in Societate.*	*Gradus.*
Odoardus Hovardus (Superior)	Londin.	56	36	Prof. Dec. 8, 1645.
Thomas Randus (*v.sup.*)				
Joannes Falconerus	Dorcester.	82	51	Prof. Julii 22, 1619.
Guido Hollandus (*v.s.*)				
Guliel. Lacæus	Eborac.	70	44	Prof. Nov. 21, 1637.
Joan. Craythornus (*v.s.*)				
Joannes Lovellus	Norfolc.	50	26	Prof. Sept. 5, 1641.
Carolus Palmerus	Northampt.	39	18	Prof. Dec. 3, 1654.
Josephus Richardsonus	Varnicens.	49	20	Form. Aug. 30, 1647.
Joannes Gagins	Cantabri.	39	21	
Martinus Grinus	Cantiens.	39	18	Prof. Dec. 3, 1654.
Richardus Babthorpus	Ebor.	38	4	
Thomas Whitfeldus	Dunelm.	40	16	

The following extracts from the State Papers are recorded here as relating principally to this district.

Dom. James I. vol. xiii. n. 52, 1603–8.

Lord Chief Justice and Baron Clarke.

Com. { Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Bedford, and Bucks.

Recusants { Convicted before the last Summer Assizes . . . . . 500 } Total 700.
{ Increase since the last Summer Assizes . . . . . 200 }

Sectaries { Convicted and imprisoned formerly 4 } Total 65.
{ Convicted at the last Assizes . . 61 }

No recusants have conformed themselves but Edward Norton in Suffolk, and John Fisher in Norfolk ; which Fisher, although he did openlye conforme himself and did take the oath, hath sithence relapsed, and withdrawne himself from the Churche.

Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Justice Warburton.

Com. { Northampton, Roteland, Lincolne, Notts, Derby, Leicester, Warwicke.

Recusants in these counties . . . . . 923.

Whereof there are increased since the beginning of his Matys. reigne . . . . . 833.

William Taylor, of Brymmeham in the county of Warwicke, miller, is accused that he sayd that there was a time agreed upon among the Papistes to committ in one night a massacre of the Protestants, and the actors herein should be known by wearing a redd crosse on a blacke crosse in their hatts or in their brests.

Before Justice Yelverton and Justice Williams.[1]

Com. { Oxford, Berks, Gloucester, Monmouth, Hereford, Worcester, Salop, Stafford.

Recusants indited—Total 1,865.

Whereof increased sithence his Mtys. reigne. Adam Greene, a Seminary priest, was, by virtue of the King's proclamōn, delivered

[1] A note in pencil by the Calenderer says, "Made Feb. 1604."

out of Oxford Gaol, to the intent he should have departed the realme, according to the same proclamōn; but soon after he returned to Oxford, and was there taken in the same house which he haunted before. At the last Assizes he was attainted of treason according to the law, and thereupon reprieved and staid from execution; and contemning their favour, within ten days after he had prepared in his chamber in the castle in Oxford all things ready to say Masse. There was also found in his chamber a letter begun to be written by him, wherein he writeth that the judge gave a strict charge and great threats with show of authoritye, which caused many to expect little difference from former times; but in conclusion it appeared manifestly their commission was restrayned.[2]

One Tuckines, a Jesuite, was apprehended at Oxford since the last Assizes, with all things ready prepared to say Masse.[3]

It is informed that divers other Jesuits and Seminary priests haunted these counties, viz., White, Stanton, Standishe, Webster, Gardiner, Hassall.

Amongst other distinguished members of the English Province who laboured in this Residence we may notice the following.

Father Robert Parsons, who says in his manuscript notes: "All the summer [1580] we passed over in preaching. My lot was the shires of Northampton, Derby, Worcester, Gloucester, and Hereford. Mr. Gilbert was my companion."[4]

Dr. Oliver, in his *Collectanea, S.J.*, observes: "So intimately is the biography of this great and good man connected with the history of his times, that a volume would be required to do justice to his memory."

Father Parsons died Rector of the English College, Rome, April 15, 1610. He may truly be said to have suffered a constant martyrdom, for never did a missioner pass a life of severer toil and sufferings, accompanied by innumerable hair-breadth escapes. The services he rendered to the Catholic

[2] The Rev. Adam Greene was a native of the diocese of Worcester. His name frequently occurs in the Douay Diary (*Records of the English Catholics*). In page 227. "1589, October 23. . . . Arrived from England a certain Oxonian named Adam Green." Page 232. "1590, August 18. Received in the Chapel of the Holy Cross in the Church of our Lady the Virgin at Rheims, the first tonsure and minor orders (among others), Adam Green, of the diocese of Worcester." Page 239. "1591, April 2. He was ordained subdeacon and deacon." Page 240. "1591, June 8. Ordained priest." Page 241. "1591, September 20. Was sent into England."

[3] We do not trace any Jesuit of this name. In the first Douay Diary (*Records of the English Catholics*), p. 17, we find: "1600, February 26, ordained Anthony Tuchines," and in p. 31—in the same year (1600) he is entered as sent with others into England.

[4] See the Life of George Gilbert, Esq., afterwards S.J., in *Records*, vol. iii.

faith in England in the terrible times of persecution can never be duly estimated in this world. During his brief sojourn in England, but much more in the colleges and seminaries which he founded for the education of English Catholic youth, he proved himself indeed a zealous labourer in the vineyard. He was buried next to his great and very dear friend, Cardinal Allen, in the church of the English College, Rome. It is recorded that on March 1, 1687, the floor of the church of the English College fell into the vaults beneath, near the altar of St. Thomas of Canterbury, without harm to any one. Father Parsons' bones and skull were laid bare; being gathered up, they were put into a wooden box and reinterred on the same spot. The Father Minister, who was present, remarks that Father Parsons' head was of unusual size.

Father John Gerard was much at Harrowden, the seat of Lord Vaux, as we find from his Life and Narrative.[5] This was his place of refuge before he finally left England in 1606. He says: "Many Catholic gentry coming to our house [Harrowden], and seeing the arrangements and manner of life, followed the example themselves, establishing a sort of congregation in each of their houses, providing handsome altar furniture, making convenient arrangements for the residence of the priests, and showing special respect and reverence to them."

Father Thomas Williams. We gather the following short but edifying notice of this distinguished Father from *Hist. Prov. Bohem. S.J.*[6] "Died at Olmutz at a great age, and rich in virtues and merits, Father Thomas Williams, an old inhabitant of the College. He was born at Oxford in England, in the year 1539, of Catholic parents, his father being a leading merchant in that city. While quite a youth, so great an ardour for the faith was implanted in his soul that to preserve it from danger (inasmuch as Queen Elizabeth was endeavouring by every means to destroy Catholicity in the realm) he left country, parents, home, expectation of a large fortune, and all, and retired to Belgium. There, being divinely inspired with an eager desire of entering the Society of Jesus, in order to prepare himself as a most valiant soldier to bear what hardships soever he might encounter, he took to treating his body with great severity, lying upon the floor, &c., in order

[5] *Condition of Catholics.* [6] Part ii. lib. vi. pp. 705—707.

that at least it might be no obstacle to him. Being admitted to the Society at Tournay, assisted by his generous and holy practices in early youth, he constantly held every motion, both of soul and body, in admirable subjection, tempering them with great facility to every rule of religious life; and he soon became distinguished in every virtue, but beyond all others in a remarkable gift of chastity, so much so that he showed himself to be a complete stranger to the motions of the concupiscence of the flesh, being sometimes heard to say *etsi ignem ad latus cubare sciret, nullum se æstum libidinis sensurum.* Even when a young man, in company with many persons of the other sex, he was evidently so dead to any feelings against the angelical virtue as to resemble a stone, or more truly indeed, an angel. Having finished his noviceship he made his higher studies in Rome, devoting a year and a half to moral theology. Then, in 1568, being sent to Vienna, he was made professor of scholastic theology for four years, and, being there also ordained priest, he filled various offices until 1574, when he came to Olmutz, where he remained for some time. He was Professor of Mathematics for twenty-two years, Prefect of the Philosophers for thirteen years, Minister and Procurator of the College during other thirteen years, and lastly for many years confessor of the community, being himself a very rule and model of religious life. He ever exhibited to all so serene and pleasant a countenance that not only his address but his very look sufficed to dispel the gloomy thoughts of the most sad; and being distinguished by an extraordinary sweetness of manner, the pleasure which his most agreeable society inspired not only disposed the benevolent still more kindly towards us, but dispelled, as the sun does the clouds, dislike and bitterness from the hearts of the evilly inclined. He performed all the functions of the ministry, and offered up the most august Sacrifice of the Altar with a certain lofty sense of devotion and piety. If he observed any priest more precipitate in celebrating than seemed due to the dignity of the Divine mysteries he was greatly offended, feeling it to be an injury done to Christ; and, though seldom moved to anger, this act alone would serve to arouse his zealous indignation. He obtained from God as a signal reward of his piety, that, with the exception of the day on which he died, he was never prevented from saying Mass. He always felt a burning devotion towards the Infant Jesus, and could scarcely withdraw his eyes from a picture of Him; and, with the greatest ardour

towards the Virgin Mother and her Divine Son, he each year assisted most piously at the High Mass on Advent Sunday, allowing neither infirm health nor the severity of the winter to interfere with this practice. His devotion gave occasion to his last sickness, caused by the cold, from which he died on December 11, 1613, æt. 74, having been fifty-six years in the Society, which he adorned by his learning and virtues.[7] His funeral was attended by many of the canons of the Cathedral Church, and statesmen, amidst the grief and sighs of a large multitude, many of whom could not restrain their tears.

Father Edward Walpole, whose life is given in series iii. vol. ii. of *Records*, "the College of St. Chad," was, probably about the year $160\frac{5}{6}$, placed by Father Gerard as chaplain in a Catholic family near Oxford, perhaps that of the Curzons of Waterperry.

In *Records*, vol. i. Addenda, p. 646, on "Father Humphrey Leech," we read that when that Father became convinced of the truth of the Catholic faith, he went to a very learned and grave man of the Society of Jesus, called Father Rich, who sent him to the Fathers of St. Omer, where, after passing through the Spiritual Exercises, he was received into the Church by Father Floyd, a pious and learned man. This Father Rich was most probably Father Edward Walpole, for in Gee's famous list of Priests and Jesuits in and about London[8] we find "Father Rich, *alias* Walpole." The period of Father Walpole's residence at or near Oxford corresponds with that of Father Leech's conversion, and in the life of Father Walpole,[9] he is stated to have been in London in 1627, which was near the time of Gee's Catalogue.

Father William Warford, Walford, or Warneford, appears to have been at Oxford about the year 1591, on his return from Rome to the English Mission. He was a native of Bristol, and had been elected scholar of Trinity College on June 13, 1576. After his conversion to the Catholic faith he left Oxford, and England too, and crossed over to the English College, Rheims. He afterwards entered the English College

[7] Father More, *Hist. Prov. Angl.* p. 17, very briefly notices Father Williams, and states that he died in 1611, æt. 70, in the Soc. 47; but Father Schmidt, the author of the history from which we have quoted, claims to have possessed more authentic proofs than Father More.

[8] See same vol. of *Records*, Appendix.

[9] *Records*, vol. ii. p. 264.

in Rome, for his higher studies of philosophy and theology, in October, 1583. The following is an extract from the Diary of the English College:—

"1583. n. 121. William Warford, of Bristol, aged twenty-three, was received among the alumni of this College as ready for his theology, October 6, 1583. He took the usual college oath, May 31, 1584. In July, 1584, he was duly dispensed on account of his former heresy. In August, 1584, he received minor orders, and in December, 1584, was promoted to sacred orders. He remained till 1588 with Cardinal Allen. Then he was sent from Spain to England, and afterwards entered the Society in 1594.

In a MS. Catalogue of the alumni in Father Robert Parsons' handwriting (mutilated)[10] is the following entry:— "Romæ presbyter ordinatus et una cum P. Cecilio in Angliam missus: Post trium ann. fructuosos in Dom. Vinea labores Romam se contulit ut in Soc. Jesu reciperetur, quod et factum est, ann. 1594."[11]

Having been ordained priest, he returned to England to labour in that perilous mission for the conversion of his fellow-countrymen. He wrote a letter, dated Amsterdam, May 15, 1591, to Father Robert Persons, stating that he had quitted Spain to proceed to the English Mission, and had escaped several dangers.

We find Father Warford frequently mentioned in the State Papers, Public Record Office. Among others are the following:

[10] Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vol. ii. n. 15.

[11] In the first Douay Diary (*Records of English Catholics*) we find the following entries connected with Father Warford. P. 192. "1582, 2nd of November. Mr. Appletree, a priest, returning from England, brings with him Mr. William Spencer, Mr. William Warforde, Mr. Anthony Sherley, Mr. John Fixer, Oxonians." [Mr. Spenser, secular priest, was hung at York, September 24th, 1589, a martyr for his faith. See Bishop Challoner's *Memoirs*.] Same page. "1582, November 7th. Mr. William Spenser and Mr. William Warforde were received into the fold of Mother Church." P. 196. "1583. Within the octave of Pentecost were confirmed 'in the hall of the palace of his Eminence the Cardinal, by his lordship the Bishop of Soissons' (among many others) 'Mr. William Warforde.'" P. 330. Among the unpublished documents is a letter of Reverend Dr. Barret, the Rector of Rheims, to Father Agazzari, the Rector of the English College, Rome, dated August 11, 1583. He is sending several students from Rheims to Rome for their higher studies—Bagshaw, Warforde, Fixer, and others. He gives shortly their characters. Of Warforde he says, "The second is named Warforde, who is most excellently instructed in Greek and Latin literature, and endowed with abilities capable for all science. We have not his fellow. I recommend him to your Paternity in the highest manner, on account of the hope I especially entertain regarding him, that he will turn out not only a learned but a good and pious man. I both hope and expect that he will prove to be one according to your heart."

Dom. Eliz. vol. clxxv. n. 100, 1591, "List of priests arrived or expected in England." (Among others), "William Walfoord, a Jesuite, come with others."

Dom. Eliz. vol. ccxxix. n. 78. (Confession of George Snape before Justice Young) "The twoe Staffertons, one Shirley, and Warford, and other twoe of Balioll and Trinitye Coll., who, I think, were all priested, and returned manye of them into England again, but where their haunt is I knowe not."

Dom. Eliz. vol. ccxxxviii. n. 126 II. Letter of Cardinal Allen to Mr. White, prisoner in the Tower. "For D. Wallford, he will be well provided for in Oxford with Mr. Napper, a renowed and virtuous Catholic."

Dom. Eliz. vol. ccxxxix. n. 13. Cecil to Sir Robert Cecil, June 4, 1591, "Warforde was chaplain to the Cardinal, and afterwards in Portugal to the Archbishoppe of Ebora."

Dom. Eliz. vol. 239, n. 114, 1591. Endorsed, "Weston's intelligence to Fran. Bacon."

"John Haywood, Edward Weston, Barnaba Bishopp, James Bish, Jerome Bellamy, Fitzherbert, Thomas Marshal, Fitz-james, and William Walfoord, a Jesuit, Rheims; Oxford, Napper. These tenn came in one company, arryved about a month since, were brought by a merchantman of London who had lx^{li} [£60] for reward. Landed in an out-creek near Plymouth."

Dom. Eliz. vol. ccxlii. n. 116, August 24, 1592. Thomas Christopher, *alias* Dingley, says that he was sent over by Cardinal Allen to fetch two priests, "now here in England, the one called Warford, the other Almond, w^{ch} two were to be disposed of in such sorte as the one should abyde at Antwerpe and the other at Genua in Italy, which two should only be employed to give intelligence to Parsons the Jesuite in Spayne."

Same vol. n. 121. August 27, 1592, the same spy says, "The ij intelligencers for which I faynes myself to be sent, they were both beyond y^{e} seas at Mydsom^{r} last was a twelve moneth, and nowe remayne, th'one in Genua and th'other in Antwerpe for to give notice to Father Parsons in Spayne, who a great tyme had been without anye newes as I dyd know some three moneths together."

Dom. Eliz. vol. ccxlviii. n. 48. Examination of Simon Knowles by Justice Young, March 30, 1594, 36 Eliz. "Wrought at Yper wth Adryan Frycke, until vj. weekes before Xmas last. and then came to St. Omers and wrought there wth Nicholas Cooshone until about Shrovetyde, and then he went from

thence to Brussels w William Warford, priest, and Jackeson, a Jesuyte, Mr. Richard Griffin, gent., and Joseph Pullen, an old priest, and by means of Father Braye this examt went wth them to Brussells for their guide, and they cam there all out of England, and he staid there but iij. daies, having spent x. daies in travaile betwene the twoe places by reason that they went at sundrie towns to visit the Jesuytes and priestes, where they praied for the good successe of the Catholike kinge and Catholicke cause, and that God would blesse the shipp that brought them over from London to Callis. And this examinant had nothing but his meate and drinke for his paines, not daringe to gainsaye the sayde Father Braye, Jesuyte.[12] And at Brussells he said he would goe fetche his things from St. Omer's and worke there, and caryed Father Holt's letters to Father Braye and Nicholas Smythe, Jesuytes, wch letters he opened by the waie, and read there of their sorrow that those men had not prospered better in their affaire in England, willing them as soon as possible to send to Callis to see if the shipp were there that brought their friends over, and to cause him to be staid there, for he had occasion to use him very shortlie. And he sealed yt again and delivered yt, saying that he would returne to Brussells, thinking that they would write some newes wch he would gladlie knowe, because he would bring it over for England. And they desired him to staie a daie or twoe for their letters, and soe he did from Satterdaie till Twesdaie (wch was Twesdaie was sevenight). And then having receyved their letters the better to blind them he hired a post horse and rode with Joos the post of Antwerpe to Lyll, and there findinge wagons that went for Callis he hired a wagoner for ij crownes to let him goe thither wth him as his man, and he lent him coat, breeches, and a great powche as though he had bene his servant, and he served his horses while he carried in his passport at Gravelinge, and soe he cam to Callis on Tuesdaye last. . . . Lieutenante Amery said that Warford had converted a great number in England, especiallye about Worcestershire."

In another place, Father Warford is said to have gone to Mr. Napper's at Oxford. He did not long remain in England, but left for Rome in 1594, where he was admitted to the Society in that year, æt. 39. Father Warford was at this time favoured with a vision of our holy Father St. Ignatius, who cured him of a fever the day after his admission to the Society.

[12] We find no trace of a Jesuit of this name at that date.

We take the following account of it from the Oratorian Edition of the *Life of St. Ignatius.*[13] He is there called Guardeford. "William Guardeford, an English priest, came to Rome in the year 1594 to seek admission to our Order, desiring to make his entrance on the feast of St. Augustine, the Apostle of England, he concealed a fever with which he was on that day attacked. The next day he was very ill and extremely weak. It grieved him that he should lose his life, which he valued still more now that he was to pass it in the house of the Lord. Raising himself on his bed he turned towards the wall and with many tears prayed Ignatius, as well as he was able, not to allow the fruit of his long desires and his weary pilgrimage to be taken away from him, but that since he had received him into the number of his sons he would grant him time to do worthy deeds under his banner, so that he might gain a richer crown in Heaven. In the night the holy Father appeared to him at that spot towards which he had turned when he made this prayer; he was clothed in his in-door dress, and had his staff in his hand, and was accompanied by six or seven of his companions. He approached his bed and beat about with his stick as if he were driving dogs and birds of prey from a dead body; then he retired, looking at him with a kind expression. One of the Saint's companions also came to the bed, and William, who already felt himself quite restored, said to him, 'And can you too do as much?' The man smiled, and taking him by the right shoulder turned him on his left side, drew the clothes over him, and made him a sign to sleep. Then he fell into a deep and tranquil slumber, and when he awoke after many hours he got up from his bed with joy, and commenced his ordinary labours on that very day."

The following letter of expostulation from Father Warford to his old fellow-collegian and convert of Trinity College, Oxford, R. Cecil, who was reported as about to write against Father Creighton, a Scotch Jesuit, or rather against the Society through him, discloses one of the discreditable sources to which its opponents stooped for information to favour their calumnies against the Society.[14]

Rome, September 4, 1599, N.S.

Reverend Sir,—So it is that since my return to abide in the English College, I understood by Father Parsons, our Rector, that Master Dr. Kellison hath written hither concerning a certain

[13] Vol. ii. pp. 315, 316. [14] Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 109.

intention of yours to write a book against Father Criton touching certain differences betwixt you and him. Whereupon Father Parsons willed me, both in his name and mine own, as one you know of old, to write some few lines to dehort you from such a perilous and impertinent action. I could not but obey my Superior, yet of myself had I written for that love I bear you, but the rather (though straitened at this present with time) because Father Parsons in truth is indisposed upon physic lately taken, and therefore not able (as was his desire) to write himself. He wrote unto you lately by Master Dr. Bishop, and another eight days before that, of neither of which he hath hitherto had any answer, as neither have I myself had of my last to you, though somewhat since. Wherefore, to come to the purpose, and omitting all ceremonies of excuse which between such old acquaintance is needless, my opinion is, good Master Cecil (neither will you, I trust, contemn mine opinion, because it is grounded in the desire of your good, as always mine affection hath been) that in no case you would begin, much less perform, such an odious enterprise. For although it may be as a man Father Criton may commit some error, in matters especially of negotiation, wherein the wisest men slip, yet is he generally holden of all men I know for a virtuous and a religious man, as hath his perseverance of these many years in the Society now made proof more than sufficient. For thus much I can assure you, and I think you have seen the practice that if there could be proved against him any scandalous matter, the Society ere this had vomited him out, as it hath many others for less than scandal; the stomach of our Company being too delicate to digest any grosser crimes or offences, especially such as deserve the stamping. Now, on the other side, in my conceit it standeth not with your wonted circumspection and wisdom (against one whose innocency, like water in a burning fire, doth extinguish all unjust calumniation) to put yourself in such open defiance, because it cannot but redound to your own discredit, according to that proverb which sometimes you had oft in your mouth, Ἡ κακὴ βελὴ, &c. But, put the case (which for mine own part I think will never be believed) that Father Criton had committed in civil affairs some important and notorious error, yet is there no other means to correct him or chastise him but by public infamy? And is there none other bellman to make his cry but my old friend John Cecil? And shall this be the firstfruits of your wit (to speak without flattery of so great expectation)? And must your fame be first blasted with religious men's infamy? Cannot your name appear in print but with the disgrace of a Catholic priest, and that one that hath suffered bonds for the faith Catholic? *Heu quanta de spe decidi!* Of you I would rather have expected some book against Calvin and Luther, against Reynolds or Whittaker, than against a poor Jesuit; or if you would needs show your talent or exercise your style rather in politic matters, are there not some of your own name whom you might with more commendation impugn? Wants there in England Toplyes, tyrants, and termagants against whom you may write whole philippics, and fill all printer's shops with invectives? I pray God our old acquaintance in Oxford do not take occasion to use some other such proverb against you as in such a case may be said *Egregiam vero laudem*, &c. *Vide* that Master Doctor Cecil, that Catholic priest, that seminary priest, that jolly scholar, that famous traveller, that notable wit, whom many men hoped to be another Blackwell, a second Saunders, &c.,

languisheth about private and politic quarrels, and can find no better butt to shoot all his arrows against but a poor old Jesuit, which neither for his age is able, nor for his modesty will, nor for his profession can, ever have leave to make answer. *Ipse sibi cavit non loco (etsi et locus jam juvat) sed quod tutius est, hoste.* This I spake not in mine own, but (as you see) in others' names, to whose knowledge this thing must come, and particularly those that have known you of so great expectation in Oxford. And truly I myself cannot but bless our Trinity College men in this behalf, who, though they never printed books, yet with their blood in Godly silence have stamped the Catholic truth, to the benefit of thousands of souls, in the hearts of all that ever heard of them. Neither can I but blush (for old friendship) to think that your first antagonist shall be one whom I must still hold as a brother; and it will be no small grief unto me that I cannot be able to defend our Society, but with disclaiming your acquaintance; albeit to men that have any insight in these affairs, it will seem but an artificial thrust with a poisoned rapier against the Company of Jesus, through the sides of poor Father Criton; and there are so many circumstances which lead unto this conjecture that it will be hard for you to distinguish or come between this bark and his tree. Now, how sweet a savour it hath that you should enter into this rank, I remit me to your own discretion; where I omit to consider the peril that you put yourself in to have your name and actions examined and run your reputation upon the pikes; and having by such a sober retirement as you have of late made now with such credit, to put the same (being as you know but yet tender) upon the anvil again; I leave all these and other like to your prudent discussing. I only at this present request that, at the least, upon my loving advice you will suspend this deliberation till you hear some one more reply from me and Father Parsons upon your answer. And forasmuch as it is reported that Master Bruce,[15] a Scottish gentleman, hath the same designment, you would take occasion to deal with him in the same matter, and to put some of these or other better and more pregnant reasons in consideration also with him to the end he think at least ten times (as the saying is) of the matter before he put this temptation into execution; the more because I understand the Society hath well deserved of him, and is particularly affected towards his good parts and ingenious qualities, and Father Parsons principally, whom he knows to have always faithfully favoured and assisted him in his troubles.[16] That albeit he might have peradventure just cause to

[15] In a letter of Sir Henry Neville, Ambassador at Paris—from whose correspondence (*Negotiations in France*) the above letter is taken—to Secretary Cecil, dated September 6, 1599, he says, "There is a Scotchman here (Paris), called Bruce, a Papist, but a good scholar, that is publishing a book against the Jesuits, and likewise the King's Advocate, *en la Chambre de Contes*, called Pasquier. They have both made means to me to furnish them with matter against them. If it please you therefore to impart unto me any particularities of their lewd dealings against her Majesty and her State, I think it might be to good purpose, considering that now their cause is in question, for their restitution or perpetual exclusion."

[16] Of this Bruce, Cardinal d'Ossat, says that "he was much opposed both to the Jesuits and to the Flemings, and yet was constantly in the company of S. Baptiste Tassi, Ambassador of the King of Spain, besides which he was a very bad man" (vol. v. p. 70).

offer this disgrace to Father Criton, yet for the common Society's sake that he would suspend his displeasure from using such a sharp remedy as doth so directly prejudice the whole body, and that among heretics, and now in France, in time when even the weakest may insult upon us; for neither doth any storm ever dure, and if the sunshine return I cannot see how such an open action can ever be sincerely forgotten. And thus in haste, with my hearty commendations to your good prayers, I end.

Yours, as you know, the same ever,

WILLIAM WARDEFORTE.

From Rome, this 4th day of September, 1599.

About the year 1597 he wrote an account of several English martyrs with whom he had been more or less acquainted since 1578.[17] The MS. of this work is referred to under the head of "Chideock Castle,[18] College of St. Thomas of Canterbury," as containing particulars of the martyred priest, the Rev. Thomas Pilchard. In the same work Father Warford makes the following mention of the Rev. Stephen Rousham, who suffered for the Catholic faith at Gloucester in 1587.[19] Bishop Challoner had not met with Father Warford's MS.: "I knew him at Oxford about the year 1578, when he was minister of St. Mary's parish. Shortly after he proceeded to Rheims, and as he appeared to be of rather a timid character, on seeing himself safely landed on the shore of France, he returned thanks to God on his bended knees for his merciful escape, and offered himself unreservedly to His Divine Majesty. On his return to England he was arrested, for he was remarkable for his neck being rather awry and one shoulder higher than the other. The following event is related of him. When celebrating Mass in St. Stephen's Church at Rheims, it happened that when the chalice was uncovered at the consecration, and he was in the act of kneeling down to adore the Sacred Blood, a large spider from the roof dropt into it. At first he was perplexed what to do; but raising his heart to God in prayer, and commending himself to Christ's mercy, he boldly swallowed the whole without suffering any inconvenience. He had a handsome and manly face; his voice was clear and pleasing; his beard of a chesnut colour; and he was truly a man of God."

[17] This MS. account may be seen in Father Christopher Grene's *Collection M.* fol. 137, Stonyhurst.

[18] *Records*, vol. iii. p. 428.

[19] See Bishop Challoner's *Memoirs*.

Father Warford was Penitentiary at St. Peter's, Rome, for a time, and quitted that city August 18, 1599, to return to Spain. He died at Valladolid, November 3, 1608, æt. 53, after spending fourteen years in religion.

Under the name of George Douley, priest, he published an English treatise, "A briefe instruction by way of dialogues, concerning the principal poyntes of Christian religion," 12mo. Seville, 1600; Louvain, 1604.

Two posthumous works of his, under the name of George Douley, were printed at St. Omer; the one "A treatise on penance," 1633, 16mo. The other "A method of examining the conscience for a general confession," 1637, 12mo.

Anthony à Wood,[20] makes the following mention of Father Warford:—

"William Warford received his first breath in that part of Bristol which is in Somersetshire; was admitted a scholar of Trinity College, June 13, 1576; probationer two years after (being then B.A.) Fellow 1579, and M.A. in 1582. But having more a mind to the Roman Catholic religion, in which he was partly educated, than to Protestancy, he left the College, his friends, and the nation, went to Rome, and obtaining entrance into the English College there profited very much in divinity. At length, being ordained priest, he was sent into the Mission of England, where, making but little stay, he returned to Rome, and in the year 1594 he was entered into the Society of Jesus. Afterwards, being sent by his Superiors into Spain, he spent the remainder of his time in the English Seminaries there. He hath written—A short instruction containing the chief Mysteries of Christian Religion collected from the Holy Scriptures and Fathers. Seville, 1600; and at St. Omer 1616. Translated into Latin by Thomas More a Jesuit, descended from the famous Sir Thomas More, some time Lord Chancellor of England. Printed at St. Omer, 1617.

"The said Warford hath also translated into English several of the Histories of Saints by Ribadeneira, but died before he could finish them at Valladolid, on November 3rd (according to the account followed there), in 1608, and was buried in the College of the Jesuits there, leaving behind him other matters which were in a manner fit for the Press, and the character among those of his profession of a godly and learned man."

[20] *Athen. Oxon.* vol. i. p. 349.

FATHER THOMAS CORNFORTH[21] was a native of Durham, born in the year 1570 of Protestant parents. Before he became acquainted with the Catholic religion he had already accustomed himself, by the preventing grace of God, to do whatever he considered was most pleasing to Him. Thus predisposed, he embraced the faith so soon as it was duly presented to him. He resolved to devote himself to the service of God in the ecclesiastical state, and having made his earlier course of studies he entered the English College, Rome, as an alumnus on March 14, 1593, being then twenty-three years of age, and took the usual College oath on the 3rd of October following. After receiving minor orders in November and December of the same year, he was ordained subdeacon October 28, deacon soon afterwards, and priest on November 11, 1597. He was sent on the English Mission on April 2, 1599. He ever conducted himself most admirably in the College.[22] He was admitted to the Society by Father Henry Garnett in the year 1600, and was promoted to the degree of a Professed Father on April 13, 1613.

On Midsummer-day, 1612, whilst saying Mass before the Vaux family, and when actually administering the Holy Communion, he was seized at the altar by a party of pursuivants. On another occasion one of the priest-catchers obtained access by false pretences to the chapel where the Father was saying Mass; but he was so struck by the profound devotion with which he performed the sacred rite, that he abandoned his intention, waited to ask pardon privately of the Father for his hostile attempt, returned to him a rosary and some other spoils taken from Catholics, and made a report to those who sent him, calculated to prevent any further intrusion. Towards the end of Father Cornforth's life, when the decay incident to old age, added to his simplicity of character, brought on a kind of second childhood, his judgment remained to the last clear and unimpaired on all spiritual subjects.

[21] Though it does not appear that Father Cornforth actually resided at Harrowden, yet, in consequence of his connection with the family of Lord Vaux, we treat him as having done so.

[22] Diary of the English College. He, as was usual, took Rheims on his way to Rome. We find him noted in the second Douay Diary, *Records of the English Catholics*, p. 247, September 5, 1592. "Thomas Cornford came to us from England." "September 19. In the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Mary Virgin of Rheims, the following of ours received the Holy Sacrament of Confirmation" [among many others] "Thomas Cornford." P. 249. "1593, January 19. The following of ours were sent to Rome for their rhetoric . . . Thomas Cornford."

He died at Liege on May 14, 1640, at the age of eighty one. Having entered the Society as a priest, he spent upwards of fifty years in it engaged in the English Mission, and reaped a large harvest of souls. By his great innocence of life and candour of soul he rendered himself a general favourite with all. With his innate simplicity of character, it is remarkable that he should so easily and frequently have eluded the efforts of the Protestants to seize him. He many times narrowly escaped by flight and change of dress. He was remarkable for his devotion, piety, humility, zeal of souls, and the gift of uninterrupted communion with God in prayer. His obedience was perfect, he regarded the sayings of his Superiors as oracles. The Father who heard his last and general confession attests that he had never stained his baptismal robe of innocence by mortal sin.

In the P.R.O. are three intercepted letters from Father Henry Garnett. One is addressed "Al Molto Magn. Sr. il Sigr. Piccoli, Vinezia." The two others to "Molto Magn. Sigr. il Sigr. Marco Turinga, Vinezia." These addresses are probably intended for the Very Reverend Father General Vitelleschi and for Father Robert Parsons respectively. In one of these letters,[23] endorsed "Fugitives," Father Garnett writes: "Cornforth sayeth he must be admitted the next Annunciation. I hope he must not serve for him which we are allowed to admitte here, but rather be an extraordinary; for here are many that sow. I would gladly know whether you require great sufficiency in learning, or be content that they be workmen full of devotion and vertew, and able to travel in their function with mediocrity. What think you of little Mr. Robert Midelton, and such like? And whereas you say that we may admitte *euntes ad mortem*, I desyre that it may be extended to laymen in the like case. Also *ad quoscunque alios in articulo mortis*, which you know cannot hurt us, but may much benefit us."

We subjoin a copy of a letter from Father Cornforth, probably to Father Robert Parsons, under the *alias* of Signor Marco Mercante:[24]

October 2, 1611.

Good Sir,—I thank you heartily for the kind letter you sent me. In that quarter where I travail, the harvest of the poorer and meaner sort is plentiful, and divers (thanks be to God) become Catholics that were not before, the number whereof doubtless should be the better preserved and the more increased in those

[23] State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cclxxi. n. 32, June 30, 1599.
[24] Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vol. iii. n. 105.

parts if there were more footmen. Of late I have received one companion that goeth on foot, and if there were more, or at least one other such, it should be a great help and comfort to the poor Catholics; therefore I request you to further the charitable work what you can; for, as for myself, I am so much known in those parts, that I fear I shall not there continue with any safety; but therein I am ready to do as it shall please God by my Superiors to dispose. In Warwickshire, and in the parts adjoining, the pursuivants, this last summer, by searching have much troubled the Catholics, and (as one of Ours did state) the last year a little before Christmas, in London, there scarce passed one hour of the day but the pursuivants were either ransacking some house or dogging or hunting after some recusant or suspected person. The like continual and vehement perturbation in this kind was not seen in London for these forty years, as such recusants do testify who have the longest been resident thereabout. Also there both hath been and now is in many places much trouble and persecution for refusing the oath, and more is feared yet to be; but therein God's will be done. I make no doubt but that you have long ago heard of the martyrdom of Mr. Roberts, a Benedictine, and Mr. Sommers, *alias* Wilson, a secular,[25] yet that you may be the better certified and have the most full information of the particulars thereof, hear (I pray you) what a Protestant schoolmaster sent in writing unto his friend, for thus the last year he wrote: "The 10th of this month (to wit December), besides other sorry fellows that were hanged at Tyburn, Mr. Roberts and another priest, whose name was Sommers, these two were drawn upon a sledge after the thieves. I rode to meet with them. Mr. Sommers of sad settled countenance (as in a strong meditation), for I marked him much and long, and sometimes seen to pray softly, and his hands for the most part hid and fingers indented one with the other, but spake to no man nor seemed to be moved with the company or anything on the way: about the age of forty or more. The other, Mr. Roberts, of a most cheerful countenance, almost always smiling when he looked up or talked, for sometimes he would lie with his eyes shut and his hat pulled down. After they came to the gallows they stayed on the hurdle till the other sixteen had the ropes about their necks (which was more than half an hour). In which time one Mr. Williams (to wit, a minister came to him—I stood close by them—and) entreated him, now setting aside all controversies, to settle his thoughts on that main point—his faith in Christ for the salvation of his soul. He took this counsel very kindly and answered that he did so. When he came upon the rack he began to profess that he was come thither to die for that religion which St. Austin, a monk of the same Order that he was of, brought into this land, and for no other cause. He noways laid his death to our king, but to heresy (so he termed our religion). He prayed for the king, the council, and all his subjects, and would do so, he said, while he lived, and dead he hoped he should be better able to do it. When he saw he should not speak long, he cried out with a loud voice these words: 'Out of the Catholic Church there is no salvation: one God, one faith; without that faith it is impossible to please tha

[25] The Rev. John Roberts, O.S.B., and Thomas Somers, *alias* Wilson were hung at Tyburn on December 10, 1610, for the Catholic faith and priesthood (Challoner's *Memoirs*).

God.' He saluted Mr. Sommers cheerfully and kissed him at his coming up, and they both hung while they were dead." Thus far the heretical schoolmaster wrote. Also one of Ours did report that the quarters of these men being buried, were taken away from under the bodies of sixteen fellows that were laid above them, and a Catholic was in prison upon suspicion for an actor in this matter. And thus, wishing you abundance of God's holy grace in this life and eternal felicity in the next, with kind remembrance to all my friends with you, earnestly craving the assistance of your good prayers, I humbly take my leave,

Yours to command,
THOMAS CORNFORD.

The following is an extract from a letter of Father John Gerard to Father General, dated Louvain, August 17, 1612. The original letter is in vol. iii. n. 111, *MSS. Angl.*, Stonyhurst College. The scene in the prison cell is no doubt the same as that briefly mentioned by Dr. Oliver, which we have before noticed.

"Louvain, August 17, 1612.

". . . . Lord Vaux remains in prison under condemnation but by no means cast down. He seems with invincible courage to trample on, rather than to be banished from the world, and not so much to have lost, as to have contemned its goods. His praise is truly in the mouths of all men, and his cause is so honourable to him and to the Catholic religion, and so disgraceful to his enemies, that the King seemed to be ready to let the Baron go and to restore him all his goods. But God so disposed it, in order to preserve His servant for great things, some men making a more careful search than usual discovered that the mother of the Baron, who was herself under condemnation and in prison, but who retained all her fervour and devotion, had received a priest into her cell on the very feast of St. John the Baptist. When the officers entered they found a good Father who had just completed the Holy Sacrifice, and was in the act of distributing the Most Holy Body of Christ to those who were assisting, Mrs. Vaux herself and two others having communicated. The priest returned to the altar and quietly received the remaining Hosts, lest they should fall into sacrilegious hands. The first man who entered the room, on seeing the altar well appointed and all of them kneeling before the Blessed Sacrament, was astounded, and, instead of the fierceness with which under similar circumstances most people rush upon a priest, only uttered the words: 'Has not your ladyship suffered enough already for this sort of thing?'

"The wonder is of ancient days, on the part of those who do not understand how blessed is the life that God will give to those who never alter their fidelity to Him, who, fearing God more than the King, even though they have but just escaped death, still wish to bury the dead. So our good Father Cornforth was taken—a very holy man whose life well deserves recording. He was carried off to the pseudo-prelate of Canterbury, and as he could not conceal his priesthood on account of those with whom he was taken, so neither would he for his own safety's sake hide his religious state. He was sent off, therefore, to that prison from which they usually take their victims when they want an offering for the god of heresy.[26] He of Canterbury then went to the King in all haste and fury, and putting fire to the cotton to raise a flame so excited the King's mind against the Baron, that he seems to have changed to the opposite his inclination to set him free. Notwithstanding this, as the Baron has those counsellors for him who are most powerful with the King, we all hope that his Majesty will soon be pacified, and that all will end well with our friend: especially if your Paternity and the members of the community will assist him by your Holy Sacrifices and prayers."

Father Cornforth escaped from Newgate with seven other priests a few months later, as will be seen by the following original letter which is endorsed—"November 10, 1612. Cooper, prisoner with Mr. Molineux, *alias* Almund, the martyr: he escaped few days after this letter written." The name on the address has been obliterated by a pen, but the Christian name is clear. "To his assured kind friend Mr. Richard [Holtby] these." It mentions Father Cornforth in a postscript, but for its interest deserves a full insertion.[27]

Good Sir,—I am sure you have heard of the inhuman dealing of our new keeper with us, putting us all into justice hall without commodity of lodging; forcing divers of us to sit up night by night, and yet expecting money for beds, debarring all access of friends, suffering the pursuivants to seize on such as come unto our grate, yea vexing even Protestants themselves that come unto us; neither can we have any remedy against him; such is the malice of the B [bishop] who maintaineth all injuries done unto us, and our keepers pride in their excess, as overruled with passion; he will admit of no reason; insomuch as we are wholly

[26] This was Newgate Gaol.
[27] See original in Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vol. iii. n. 113.

ignorant what course whereby we may best redeem our vexations. Our comfort only is that the cause for which we suffer is good and honourable, being for God Himself, and these our miseries are infallible signs of His love towards us, according to that of the Apostle: *Quem diligit Dominus, castigat; flagellat autem omnem filium quem recipit.* This I say is our comfort, and in this I hope we shall overcome. In the mean time I would desire your good prayers for us, that we may so endure these our troubles as they may turn to God's greater honour and glory, and our soul's comfort. And so remembering my duty to yourself, and a kind remembrance to the rest of our good friends, I humbly take my leave this 10th November, 1612, though never leave to be, yours,

HEN. COOP.

Four of our company are fallen sick of late, whereof Father Cornford is one, and not in least danger, as Dr. Foster hath delivered his opinion of him. If our keeper continue as he hath begun, we shall all fall into extreme misery.

The writer of the above was a secular priest, Rev. Henry Cooper. He is mentioned in a note in *Troubles*, series i., "St. Monica's Convent," page 257, as being in Newgate. "A young gentlewoman designed for our monastery by Mr. Cooper, a worthy priest, then prisoner in Newgate." This young lady was Sister Anne Tremaine.

Father Cornforth is further mentioned in a letter of information addressed to Mark Mercante, Florence. The date is 9bre 1612. It is endorsed—"Avisi de morte Principis Walliæ. De fuga sacerdotum ex Novaporta, et remansit in carcere Almundus uti ex Catalogo mart. Douaci ed. 1614 apparet." It seems to be endorsed by Father Edward Coffin, then in the English College, Rome, who acted as Socius also for Father Parsons.[28]

Seven Catholic priests escaped of late out of Newgate; their names are Cornforth, Young, Maylor, Yates *alias* Boulton, Green, Parr, Cooper; much search hath been made for them but none taken; the occasion of the escaping was their hard usage without compassion or mercy, whereupon they refused to give their words to be true prisoners, but told their keeper that as long as they were used so hardly they would give no such word, but would escape if they could, and within a few days after they got away; and as those seven went away, they might all have gone to the number of twenty, but they refused it, choosing rather to stay. Those that remained in prison have ever since been cast into the dungeon with fetters and gyves.

This account is confirmed by a letter[29] from Father William Bartlett to a Father at Venice under the name of Mr. Merchant

[28] Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vol. iii. n. 114.
[29] Stonyhurst MSS. same vol. n. 118.

(probably Father Parsons) dated December 5, 1612. "Upon the escape of two Jesuits, Young and Bilton [Cornforth] and five secular priests out of Newgate, the rest who stayed behind are cast into the dungeon and laden with fetters, and have been every way sorely afflicted."

FATHER JOHN PERCY, *alias* FISHER, who suffered much for the faith and was an able controversialist, served for a time at Harrowden. His biography is already given in *Records*, vol. ii. series v. "College of St. Ignatius."

FATHER THOMAS RAND was a native of Oxfordshire, born in 1575. In a Catalogue of the Province for 1655 he is recorded as a missioner in this Residence. He entered the English College, Rome, as an alumnus for his higher studies, November 2, 1597; took the College oath, April 26, 1598, and having received minor orders and completed his course of philosophy, entered the Society about the feast of SS. Simon and Jude in the year of Jubilee, 1600, "leaving behind him a good odour of edification." He was made a Professed Father in the year 1618, and for some time was penitentiary at the Holy House of Loreto. About the year 1607 he was apprehended by the Archbishop of Canterbury and committed to Newgate. We can not ascertain the duration of his imprisonment. The following account of his examination is taken from the Italian copy in Stonyhurst MSS. *Angliæ*, vol. vi.

"*Cant.* 'Have you ever been in any other country?'
"*R.* 'I have been.'
"*Cant.* 'Are you a priest?'
"*R.* 'I am.'
"*Cant.* 'Are you a Jesuit?'
"*R.* 'Yes, and I am so by the grace of the good Jesus.'
"*Cant.* 'Good, and by whom were you ordained priest?'
"*R.* 'I was ordained at Rome by a Greek Bishop, whose name I do not remember.'

"*Cant.* 'Tell me, have you ever taken the fourth vow, or not?'

"*R.* 'No, I have not done so.'

"*Cant.* 'So I believe, because you are too young. But why have you not been allowed to do so?'

"*R.* 'Because they have not had sufficient proof that I am worthy of it.'

"*Cant.* 'Whom do they esteem worthy of doing so?

"*R.* 'Such as they know for certain to be men of great learning and virtue.'

"*Cant.* 'What do you understand by virtue?'

"*R.* 'I understand by virtue, true Christian perfection.'

"*Cant.* 'Who are such?'

"*R.* 'They are those who, by a perfect despising of themselves, of the world and its vanities, and of all self delights, and moreover with fervour, and of duty, endeavour to imitate the life and actions of Jesus Christ by following Him in humility, meekness, patience, chastity, resignation, and perfect self-denial.'

"*Cant.* 'Think you that all yours who take the fourth vow are such?'

"*R.* 'They should be so, and I also hope they are so, each one according to the measure of grace given him by God.'

"*Cant.* 'Do you think that I believe this your fable?'

"*R.* 'You may please yourself, because to believe it is *ad libitum*.'

"*Cant.* 'If it is so that you have not yet taken the fourth vow, your Superiors may dismiss you if they see fit: what say you, have you this practice among yourselves different from other Religious Orders?'

"*R.* 'If I, or any one else of my Order, shall conduct ourselves contrary to our religious profession in any way, and if Superiors shall not see any amendment, it is true that they may dismiss the party, and this serves to preserve our Order in all purity and integrity.'

"*Cant.* 'Your religion, indeed! Yours is not religion. The others are more religious than you, because they rise by night and sing in choir, which yours do not.'

"*R.* 'The essence of religion does not consist in rising by night, or singing in choir, but in the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience.'

"*Cant.* 'Were you a student of scholastic or positive theology? What things did you study when in Rome?'

"*R.* 'I studied scholastic theology, according to my ability, and so I am a theologian' (and hereupon I showed them a bold face).

"Then one of the Doctors present demanded of me how long it would take to run through St. Thomas? To which it was answered that we spend four years under two masters. They replied, expressing astonishment that we could study the whole in so short a time. I replied that they only read

the more difficult parts in the schools, but studied the more easy ones in private. They asked me if I knew that the works of Vasquez were yet come out? I answered that I had seen them some time ago. Their manner of speaking to me was very familiar and friendly. Let me return now to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

"*Cant.* 'Where have you lived since you have been a Jesuit?'

"*R.* 'Partly in Italy, and partly in England.'

"*Cant.* 'Where, and in what county of England have you chiefly lived?'

"*R.* 'I have had no fixed abode, but I have gone hither and thither throughout the whole.'

"*Cant.* 'Yes, I have already considered you as a vagabond. Come, I know you will not tell me where and with whom you have been in England. But in Italy, where have you lived?'

"*R.* 'Partly in Rome, and partly at Loreto.'

"*Cant.* 'How, have you lived near the Madonna of Loreto? Have you ever lived with Father Parsons?'

"*R.* 'Not since I have been in the Society.'

"*Cant.* 'Therefore you do not know for what reason he is called "H.H.," and Father Roger Lee "N.N."?'

"*R.* 'No, I do not know.'

"*Cant.* 'Then, Mr. Rand, I believe it will be in vain to ask if you are willing to take the oath of allegiance?'

"I replied that I would take it most willingly.

"*Cant.* 'Yes! you will take it?'

"*R.* 'Yes, my lord; I am now and always have been ready prepared to take it, and have always advised those with whom I have had anything to do, to take it likewise, and not to refuse to show their allegiance by oath.'

"It was here demanded of me if I meant the oath which was framed in the third year of King James? I answered, No; because that oath, I said, neither I, nor any other Catholic whatever, could possibly take with a safe conscience. He then ordered the notary to write down that I refused to take the oath of allegiance made in the third year of King James; and so he told me that he had nothing more to say to me, and ordered them to expedite my warrant of committal. I then begged of them one favour, viz., that I might be sent to prison at the place called the Clink, where they sent all those priests who held that it was lawful to take the oath. They made answer that they were neither willing, nor had power to do so;

'because,' said he, 'thou art not a Clinkist; and, were I willing to do so, I could not legally do it.' My committal was therefore made out for the prison called Newgate. Such was the gentle manner of my examination, in which they behaved towards me with great respect, and without ever using an unbecoming word. After I had been some days in prison, his registrar, and the bailiff who took me, came to see me, and told me that the Archbishop was much edified by my quiet and pleasant replies and with my manner of proceeding disclosed to him, adding that he had begun to entertain a better opinion than before of the Jesuits."

Father Rand died August 4, 1657, at the advanced age of eighty-two.

FATHER ALEXANDER FAIRCLOUGH, sometimes called FAIRCLOTH, and also PELHAM, was a native of London, born in the year 1575; he entered the Society 1595, æt. 20, and became a Professed Father on June 27, 1619. In the Catalogue of the Province for the year 1642, he is named Superior of St. Mary's Residence. He died in England after forty-four years of missionary labour, on August 4, 1645, æt. 70. When at London he had been apprehended in 1615, and detained for three years a prisoner; but in 1618, at the request of the good Count Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador, he was released, and sent into banishment with eleven other priests.[30] After remaining three years in Brussels, Father Fairclough returned, though at the risk of his life, to England. Most of the above exiled Fathers likewise appear to have done so, and at an earlier date, as we learn from the Public Record Office, *Dom. James I.*, vol. civ. n. 6, where is a letter from Mr. Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, dated London, 3rd of December in the same year (1618), in which, amongst other news, he tells his friend that "most of the eighteen priests and Jesuits whom the Spanish Ambassador carried over are returned, and four are taken. The King says, "They shall truss for it."

Father Fairclough was hotly pursued by Abbot, the Archbishop of Canterbury, with Father Blount, the Provincial, in 1612, as appears by a letter of that right reverend

[30] These were Fathers William Baldwin, Ralph Bickley, William York, Henry Hawkins, Richard Bartlet, John Swetnam, John Bedingfield, Francis Willis, Francis Young, Lawrence Worthington, and John Falkner; all of whom were Jesuits.

pursuivant to James I. (*Dom.* vol. lxx. n. 33), a copy of which will be found in the history of the Residence of St. Dominic, in the memoir there given of Father John Blackfan, in *Records*, vol ii. series iv. He tells the King, "I am not forgetful of the business touching the two Jesuits [Fathers Blount and Fairclough], and on Thursday last I thought that I had light upon Blount; but on Friday morning I found it otherwise for the man, but not for the matter. For imploring some persons of good discretion to attend secretly the Ambassador's house (who yet lyeth in Barbican) they discovered on Wednesday morning, at four o'clock, one coming out of that house in this manner. First the porter came out into the street and viewed whether the coast were clear or no, and then spying no man stirring he steppeth in, and immediately the other person cometh out and goeth towards the fields." This turned out to be Father John Blackfan, who was followed and seized at Ratcliff as he was getting into a boat. Abbot says, after giving an account of the arrest, &c., "In the meantime we give not over the pursuit of Blount and Pelham" [Fairclough].

The Summary of the deceased of the English Province for the year 1645, speaking of the Father's death, says that he was a man of consummate ability, and gifted with singular prudence and courtesy of manners. After some years of suffering in horrible prisons in England he was banished, and spent three years in Brussels as Procurator of the Province, when, returning to England in 1621, he became chaplain and spiritual director to a numerous and noble family which he had formerly served. This family he had inspired with a great esteem for the Society of Jesus, and he directed its members with excellent prudence until his death, being at the same time Rector of the District or Residence of Saint Mary. Though suffering from severe attacks of gout in the hands and feet, and from violent headaches, he afforded to all a bright example of Christian patience and constancy, always self-possessed and equable, and showing himself to be of the most sweet and cheerful piety. At length he sank under the severity of his sufferings.

Father Fairclough is named in Gee's list of Priests and Jesuits in and about London,[31] "Father Fairclough, a Jesuite, born in London." He was one of the four Catholic priests who, on May 12, 1614, were summoned from their prisons to

[31] *Circa* 1623–4. See *Records*, vol. i. Appendix.

the presence of the seven Protestant bishops at Lambeth, where the celebrated Register was produced to them for inspection, and the declaration of their opinion. The other priests called were Father Thomas Laithwaite, and the Revs. John Colleton and Leake, secular priests. A fuller account of this meeting is given in the memoirs of Father Laithwaite belonging to the Residence of St. Stanislaus. Father Fairclough (called in that narrative Faircloth) is stated to have boldly said to Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury: "My lord, my father was a Protestant, and kept a shop in Cheapside, and assured me that himself was present at Parker's and the first Protestant bishop's consecration at the Nag's Head in Cheapside, &c. This supposed, my lord, I cannot but judge this is a forged Register."

The following documents have been copied from the State Papers in the Public Record Office regarding this Father:

Dom. James. I. vol. lxxxii. n. 99 and 99 (xviii.). "The Archbishop of Canterbury to the Bishop of Elye."

To the Right Rev. F. in God, my very good Lord and brother the Lo. Bp. of Elye. Give these.

My very good Lo.,—It pleased his Maty in March last to give order that certaine interrogs should by Sr. John Bennett, and some other Commissioners, be propounded to the priests wch then remained prisrs in Newgate, and in the Gatehouse. What their answers were vnto them yr Lp. may see by the copy of the exams wch I now send vnto you, togr. with the interrogatories themselves. And because some of them then gave no answere, and some other of them gave an ill answere, it is his Matie's expresse pleasure that the said prestes being now at Wisbich should be re-examined, to know what they will say who have yet given no answere unto the interrogatories, &c. [He then orders his brother of Ely to procure by the justices of the peace such examinations accordingly.] And so forbearing to bee further troublesome unto you, I rest

Yr Lp's loving brother,

G. Cant.

Lambeth, Oct. 24, 1615.

N. 99, 1. "Interrogatories ministered to ye priests."

I. Whether his Matie's temporall judges be our lawful judges in all temporall causes.

II. Whether a judge of our religion may not lawfully give sentence against a man of their religion.

III. Whether his Majestie may not lawfully banish any subiect offending against his lawes, and being banished, if he return, whether he be not lyable to the penalty of the lawe.

IV. Whether the Pope have power to censure the King in any temporal cause that he shall transgresse in.

V. Whether the King and his Parliament have not full power to make lawes for matters of life and death in matter of religion.

VI. Whether by this maxim of the lawe "Qui rapit jus alienū perdit jus ad suum," the King by abrogating the Pope's p'tended authority hath lost the right he hath to his owne crowne.

VII. Whether it is not directly and absolutely murther for any man to take away the life of the King's Ma^tie.

VIII. Whether before it be defyned in a generall councill, a man may hold it lawful to depose or to kill the King.

IX. Whether if the Church should defyne it, a man be bound to loose his life for the maintenance of that point.

X. To whether part in this question of deposing and killing in a man's private opinion it were fittest to enclyne.

XI. Whether the Oath of Allegiance be a damnable oath.

XII. Whether it be treason to sweare yt.

N. 99 (xviii.). March 30, 1615. "The examination or personal answers of Alexander Fairecloth taken to certain interrogatories. Before Sir John Benet, Kt." [and others.]

Æ. To the first: He answereth that he maketh no doubte but that his Ma^tie's temporal judges are lawful judges in all temp. causes.

To the second: He answereth that he holdeth that a judge of our religion maie lawfully give sentence against a man of his religion in civill and criminall cauwses, w^ch doe not concerne faieth and religion.

To the third: He answereth that his Ma^tie may lawfully banishe anie of his subjects offendinge against his lawes, and beinge banished, yf he returne againe, he is liable to the penaltie of the lawe, soe that such banishment be not grounded for matter concerninge faith and religion as aforesaid.

To the fourth: He answereth not, but desiereth tyme to consider of yt before he gave any answere thereunto.

To the fifth: He answereth as to the former.

To the Sixte: He answereth that he is nott of that opinion, that the King by abrogating the Pope's authoritie hath lost the right he hath to his owne crowne.

To the seaventh: He answereth that he holdeth it directly and absolutely murther in anie man to take awaie the life of the Kinges Ma^tie.

To the eight and ninth: He answereth not, but desiereth further respite.

To the tenth: He answereth that he desiereth tyme to deliberate before he make further answer, and otherwise answereth nott.

To the eleventh: He answereth that he neither hath taken the Oath of Allegiance, nor yett will take it, but saith he is unwillinge to censure itt.

To the twelfth: He answereth that he doth not think itt treason in anie man to take the Oath of Allegiance.

ALEXANDER FFAIRECLOTH.

Dom. James I. vol. xcvii. n. 113, 1618.

I, Alexander Ffayrecloughe, his Ma^tie's prisoner in the King's Bench, am willing most humbly to accept of his Ma^tie's gratious favour for my enlargement, and am content to goe w^th the Earle of Gondomar, Embassadour for the Catholicke Kinge in England, soe as thereby I may not stand in worse case hereafter for his Ma^tie's favour then I doe at this present.

Dated this 19^th of June, 1628.

ALEXANDER FAYRECLOUGHE.

Dom. James I. vol. lxxx. n. 83, 1615, will be found a list of books belong to priests (*inter alia*) "Mr. Fayreclough, a brieviary."

In the same vol. n. 84, is the following statement regarding Father Fairclough, then in Newgate.

Alexander Fairclough is the Jesuite who went by the name of Pelham, and was of great acquaintance with the Marquis Don Piedro de Cunega, for whom he was a special agent. This is the man for whom his Ma^tie about two years since [1613] caused a serche to be made at Mrs. Rookwood's, the wife of Ambrose Rookwood, who was executed for the Powder Treason. The said Mrs. Rookwood did, since the removal of the preests to Wisbich, send a bed and all furniture unto this Fairclough.

FATHER HENRY GASCOIGN, a native of Bucks, entered the Society of Jesus in 1617, and became a Professed Father in 1630. After labouring in the English vineyard for nearly half a century, he died in this Residence on September 3, 1676, æt. 81. The Summary of the deceased thus notices him: "Father Henry Gascoign, æt. 81, in the Residence of St. Mary, Oxfordshire, died suddenly, without any previous illness, at an inn kept by a Catholic, to whose family he had, according to his usual custom, been administering the rites of the Church, and affording religious consolation. He had spent forty-nine years on the English Mission, in the course of which long period he had converted many Protestants to the Catholic faith, and had brought many others to practice a holy life by his counsels, exhortations, and sermons. He edified all who knew him by his devotion towards God, his faithful performance of every religious duty, the admirable candour of his soul and the exact regularity and integrity of life, with the most careful avoidance of all ostentation. His manners were exceedingly gentle and he was affable in address. His sermons were framed, not for applause, but to produce the fruit of piety, and he would often draw tears from his hearers. His zeal for souls was so great that he could refuse neither labours nor

dangers in their service, but like the holy Apostle became all things to all men. During the most difficult and perilous times he made a circuit of the district to visit the Catholics, and travelled on foot in the disguise of a hawker.

FATHER EDWARD WORSLEY, a very distinguished member of the English Province, who had studied at Oxford, and had been a Protestant minister, deserves fuller notice than our scanty knowledge of him will enable us to give. He was a native of Lancashire, born in the year 1604, entered the Society on September 7, 1626, and was made a Professed Father on September 29, 1641. He was sent upon the English Mission in 1651, and according to a Catalogue of the Province for 1655, was then a missionary Father in the College of St. Ignatius or the London District. But he did not remain there long, as he was recalled soon after to the College of Liege, the house of divinity for the English Province, to resume his former work as Professor; he was also Rector of that College from 1658 to 1662.

The Summary of the deceased of the English Province gives these few particulars: "On September 2, 1676, Father Edward Worsley departed this life, at the professed house at Antwerp, having attained his seventy-first year. He had been nurtured in heresy, being educated at the University of Oxford, and was a Protestant minister. At length, when brought to a knowledge of the truth he embraced the Catholic faith, and was soon afterwards admitted to the Society, viz., on September 7, 1626. Having repeated his studies at the College of Liege he attained such proficiency in them as to be made professor of philosophy, logic, and Sacred Scripture, acquiring a high credit for learning among the Fathers of the Society. After a time he governed as Rector of the College for three years, and then retiring to Antwerp acted as Procurator, spending his time between the care of our temporalities and the souls of the English Catholics in that city. He wonderfully gravelled the leading heretical teachers of our nation by his writings, and indeed he merited well of the Catholic Church on this account. He was a man of bright example and probity, being regarded both by his own community and by externs to be an oracle alike of talent, industry, learning, and prudence."

Southwell, in the *Biblio. Script. S.J.*, tells us that he entered the Society a year later, and for eight years was professor

at Liege, first of philosophy, and then of scholastic theology: lecturing at the same time upon Sacred Scripture and controversy.

Dr. Oliver in his *Collectanea S.J.* says: "Father Worsley must ever rank among the ablest controversialists of this or of any other country." His works were: (1) "Truth will out," in answer to Dr. Jeremy Taylor's "Dissuasive from Popery," 4to, London, pp. 217, 1665, *Tacito suo et Typographi nomine.* (2) "Protestancy without principles, or Sectaries' unhappy fall from Infallibility to Fancy," 4to, Antwerp, 1668, pp. 527, with a few notes upon Mr. Poole's "Appendix against Captain Everard," pp. 44. (3) "Reason and Religion, or the Certain Rule of Faith where the Infallibility of the Roman Catholic Church is asserted," 4to, Antwerp, 1671, pp. 681. (4) "The Infallibility of the Roman Catholic Church, and her Miracles defended against Dr. Stillingfleet's Cavils," 2 vols. 8vo. Antwerp, 1674. The first vol. 260 pp., the second 88. The author in the second vol. maintains the fact of the miraculous translation of the Holy House of Loreto.

A posthumus work of Father Worsley appeared, entitled "Antigoliath, or an Epistle to Mr. Bevint, containing some reflections upon his Saul and Samuel at Endor," 8vo, 1678, pp. 59.

Father William Wolfe, generally known by his assumed name of Lacey, served Oxford and the neighbourhood from about the year 1622[32] until he died in 1673, at the extreme age of eighty-nine. He was a native of Scarborough, born in 1584. He became a convert to the Catholic faith, and leaving England entered as a student in the English College, Rome, in 1608.

The Diary of the College states: "1608. William Lacey, *vere* Wolfe, aged —— was admitted among the alumni on the ——, 1608. He took the College oath on August 10, 1609. After receiving minor orders, he left for Lorraine on September 2, 1611, in order to enter the Society in the novitiate at Nancy. His life in the College was void of offence to all. He had finished his course of philosophy."

On admission into the English College, he made the following statement in reply to the usual interrogatories: "My true

[32] There was a short interval, for in a Catalogue of 1642 he is named as serving in the adjoining district of St. George. In the Catalogue for 1655 he was again mentioned as belonging to St. Mary's Residence.

name is William Wolfe. I am twenty-four years of age next Christmas, was born at Scarborough, Yorkshire, and there brought up until about my tenth year, when I was sent to Oxford by an uncle. My father and mother, so far as I know, are both alive. My father was a tanner and leather-dealer. My mother is of a higher family, which is almost extinct. I have an only brother, several sisters, and other relations of my name, all of these are Protestants or schismatics, except a Catholic uncle, a clerk in Chancery, who by his own industry has raised himself to a respectable position and fortune. I learned my rudiments with my uncle, and then proceeded to Oxford, and studied logic. At length, after six terms, I was presented for my first B.A., with the intention in the following Lent of going in for my second, and performing the accustomed duties attached to the Bachelorship." From this it seems that having left Oxford for a while, he did not return for his second degree, but yielded to the advice of a friend who persuaded him that it would be more convenient to take that degree in foreign parts. He then proceeds: "When quite a boy I was indeed a Protestant, being seduced by the fables of *Foxe's Martyrs*, but when I had lived more with Catholics I did not long retain this false opinion; at least, I imbibed the habits and customs of the Catholics. After I went to Oxford, I was greatly confirmed in my opinion of the Catholic faith upon beholding the manners and mode of life of the clerics there, to such an extent that in a short time I was unable to resist the desire I had to become a Catholic. In order to accomplish this (to make a long tale short) the Divine mercy and providence so disposed events, that I should have for my first confessor the Reverend Mr. Morgueen, *alias* Dowlton, a secular priest, and most devoted to the Society. By his help and advice, which I followed, I crossed over to Belgium as his servant; and as he was going to St. Omer's he recommended me to the Fathers of the College, by whom I was received with all charity through Father Thompson there, who was known to my friends in England, and I was soon afterwards admitted to the College." Fourteen years later, having been employed in teaching at St. Omer's College, he was sent upon the English Mission, and became a Professed Father on November 21, 1637.

The following extract from Anthony Wood's *Athen. Oxon.*, vol. ii. p. 518, (Edit. 1723), tells us all that we know of Father Wolfe's subsequent career: "William Lacey was born in a

market town in Yorkshire, called Scarborough, became a student in this University (in Magdalen Hall, as he used to say,) in 1600, aged sixteen years or thereabouts, but whether in the condition of a batler[33] or servitor I know not, nor what continuation he made there. After he had left the University without taking any degree, he retired for a time to his native country, and thence, by the persuasion of a certain person, to the English College at Rome, where a little after his arrival, Father Parsons, the Rector thereof, gave up the ghost. Thence he went to Nancy, in Lorraine, where he entered himself into the Society of Jesus, an. 1611, at which time he bound himself by oath to observe the four vows.[34] Afterwards he taught humanity for some years at St. Omer's, or was, as a certain author tells us, [James Wadsworth, *Eng.-Span. Pilgrim*, 1630] reader of poetry and master of the syntax, ann. 1622. About that time, being sent on the mission into England, he settled in the city of Oxford, where, and in the neighbourhood, he administered to the Roman Catholics until towards the latter end of his life. He lived many years in a poor cottage without the east gate of that city, standing on the site of the habitation sometimes belonging to the Brethren of the Holy Trinity. In the said cottage did there live two Roman Catholic virgins of mean condition, named Mary and Joan Meakyns, who from their childhood had dedicated themselves to piety and good works, always lived singly, and arrived both of them beyond the age of man. These two antiquated virgins were owners of the cottage and did carefully attend this Father, and took as much care of him as if he had been their own father or brother. His fare was coarse, his drink of a penny a gawn or gallon, his bed was under thatching, and the way to it was up a ladder. With these two, I say, he lived in a most retired and devout condition till God was pleased to translate them to a better place, and then the Father was removed to the Dolphin Inn, in Magdalen parish, in the suburb of Oxford, the hostess of which was one of his persuasion, where he ended his days. He was esteemed by all, especially those of his opinion, a learned man, well versed in the poets, of a quiet disposition

[33] *Batler*, for *bateller*, or commensalis; one who had his patella, or plate with his portion served upon it, in the College hall. The servitor was a poor student, who had his education *gratis*, on condition of performing some menial offices, &c.

[34] Wood, as a non-Catholic, here writes incorrectly. Father Lacey was professed of the four vows November 21, 1637.

and gentle behaviour, which made him therefore respected, and his company to be desired by certain scholars of the University, especially by Thomas Masters and other ingenious men of New College. But this their civility to and esteem of him was not while the Presbyterians governed, who made it a most dreadful and damnable thing to be seen in the company of Papists, especially of Romish priests, but before the rebellion broke forth on their account, when then the men of the Church of England had a respect for Papists as they now have for Presbyterians. The things that this Father hath written are, "The Judgment of an University man concerning Mr. William Chillingworth his later Pamphlet, in answer to charity maintained," printed 1639. Reprinted at Cambridge, 8vo. In a preface to a book then and there published, "Heautomachia, or Mr. Chillingworth against himself," and "The Total Sum" are printed at the end of the "Judgment," &c. At length this Father Lacey, who had lived to be twice a child, died in the Dolphin Inn, before mentioned, July 17, 1673, æt. 89 years; and two days after, his body being carried to Somerton, near Dedington, Oxfordshire (to which place he usually retired), was buried in the church there, noted for the splendid monuments of the Fermours, lords of that town and Roman Catholics."

Father John Lovell served in this Residence for many years, probably at Oxford, until his death, October 11, 1683, æt. 78. He was a native of Norfolk, born 1605, entered the Society 1629, and became a Professed Father 1641. The Annual Letters announcing his death state "that he had been Superior of this Residence for many years, always manifesting the greatest charity and liberality towards his brethren. He was, however, exceedingly severe and rigid towards himself. Retiring to rest late at night, he rose at daybreak, and did not leave his little cell until he had completed his accustomed round of devotions. His edifying life rendered him a favourite with all. At last, worn out by excessive labours, he passed happily to his reward."

Among the State Papers in the Public Record Office we find the following strange mention of Father Lovell at Oxford:

Dom. Charles II. vol. xlii. n. 13, 1661. Endorsed, "Sept. 21, 1661. Information of one Lovell, a Jesuit, that intercepted 40*li.* worth of the King's jeweles."

21 Sept. A Jesuite in Oxford, that goes by the name of Lovell, and lyes at a widowes in Oxford, whose name is thought to be Brookes, is accused (to have imbeciled [embezzled] to the vallew of £40,000 [sic] worth of the King's jewelles) by one Mrs. Curzon, now a prisoner in Newgate.

There is no further mention recorded of any steps taken in consequence of the above startling information, which probably was not credited. But in the same vol. xlii. n. 12, is an account of the "committal of the same Mrs. Curzon to Newgate, upon the oath of two witnesses, of having received a greate sume of gold, more than would fill a hatt, and diverse jewelles belonging to the Queene, and to have purloined the same about the year 1646. Dated September 21, 1661."

Father Charles Palmer (whose real name was Poulton), a distinguished member of the English Province, who suffered much for his faith in the time of Oates' Plot and the Revolution of 1688, and died a martyr for religion in Newgate Prison, February 7, 1690, æt. 74, will be more fully noticed in the History of the College of the Holy Apostles in the time of Oates' Plot and the Revolution. He was serving in St. Mary's Residence in 1655, according to a Catalogue of that date.

Father Joseph Richardson, a native of Warwickshire, born 1606, having entered the Society 1635, was serving in St. Mary's Residence, according to the Catalogue for 1655, and died in it on December 17, 1670. The following mention is made of him by a Father of the Society in the Annual Letters for 1671: "About three weeks ago, whilst keeping the anniversary of Father Richardson's death, when at the altar, vested in black, I beheld his likeness upon the black veil itself during the whole time of Mass, which gave me no small distraction. I should, however, have said nothing about it had not one of the attendants at Mass seen the same thing during the whole time of celebration, and so affirmed it on oath; and this before I had said a single word about it. On the next day I ordered the man to come to me, and to point out the place in which he saw the apparition, when he instantly pointed out with his finger the exact spot where I also had seen the good Father's likeness all in white. Though I am very incredulous in these cases, yet, confirmed as it is by the testimony of an honest man, I am almost induced to believe that our good Father came to wish us farewell. R.I.P."

The following students of the English College, Rome, of whom two became members of the Society, and the greater number were converts to the Catholic faith, are connected with the Residence of St. Mary by birth or otherwise. We insert notices of the two Jesuit Fathers first.

1608. (1) FATHER THOMAS MANBY, *alias* ROGERS, states in his autobiographical account: "I believe that I am nineteen years of age, was born in Broughton, Northamptonshire, and educated in various places within that county. My father's name is Manby, my mother's was Nichol; both are of the better class. The former is a schismatic, the latter a Catholic. I am the elder of three brothers. Neither of them are as yet Catholic; I have six sisters, of whom the two eldest are in the Church. My studies in England at Broughton, Northampton, and Burton were unprofitable, but not so during the three years I have been at St. Omer's. Until I was upwards of fifteen years of age I lived in heresy. The cause of my conversion was my hearing a sermon against the Holy Name of Jesus, which filled me with strong aversion to a religion that loaded this Name with such mockery and reproaches. I was then in London, but left it to go to my Catholic sisters, who, wishing to draw me from the mis-spending of my time, persuaded me to read good books. I studied the Rhemish New Testament, Father Parson's *Christian Directory*, and a controversial book written, I think, by a Mr. Radford, a priest, and became so thoroughly convinced that I determined to give up attending the Protestant churches. My father was greatly annoyed at this resolution, but by means of Lady Brudenell he became appeased, and I was received into the Church by the same Mr. Radford."[35]

The Diary of the English College states that Father Manby entered as an alumnus under the name of Thomas Rogers, on October 19, 1608, and took the College oath on August 10, 1609. Having received minor orders, and publicly defended the theses in philosophy, he entered the Society on October 26, 1611. Owing to the loss of records his history cannot be further traced out.

FATHER FRANCIS THOMPSON (*alias* YATES) was a native of Oxfordshire, born in the year 1577. After making his early

[35] Either the Rev. John or Thomas Radford (or Rodford), both Douay priests (see Douay Diary).

studies at the English College, St. Omer, he proceeded to that of Rome for his higher course, and was admitted among the alumni of the Holy Father on May 27, 1600, and took the usual College oath on May 4, 1601. After receiving the previous orders he was ordained priest on December 20, 1603, joined the Society of Jesus October 8, 1606; and, three years later, was sent into England. On entering the English College, Rome, he made the following statement:

"My real name is Francis Thompson. I am twenty-three years of age. During my childhood I lived with my father in the county of Oxford, who caused me to be instructed in my rudiments at home by a certain priest, until both the priest and himself were seized and cast into prison. I was then only twelve, and spent three or four years at various schools; but because I was always a Catholic, and refused to frequent the heretical temples and services, I was shut out from the universities and schools in which the higher sciences are taught, as soon as ever I was discovered to be a Catholic. On account of these changes I have made but poor progress in my studies, and abandoned them altogether for seven or eight years, until I arrived at St. Omer's College. My parents were of the higher class, and always Catholic. My mother died when I was in the cradle; my father died after seven years' imprisonment for the faith. All my relations and friends, with few exceptions, are Catholics. I have three brothers and six sisters, one of whom is a nun in Brussels."

Father Francis made his novitiate at St. John's, Louvain, and took his simple vows of religion on November 9, 1608, as we find mentioned by Father Thomas Talbot, the Master of Novices, in a letter among the Stonyhurst MSS.[36] We have no trace of his subsequent history. He was uncle to the holy youth James Griffiths, who was a student at the English College, Rome, in 1611, and died of fever at Bologna, on his way to enter the novitiate at Louvain, about two years afterwards, and whose autobiography is given in page 428, "The College of St. Francis Xavier."

1649. Father Edward Simeon (*alias* Simon and Smith), makes the following statement on entering the English College, Rome: "I was born in London of noble parents, viz., Sir George Simeon, Knight and Baronet, but a heretic, and Margaret Molyneux, a Catholic, daughter of Lord Moly-

[36] *Angl.* vol. iii. n. 98.

neux, of Lancashire. I am upwards of seventeen years of age, and have resided chiefly in Oxfordshire, and for four years in Wales. My father has a sufficiently ample fortune. I have relations among the leading nobility, as the Marquis of Winchester, the Lords Dormer and Harrowden (Vaux), &c. I have three brothers and the same number of sisters; two of these are Augustinian nuns in Paris. I studied for four years near London with a Mr. Hill, a Catholic tutor, and for nearly four years at St. Omer's College. I have completed my first rhetoric. I was always brought up a Catholic, but sometimes went to the temples of the heretics. I have come to Rome with the intention of serving God better, as also of completing my studies." He signs himself "Edward Smith."

The Diary of the English College, Rome, states that he entered in the name of Edward Smith, of London, aged seventeen years, as a convictor among the students, on November 13, 1649, and left the College on April 4, 1652.

Father Christopher Grene adds in a note that he joined the Society at Watten about 1657. He was professed on February 2, 1670. We find him named twice in the original note-book of Father John Warner, Provincial.[37] (1) A letter from Liege, of which College Father Warner was then Rector, to Father General, dated March 23, 1679, mentions the persecution of Oates' Plot, which was then raging. The writer says that Father John Keynes and a French Father had escaped to Holland; that Father William Waring,[38] Rector of the London Residence, had received permission to retire to Holland with them, but had preferred to brave the danger, and stay behind in order to attend to the wants of his afflicted brethren; that Fathers Travers, Parker and Edward Simon had escaped, and were in safety at Ghent, and had brought over a report of the sufferings and great needs of Fathers Charles Pritchard, John Hugh Owens, and Robert Petre, and that no certain news had arrived about them.

A letter from Father Warner, then Provincial, to Father General, dated May 23, 1680, names Father Simeon as worthy to be appointed Rector and Master of Novices at Watten. On the subsiding of the storm this good Father returned to England, and died there on January 6, 1701.

[37] Now in the University library, King's College, Cambridge. Father Warner succeeded the martyr, Father Thomas Whitbread, Provincial, who suffered with his four companions of the Society at Tyburn, June 30, 1679. Father Warner's biography will be given in our next volume of *Records*.

[38] One of the five Jesuit martyrs at Tyburn, June 30, 1679.

We append the following pedigrees as illustrative of the text.

The following are the replies of Edward Sulyard and his brother John (sons of Ralph and Elizabeth mentioned in the pedigree), to the usual questions put to them on entering the English College, Rome.

"My true name is Edward Sulyard. My father is Ralph Sulyard; my native county Suffolk. I lived at home until my thirteenth year, and then left England for the English College of St. Omer, where I remained for six years, and afterwards lived for one year at Liege. My parents are noble and rich, and are Catholics. I studied my humanities at St. Omer. My health both of body and mind is good. I have always lived a Catholic, and have come to Rome to study philosophy. I feel no desire for or intention of embracing the ecclesiastical life, but prefer the secular. I am fully resolved to comply with the College regulations.

(Signed) EDWARD SULYARD."

Endorsed, "Edward Sutton, 9bris 26, 1655."

The Diary of the English College states that he entered the College as a convictor among the students, aged about twenty, on November 25, 1655, and left again for England March 4, 1657.

JOHN SULYARD.—"My parents were Ralph and Elizabeth Sulyard. My Christian name is John. I think I have completed my twenty-first year. My birthplace was Haughley Park in Suffolk. I was confirmed in England, and received my early education at home, and then made my humanity course of studies at St. Omer. My parents are noble, and have suffered much for the faith, and have always, I believe, persevered in it, as I myself have done. I have both brothers and sisters. I knew a little Latin, but scarcely any Greek, and have never learnt Hebrew. My bodily health is good, though sometimes I suffer from headaches. I have come to Rome of my own accord, and have as yet made no resolve regarding my future course of life."

The English College Diary states that he entered as a convictor, aged about twenty-one years, on October 11, 1658, Father John Manners being Rector. He left to return to England on account of bad health, June 4, 1659.

We add the reply of another John Sulyard, probably a first

SIMEON OF BRIGHTWELL OR BRITWELL.

Sir JOHN SIMEON, Knight, of Baldwin Brightwell, co. Oxon. Died 1618. = ANNE, daughter and co-heiress of ANTHONY MOLLINS, Esq.

- (1st wife) MARY, daughter of the HON. GEORGE VAUX (eldest son of WILLIAM, third Lord Vaux, of Harrowden, who died about 1623), and his wife, ELIZABETH ROPER, daughter of JOHN, first Lord Tenyham). = Sir GEORGE SIMEON. = (2nd wife) MARGARET, daughter of Viscount MOLYNEUX, of Sefton, co. Lancaster.
  - EDWARD, S.J. Born 1632; entered the Society of Jesus 1657; died January 6, 1701.
  - Two Sisters. Augustinian Nuns.
  - JAMES, the youngest and only surviving son. Succeeded his father in the title October 16, 1677. Died about 1709. = BRIDGET, daughter, and at length sole heiress of WALTER HEVENINGHAM, of Aston, co. Stafford, Esq.
    - GEORGE SIMEON. Born (*circa*) 1626; entered English College, Rome, 1645 (see vol. i. *Records of the English Province*, p. 202).
    - Sisters.
    - PHILIPPA. A Nun O.S.B.; professed at Ghent December 15, 1642; alive in 1672.
    - ELIZABETH. Died June 2, 1643. = RICHARD COTTON, Esq., of Warblington.
    - Sir EDWARD. Died unmarried December 22, 1768, æt. 87. Baronetcy extinct.
    - JAMES. Died May, 1714.
    - MARGARET. = HUMPHREY WELD, Esq., of Lulworth, co. Dorset. (She brought the Heveningham and Simeon estates to the Weld family.)
- Sir JOHN SIMEON, Knight. = ELIZABETH or ANNE, daughter of Sir JOHN SULYARD, Knight, of Haughley Park, and his wife, PHILIPPA SHELDON.
- A. B. = EDMUND PLOWDEN, Esqre., of Plowden and Shiplake (according to *Wotton's Baronetage*).[1]
- ANNE. = EDWARD THOMAS GASCOIGNE.
- A.B. = RALPH IRELAND.

(1st husband) WILLIAM = CONYERS, of Sockburne.
- ANNE. = FRANCIS, Earl of Shrewsbury.
  - MARY TALBOT. = JOHN STONOR, Esq., from whom the present LORD CAMOYS.

(N.B.—Lady Mary Stonor was half-sister to the celebrated Duke of Shrewsbury.)

ELIZABETH. Died February 18, 1664. = (2nd husband—before 1637) EDWARD BUTLER, fourth Viscount Mount-Garrett. She was his second wife.
- EDWARD BUTLER, of Ballyraggett, from whom is descended GEORGE MOSTYN, present Lord Vaux of Harrowden.

ANNE. = Sir EDWARD GREENE, of Sandford Hall, Esssex, Knight and Baronet.
- EUGENIA GREENE. Born 1642; professed Nun O.S.B. August 18, 1672; died November 13, 1709.

A. B. = RICHARD BRUNING, of Hambledon Park, Hants, Esq.[2]
- FRANCIS BRUNING, S.J., *alias* SIMEON, was probably a son of the above marriage. Born 1620; entered Society of Jesus 1641; professed 1658; died a victim of the Oates' Plot persecution June 26, 1680, æt. 60.

[1] The Plowden Pedigree in page 537, does not show this marriage. Miss Simeon may have been a first wife of Edmund Plowden, Esq., and dying soon after without issue, he married Miss Drummond as a second wife. An alliance between the two families is very probable, from the fact of two of the Fathers Plowden, S.J., having taken the name of Simeon as an *alias*.

[2] A member of this old family writes to us that some years ago he made a journey to Hambledon to find out what he could relative to the Brunings. He found that their old house had been pulled down, and their name scarcely remembered, and he adds, "*Sic transit gloria mundi.*"

N.B.—Since the Simeon Pedigree was in type, further information calls for the following changes:—I. Sir John, the first knight, was of Pyrton, Oxon. II. His son, Sir George, was of Brightwell. III. For Elizabeth, daughter of the second Sir John, marrying Richard Cotton, *read* sister of Sir George Simeon of Brightwell, and marries George, brother of R. Cotton [visitation]. IV. For A. B., daughter of Sir George Simeon, who marries Richard Bruning, *read* Mary, sister of Sir George, who marries Anthony Bruning, of Wemering, co. Hants [visitation]. They were the parents of Francis Bruning, S.J. V. For James succeeding his father in the title, *read* Sir James of Chilworth was created baronet October 18, 1667. Died in Staffordshire 1707.

THE SULYARDS OF HAUGHLEY PARK.

Sir JOHN SULYARD, Knight, of Haughley. = PHILIPPA, ninth daughter of RALPH SHELDON, Esquire, of Beoley and Weston, co. Worcester, and his wife, ANN, daughter of Sir ROBERT THROCKMORTON, of Coughton, co. Warwick.

- Sir EDWARD. Died S.P. = MARGARET, daughter of LORD STOURTON.
- RALPH. Baptized 1598; suffered much for the Catholic faith in England; died 1658. = ELIZABETH WILFORD, of Wandsworth. Died 1682.
  - EDWARD. Born 1635; entered the English College, Rome, October 9, 1655, after his early course at St. Omer's College; left Rome for England March 4, 1657. = PENELOPE GAGE, daughter of Sir EDWARD GAGE, by MARY, daughter of Sir WILLIAM HARVEY. Died 1733.
    - EDWARD. Baptized in the parish church of Wetherden, December 21, 1675; died S.P.
    - WILLIAM. Baptized in Wetherden Church 1677. = ——
      - From whom the line of Sulyards of Wetherden and Haughley.
    - ELIZABETH. Baptized in same church 1679.
    - RALPH JOHN. Baptized in same church 1682.
    - PENELOPE.
    - FRANCIS. A Priest; probably Father Augustin Sulyard (O.S.B.) who for many years was Confessor to the Bridgettine Nuns of Syon, Lisbon, and was still so in 1756.
    - PHILIP.
  - JOHN. Born 1637; entered English College, Rome, from St. Omer's, October 11, 1658; left Rome for England June 4, 1659, sick; died S.P.
  - THOMAS (Lieut.-Col.). = JOANNA, daughter of BARON LIEDFAEL in Brabant.
  - MARGARET. An Augustinian Nun; professed at Bruges 1658; died 1699.
  - ANNE. A Nun.
  - ANDREW. Died S.P.; buried at Willesden 1701.
  - ELIZABETH. = CHARLES HUMBLESTON, Esq.
- JOHN. Died S.P.
- ANNE. A Nun.
- ELIZABETH = Sir JOHN SIMEON (see SIMEON Pedigree).
- ANDREW, S.J. (*alias* SUTTON). Born 1606; entered Society 1628; died in England 1673, æt. 67.
- WILLIAM, Lieut.-Col. Baptized September, 1606. = ELIZABETH WILFORD, of Newman Hall.
  - JOHN. Born 1634; educated at St. Omer's; entered English College, Rome, October 31, 1653; received Minor Orders May 6, 1655; returned to England March 19, 1658; ordained Priest in Belgium (? S.J.).
  - ELIZABETH. A Nun.
  - WILLIAM. Died S.P. = MARY, daughter of HENRY Lord Grey of Groby.
  - PHILIPPA.
- FRANCIS. Baptized 1607. = —— FITZWILLIAM, of Claxby.
- MARY. Baptized 1610; died 1692.

[*To face page 606.*

cousin of the above, and the son of Lieutenant-Colonel Sulyard and Elizabeth Wilford, of Newman Hall.

"My proper name is John Sulyard; I have attained the age of nineteen. My native place is Bury, a town in the county of Suffolk. I have studied at St. Omer's College, and have resided in Flanders. My circumstances, like those of my parents, are not good, but my principal friends are sufficiently well off, and are of noble rank. I have no brother or sister or relation, as far as I know, a heretic. I myself was never a heretic, or of any religion except the Catholic. After studying as far as poetry with some success I came from England to Flanders two or three years ago, and have been sent to Rome to finish my education. It is my great desire to embrace the ecclesiastical state

(Signed) JOHN SULIARD."

Admitted the 21st of October.

The Diary of the English College, Rome, states that he was admitted among the students by Father Edward Courtney, the Rector, October 31, 1653, and took the usual College oaths August 30, 1654. He received minor orders in the Church of St. Apollinaris, May 6, 1655. He was discharged from his College oath by his eminence the Cardinal Protector for reasons given by him on March 19, 1658, when he returned to England.

Father Grene adds that he was ordained priest in Belgium.[39]

1599. The Reverend EDMUND SMITH, a native of this district, who owed his conversion, under God, to Fathers Young, Greaves, Coffin, and Lister, and became a student of the English College, Rome, and afterwards a holy priest, gave the following account of himself on entering the College:

"1599, November 17. My name is Edmund Smith. I am aged twenty-two, and was born in a humble village, commonly called Cromish, but more properly Newhaven, though it lies within the two parishes of Cromish and Newhaven. It is near Wallingford-upon-Thames. My moral training was well attended to, as my mother was very strict. My father died

[39] An Edward Sulyard, we believe the father of Sir John, is mentioned in the State Papers, Public Record Office, *Dom. James I.* November, 1607 [Docquet], in a "Warrant to discharge Sir Thomas Tresham, Sir Henry James, Sir William Roper, Thomas Throgmorten, John Arundell, Michael Hare, Robert Price, Edward Price, Edward Sulyard, and Jane Shelley, recusants, of divers sums, part of the fines due to the Crown on their conviction."

when I was young, and during his life left me entirely to the care of my mother. After my father's death I became estranged from piety, religion, and the honour and fear of God, until at length, in pity to my miserable condition, He was pleased to inspire me with desires after a better and safer course of life. My father died, a Catholic, about thirteen years ago. I have one brother and two sisters, all heretics, whom may God in His mercy deliver from their error. My studies have been so much interrupted that I have made but little or no progress. I was placed first at a school at Burford, where I learnt elements and grammar; then, at my mother's suggestion I went to Oxford, where at the beginning I felt a great ardour for progress, but afterwards, led astray by folly and vanity (as happens with many young men there), I neglected my studies, and gave the reins to pleasure so far as nearly to lose all that I knew before. I am ashamed to acknowledge that I passed my life almost to my twenty-first year in heresy, not caring either to please the Divine Majesty or to secure my own salvation. But God would not permit me to any longer continue in the path of ruin, for He gave me the desire to follow the excellent example of certain friends, and to renounce the world, the flesh, and the devil. Fathers Young and Greaves were the means of first opening to me the way to Christ, and after attending to their instructions I was seized with so great a desire of following them that I could scarcely confine myself within College rules. The general mode of life became at once distasteful to me, and I sought every possible means of getting abroad. At this moment, in the wonderful providence of God towards me, the very Fathers themselves who had inspired me with the first desires of perfection, discovered a means whereby I might quit the vanities of the world, and so the better serve Christ. When they were released from prison Father Young came to Oxford for the sake of seeing some friends. On meeting him I confess that I was almost beside myself with joy; at the first opportunity I related to him all that had happened to me, and begged his help in advancing my cause. He promised at once to use every effort in doing this, and on his return to London informed the Reverend Fathers Lister and Coffin about me, who of their charity sent for me, and on my arrival welcomed me with great joy. Father Coffin, embracing me again and again, said, 'I receive you as my son;' and a few days afterwards I made my confession and was admitted by him into the unity of the Church. His

care towards me daily increased, and in supplying my needs both of soul and body, he was more than a father. Within a short time he heard of an opportunity of sending me abroad, and so, having received his blessing together with my viaticum, and letters of introduction, I took my departure. It pleased God, however, very shortly to stay my journey, for being captured by the heretics I was thrown into prison, and there confined during the greater part of a year, for the further trial of my patience and constancy. God did not abandon me in my prison, but so strengthened me with His grace that I was enabled to bear with equanimity the fierce looks, bitter reproaches, and menacing threats of the adversaries; praise and glory be to Him for ever." The young student then declares his great desire of embracing the ecclesiastical state of life.

The English College Diary states that he was admitted as an alumnus of the College, Father Robert Parsons being the Rector, on October 31, 1599, æt 22, in the assumed name of Webb. He took the College oath on May 1, 1600. After receiving the preliminary orders, he was ordained priest on May 24, 1603, was sent into England on September 10 following, and died at Douay with great repute of sanctity.

1599. RICHARD FISHER, *alias* ASHTON, gives an account of himself which is historically interesting, as leading us within the walls of Wisbeach Castle. The brother who he says then lived there, was probably Thomas, one of those who under the same name are mentioned in a list of priests at Wisbeach in the Harl. MS. 6998, fol. 220, a full copy of which is given in *Troubles*, series ii. pp. 266, 267. "Thomas Fisher, about the age of sixteen years, born at Stilton, servant to the whole company. George Fisher, his brother, about the age of fourteen years, late servant to Mr. Dryland, and now servant to Mr. Bickley." This brother was a student at the English College, Rome, 1601, and was there ordained priest and sent into England. The priest Greene, named in the narrative, was the Rev. John Greene, a native of Staffordshire, whose name appears in the same Harleian list. He is probably known as "George." It is clear from the narrative that his brother was not a prisoner, but a voluntary inhabitant of the Castle.

"1599, October 31. My name is Richard Fisher. I am twenty years of age, and was born at Barton, Northamptonshire, where I was chiefly brought up. My parents and friends,

with one exception, are heretics. I have three brothers and three sisters; the former Catholics, the latter schismatics. As to my vocation, I blush to say that I was a Protestant for sixteen years, in the last of which I applied myself to the law (or ought to have done so,) in London. At Easter I went into the country according to custom, for the festivities. As I was preparing to return I learned that my brother, who is now here under your Reverence's protection, was in Wisbeach, a place which was an object of especial hatred to me, because I saw he was wearing out his days there. However, I greatly desired to see him, and went to Wisbeach Castle, and asked for him. He came, and after many words of greeting said that in a short time he should follow his brother George, who a little before, by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, had left father, mother, and all his friends. I was greatly troubled at these words, and broke forth into angry complaints, saying: 'What has put this into your head?' 'Why do you complain?' he replied; 'I only seek the salvation of my soul,' or similar words, as far as I recollect. He also prayed me to turn my steps into the same course, and accompany him in his journey. After conversing with him I could not refuse, as he was exceedingly dear to me, and I thought I would go with him and see all these things about which he spoke, for he had said nothing to me upon religion or the austere life of persons in foreign countries. I resolved that, if I found his report true, I would remain; if not, I would return. Meanwhile a certain priest who was in Wisbeach, named Greene, often most kindly received me, and made me many promises if I would renounce my father and my country. I felt a great leaning towards him, because he had done so much for me whom he had never seen before. However, for a long time I rejected both his friendship and his promises, being unwilling to trust him; but he never ceased to write to me and send me presents until he had persuaded me to accompany my brother into these parts. Such was briefly the cause of my conversion to the Catholic faith, for were I to relate all that was done by myself and my friends, when I had determined to depart, I fear I should weary your Reverence; wherefore, let these suffice. There are persons in these parts who can attest the tears, sighs, and constant complaints of my friends, when I was about to leave. . . . After I had gone four miles on my way, my father sent a special messenger on horseback after me with the following message: that I had the express command of a

father to return, if I wished to see my mother again alive. I was to go back to my father's house which was filled with women attracted by my mother's excess of grief at my departure. I accordingly returned to my mother, and upon my bended knees humbly implored her to take my departure patiently, declaring that my resolve in this matter was unchangeable. After this, I again took farewell and by night rejoined my brother."

The English College Diary states that he was admitted to the College as an alumnus in the name of Ashton, October 31, 1599; but labouring under severe disease and infirmity during the whole time of his residence, he was sent into Belgium for his health, before he was allowed to take the usual College oaths.

1610. JOHN EVERARD gives a lengthened reply to the usual questions on entering the College; we have room only for some extracts. "I was born in the little town of Deane, Northamptonshire, where the ancient and illustrious family of Brudenells have flourished for generations, and do so still; the present owner being Thomas Brudenell, Esq., a Catholic from his early years, and one who has gained great merit through his sufferings for the Catholic faith. I studied for seven years at home, under a private tutor named Johnson, a B.A. of Cambridge, who was at length promoted to ecclesiastical dignity. After this, my father placed me, at about eleven years of age, with another master, one Strickland, with whom he was upon terms of intimacy, and who had lately taken the degree of D.D. He was a man of no common erudition." He then says that, after studying under him for half a year with good success, being of sufficient age he was sent to the University.

"As to my parents, my father died two years ago, my mother survives, and by the advice of her friends has married a second time one Smith, a Doctor of Theology, and now Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Rector of Bulwick and of Allerton, both very rich benefices. He is also Prebend of Westminster and of Lincoln, and at the same time Canon of Peterborough, &c. By the advice of my principal friends it was determined to send me to Cambridge, as being much nearer than Oxford, and Dr. Strickland obtained my admission to Clare Hall, of which he had been himself a scholar. Dr. Byng, at that time Principal of the College, took charge of me." Everard then goes into a very long detailed account of his studies and of the authors he had read.

He was converted chiefly by the works of Bellarmine and Stapleton, and he details many of the mental phases through which he passed. "The faith daily growing within me," he says, "rendered me deaf to the allurements of the world; so that, resisting these, I hastened over to St. Omer's College, where I was reconciled to the Church by the Rev. Father John Floyd, and admitted to the life-giving sacraments. After this happy event, treading the world under foot I have fled hither to Rome, to place myself without a regretful tear beneath the standard of the Cross."

The Diary of the English College states that he was not admitted either as an alumnus or a convictor, but on trial in the year 1610, under the name of Edward Smith (*vero nomine* John Everard of Northamptonshire), æt. 24, but left after two or three months on account of a certain dizziness in his head, by which he was afflicted during his studies; besides which he did not agree well with the rest of the students.

1650. GILBERT TALBOT, youngest son of John, tenth Earl of Shrewsbury, and the father of Father Gilbert Talbot (*alias* Grey),[40] was a student at the English College, Rome, whither he went after making his humanity course at the English Colleges of the Society at Antwerp and St. Omer. On entering the English College, Rome, he gave a short biographical account, of which the following is an extract:

1650. "My name is Gilbert Talbot, I am son of John Talbot and Mary Fortescue, and am aged nineteen and upwards: I was born in the county of Oxford, and was brought up there, and in Worcestershire and Shropshire. I am the youngest son of John, Earl of Shrewsbury, by his first wife. He had by his second wife two sons and a daughter. My relatives are noble and all Catholics. I studied as far as syntax in the College of the Society at Antwerp, and for two years and a half at St. Omer's College. I left England in 1644, and have come to Rome to gain the Indulgence, and to see the magnificence and splendour of the city. I have entered the English College for the sake of study." (He signs himself John Foster.)

The College Diary says that he entered in January, 1650, as a convictor among the alumni; and Father Christopher Grene adds in a note that he returned again to England, September 15, 1652.

[40] See notice of Father Gilbert, thirteenth Earl, in *Records*, vol. ii. series iv. part i.

1652. EDMUND NAPPIER (or NAPPER) deserves to be noticed as having entered the novitiate of the Society, though obliged to leave it on account of bad health.

After completing his humanity course at the English College, St. Omer, he proceeded to that of Rome for his higher studies, and on entering gave the following biographical account in reply to the usual questions:

1652. "My name is Edward Nappier (or Napper). I was born near Oxford where I was brought up under the care of my parents, whose house was at Holywell, outside Oxford; there likewise I learnt my rudiments, and lived under the care of a schoolmaster until I was seventeen years of age. My parents are both of respectable families; my father is well known at Oxford, where he inherited the house and property of his grandfathers, who lived in good repute and esteem. My father married a Wakeman, whose brother is well known in the county of Gloucester. We never belonged to any but the Catholic religion, which my father always cherished in his heart, and of late publicly embraced; he is yet alive, and has suffered with constancy many losses in the cause of religion. My mother died a few years ago. I have two brothers who are religious; one being my senior, and the other my junior. Most of my relations are Catholic. I was sent to St. Omer's College at sixteen, and have studied there for five years. I was sent home from the novitiate of the Society at Tournay on account of ill health; and because I have not yet obtained leave to return I have come to Rome to follow out my first design, awaiting the time when I may be restored to my former state. I am twenty-seven years of age."

The English College Diary says that he was admitted as an alumnus, October 22, 1652; received minor orders in July, 1653, and left for England, May 26, 1656, on account of lameness resulting from weakness and rendering him unfit to pursue his vocation.

The chief ornament of the Nappier family was the Rev. GEORGE NAPPIER, priest, born at Oxford, where he made his grammar studies; passing thence to Douay or Rheims he made his higher course. He was ordained priest in 1596, and came to the English Mission in 1603, Oxford being the chief seat of his labours. He soon fell into the hands of the enemy, having been seized on leaving the house of a poor Catholic, early in the morning of July 19, 1610.

For a full and very affecting account of his arrest, trial, and subsequent martyrdom, the reader is referred to Bishop Challoner's *Memoirs of Missionary Priests.* He suffered at Oxford, November 9, 1610. His head was set up on Christ Church steeple, and his quarters upon the four gates of the city. The Vice Chancellor, the proctors and the officials of the University appear to have been indecently forward upon the occasion.

The following scenes which occurred at the martyr's trial and execution are specimens of the mode in which justice was administered to Catholic priests, and the vexations which pursued them even to the awful moment of their final passage. "The prisoner was brought to the Bar at the next Assizes, which happened soon after his commitment, and was tried before Mr. Justice Crook upon an indictment of high treason for taking priestly orders by authority derived from Rome, and remaining in England contrary to the law. The Judge asked him whether he was a priest? Mr. Nappier replied, if he was such, the law did not compel him to discover himself. 'But if, my lord,' said he, 'you have witnesses to prove me a priest, let them be called.' Once more the Judge said to him, 'Will you deny that you are a priest?' Mr. Nappier replied, 'If any man will prove me in orders, let the Court produce him, and then, my lord, I shall submit to the penalty of the law.' The Judge then directed his discourse to the jury in these or the like words: 'Gentlemen, you hear the prisoner will not deny himself to be a priest, and therefore you may certainly believe that he is a priest. For my part, if he will but here say that *he is no priest, I will believe him.* But indeed these instruments of priestly function [the oil-boxes] do plainly show him to be in orders, and therefore you have evidence sufficient that he is guilty of the indictment.' Upon which the prisoner was brought in guilty by the jury."

". . . The 9th of November, 1610, being Friday, it pleased God to appoint the time in which the faith of Mr. Nappier was to be tried in the furnace. Being brought therefore out of prison, and laid on the hurdle, with hands joined and his eyes fixed towards Heaven, without moving any way, he was drawn to the place of execution, where, being taken off and set on his feet, beholding the place where he was to suffer, he signed himself with the sign of the Cross, and ascending the steps of the ladder with a cheerful mind to receive his martyrdom, turning his face towards the people, having again

signed himself with the sign of the Cross, he began to speak as follows: 'Gentlemen, you must expect no great speech at my hands, for indeed I intend none; only I acknowledge myself to be a miserable and wretched sinner.' And therewithal joining his hands, with intention to pray, was interrupted by a minister, who called to him, saying, 'Nappier, Nappier, confess your treason.' Wherewith bending himself and looking down towards him, he answered him, saying, 'Treason, sir! I thank God I never knew what treason meant.' To which the minister replied, 'Be advised what you say; do not you remember how the Judge told you it was treason to be a priest?' He answered the minister again, 'For that I die, sir, and that Judge, as well as I, shall appear before the just Judge of Heaven, to Whom I appeal, Who will determine whether it be treason or no to be a priest.' And withal he protested that none but Catholics can be saved. After these words he desired that he might have leave to pray; whereunto the minister replied, 'Pray for the King,' to whom he answered, 'So I do daily.' 'But,' said the minister, 'pray for the King now.' With that he lifted up his hands and said, 'I pray God preserve his Majesty, and make him a blessed saint in Heaven.' Then he desired the company that he might pray to himself. The minister interrupting him the third time, said, 'Go to; pray, and we will pray with you.' To which he answered, 'Sir, I will none of your prayers, neither is it my desire you should pray with me; but I desire all good Catholics to join with me in prayer.' . . . His prayers being ended, he pulled down his night-cap over his eyes and most part of his face, and, often repeating these words, 'Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit,' he yielded himself to one side of the ladder, having his hands still joined; so being turned off, he struck himself three times upon the breast, and yielded his blessed soul into the hands that gave it."

The annual reports of the Province for the Residence of St. Mary during the period of our present history are very scanty, owing to the troubles of the time.

The conversions to the Catholic faith recorded average about twenty yearly.

1635—1640. A large proportion of the four hundred Catholics, being the number of those who were under the care of our Fathers, showed the fervour of their piety by receiving the sacraments weekly.

It is mentioned in 1635 that a barn caught fire, which was instantly extinguished without further damage, on a particle of an *Agnus Dei* being thrown amongst the straw.[41]

Another singular miracle of a blind child restored to sight is recorded to have been effected by the use of water blessed by a relic of St. Ignatius. A miraculous recovery is also narrated of a certain lady who had fallen down stairs and was taken up for dead, but who revived on the application of some relics of St. Ignatius. This miracle was all the more striking, because the lady was near her confinement, and in three days after gave birth to a sound and healthy child.

The death of a pious Catholic gentleman of Northamptonshire in this District is briefly recorded in 1636. This was Mr. John Cotton—the same that was taken prisoner at Mr. Yates' house, Lyford, Berks, with Father Edmund Campian. We have already given the substance of this narrative in *Records*, vol. i. p. 284 note.[42]

1641—1644. The following general remark, touching equally the whole Province, and already alluded to in a former volume of *Records*, occurs, to the effect that at the meeting of Parliament, in the latter part of the preceding year, the civil commotions of the kingdom became greatly increased, so that Catholics, and especially priests, were marked out as objects for public hostility, exposed not only to the vigorous execution of the existing penal laws, but to the plunder and confiscation of their property, as well as every kind of outrage to their persons. During this state of affairs the Fathers of the Society

[41] A very striking miracle in more modern times, through the use of an "Agnus Dei," is recorded in the biography of Father Richard Caryll, as having occurred at Stapehill, Dorset, in 1739 (See *Records*, vol. iii. p. 539).

[42] Several members of the family in later years entered the Society. Among the Archives of the English College, Rome, we meet with mention of the following student, who upon his admission gave this description of himself: "1655. Alexander Cotton, *alias* Blount. My true name is Alexander Cotton, son of Edward Cotton and Mary Brett. I was born in the county of Somerset, in my grandmother's house, but was subsequently removed by my parents to their own house in the county of Surrey, where I lived until I was sent to St. Omer's College, in which I spent six years and upwards making my humanity studies. I am now eighteen years and a half old. My parents are of the upper class, but their fortune has been reduced to a low ebb by the Parliamentarians and heretics in their hatred of the Catholic faith. I was always a Catholic, and hope ever to remain so, as long as life shall last. I have long desired to embrace the ecclesiastical state." The English College Diary mentions that he entered as Alexander Blount (*vere* Cotton), of Somersetshire, aged eighteen, on September 24, 1655, and left for the Novitiate of St. Andrea, March 24, 1656. Father Grene adds that he left the Society after some years.

had great difficulty in obtaining anywhere a safe refuge, or an opportunity of passing from one place to another that they might afford spiritual assistance to the Catholics, or even of communicating, either by letter or otherwise, with their Superiors. Hence few reports were received during these four years, and the scantiness of information is the more to be regretted because the Fathers underwent much more pursuit, want, fatigue, and danger than usual, and thus had more occasion for practising religious patience and zeal.

In 1640, the Fathers, being much confined to their residences on account of the disturbed state of the country, were chiefly employed in private instruction, and in the direction of Catholics. They continued, however, to make a few missionary excursions, and to hold controversial discussions with Protestants not without some prospect of good results; but the great storm from the north nearly blasted their hopes, and for the most part rendered their labours fruitless. They had thus little left to do but to betake themselves to prayer, and beg of God mercifully to turn away from the people of this land the evils, which in punishment of their sins seemed about to overwhelm them.

1650. The following most remarkable case of the conversion of a Protestant upon his death-bed is recorded in this District; but name and place are not mentioned. The person was staying at the house of his elder brother, who had once lived in, and been brought up by, a Catholic family. Being seized with mortal sickness he earnestly implored his brother to procure for him a minister that possessed the power of binding and loosing from sins; "for," said he, "I cannot die until I have been absolved from the sins of my past life." "Thou errest," replied his elder brother, "thou errest, my brother, if thou thinkest that there is any such power conferred upon our ministers;" and he unthinkingly added, "You arrogate to them a power which alone belongs to the priests of the Catholic religion. If you wish it, I will send for one that is truly endowed with that power, derived originally from Christ, through Peter and his successors, and handed down in an unbroken succession until this very time." The sick man was overcome by a sudden emotion of joy, and exclaimed with animation: "Truly this is the man. I demand such an one. Why have you concealed from me until now a fact upon which my eternal happiness depends?"

A pious Catholic woman presently called in one of our

Fathers, who having fully instructed him in the elements of the Catholic faith, frequently heard his confession and duly absolved him from his sins; and he was for a short time so revived by this medicine of immortality, that a sort of truce seemed to have been made for some days between life and death, to secure him greater profit in frequently rejoicing his departing soul by the food of angels, the Most Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist. Soon after he had a relapse, and having received Extreme Unction, he most readily yielded up his soul in death. "We have many good reasons for hoping," says the writer of the report, "that this example of so holy a death occurring in his house, had so affected his brother that he could find no rest in his own position."

The Annual Letters assign no locality to the following affecting instance of the merciful providence of God towards a prodigal son; but as the event is recorded immediately after the foregoing conversion, we suppose that it happened in the same Residence.

"A gentleman, by name Anthony Roan, who had apostatized alike from virtue and faith, had rashly, when under the influence of drink, married a woman possessed neither of birth, dowry, nor a pure life. On recovering from his intoxication he discovered his error, and found that the woman was a pauper, instead of being, as he had hoped and expected, a person of good fortune. His wife died of *delirium tremens*, brought on by excessive drink, within three days of their marriage; and her family, suspecting her husband of having poisoned her, caused him to be apprehended, committed to prison, and tried at the assizes for murder. The trial lasted for a long time, and his acquittal was confidently looked for, when the jury, disregarding the Judge's summing up, and against his earnest efforts to prevent it, found the prisoner guilty. On hearing the sentence of death pronounced by the court, he lifted up his hands with a suppliant gesture to Heaven, exclaiming: 'May the holy God defend me from you, and from your religion. I long ago most basely deserted the Roman faith and enrolled myself in your service, base apostate that I was! Now am I condemned for this crime by the just judgment of God.' After he was remanded to prison the affair was published by him far and wide, till it came to the ears of one of our Fathers, who hearing that all access to the prisoner was precluded by a strict order, and learning that the gaoler was a man of sanguinary disposition all the more confirmed by the command laid upon him,

was determined to devise some plan of communication. He first succeeded in conveying to Roan a letter, in which he excited him by fervent exhortations to a serious and holy constancy in his design of returning to the Catholic religion, and encouraged him therein by freely tendering him his services. Through means of a bribe he managed to obtain the aid of a servant of the gaoler, and thus to secure a private entrance by which he carried out his scheme. The Father, truly no inexperienced hand, found within that vast prison of criminals, under the disguise of a huxter, and in the very presence of the gaoler's wife, the opportunity of hearing Anthony's general confession of his whole life, made by him with sentiments of the deepest grief of heart and expressions of sorrow, accompanied by floods of tears and sobs; and so duly absolved him. A wonderful favour of the good God, that in the presence of a woman having the cruel dispositions of her husband, such an all-important affair, could have been so clandestinely accomplished, that the act never came to be either suspected or betrayed. The Father, on leaving, gave this innocent convict such further counsel as the circumstances of time, place, cause, and eternity, now so near at hand, demanded and permitted. So Anthony spent the rest of his days and nights, until his execution, in the practice of all that became a truly penitent soul. On that last day, with a joyful countenance and in gay attire as for a nuptial feast, he mounted to the top step of the fatal ladder, and smiling as he stretched out his arms in the form of a cross, he gratefully acknowledged the hidden secrets of the Divine mercy. Then, solemnly calling God to witness that, although guiltless of the charge of poisoning his wife, he was indeed guilty of wicked treachery in basely deserting the faith, and of many other crimes, he accepted his disgraceful punishment as coming from a truly paternal Hand, and ordained for the salvation of his soul. At last, with his face courteously turned towards the crowd, he declared that he willingly and freely forgave all and every one who had any hand in his death—the judges, the jury, and the executioners. Upon this the ladder was turned over, when the following horrible scene occurred: The rope, not being strong enough to bear the weight of his body, broke in two, and Anthony fell heavily upon his face to the ground insensible. The executioner hastened into the town and procured another rope, during which interval Anthony perfectly reviving, raised himself upon his knees, with his eyes and hands uplifted to Heaven, and

waited the event. Being again turned off from the ladder he died apparently without any struggle or indication of suffering. He was immediately cut down, and his body thrown into a ditch that had been prepared for it, while it was still uncertain whether he was dead or alive, for some persons present declared that after he had been cast into the trench he was heard to sigh and groan. This event caused in our Fathers great admiration of the ways of Divine providence, and in the angels great joy for the recovery of a sinner; while it was a striking proof of God's punishment in mercy, whereby He drew good out of evil."

1650–1. Some of the poor Catholics, who were numerous in the District, in order to avoid the grievous vexations to which they were subjected had gone to Protestant churches to be married, and presented their children to be baptized by Protestant ministers. As these practices were spreading amongst them, the Fathers zealously opposed and condemned their prevarication. But the evil still continuing, they circulated a notice among their flock that they would not any longer visit those who should persist in so culpable a practice. This threat had the desired effect on the greater part. A Catholic woman soon after giving birth to a son, one of the Fathers heard of it, and went to the house to baptize the child. The mother, however, refused, although the husband was on the side of the missioner. The Father was compelled to yield to the woman's obstinacy, but when leaving the house he told her that he feared some heavy judgment of God would befall her. As soon as he was gone she sent for a Protestant minister to come and baptize the child, which was accordingly done. The infant was then sound and healthy, but the next morning it was found dead in its cradle. Through the mercy of God the bereaved mother publicly acknowledged her guilt and became truly penitent.

The Oxford Mission.—Any attempt at a detailed description of Oxford or of its early history would of course be out of place in our *Records;* but we may insert the following note by Gorton in his topographical dictionary, together with a few extracts from Dugdale's *Monasticon.* Gorton describes it as being "pleasantly situated on a gentle eminence, in the midst of fertile meadows, at the confluence of the river Cherwell with the Thames. Its origin is uncertain, and by some writers it is assigned to a period of very remote antiquity; but its existence cannot be traced with certainty higher than the

reign of Alfred the Great, who established here schools of literature, and has therefore been considered as the founder of the University. The appellation of this place may, with probability, be deduced from its situation near a ford over the Ouse, as the Thames was anciently denominated; whence the name Ouse-na-ford, altered to Ox-na-ford, and Oxford, which has been erroneously supposed to mean the ford for oxen; and hence the city arms display the figure of an ox crossing a river, apparently intended as a rebus on the name of the place." That Oxford abounded in religious houses may be seen on referring to Dugdale's *Monasticon.* The first in the list is St. Frideswide's Monastery, now Christ-Church. St. Frideswide was the daughter of Didanus, a petty prince in these parts, who about the year 727, upon the death of his wife Safrida, founded a nunnery here for twelve religious, virgins of noble birth, under the government of his daughter. She was buried here, and the monastery, in process of time, was dedicated to her memory, and called almost always by her name. The nuns having been dispersed in the Danish wars, the church came into the possession of secular canons. The Saint herself is the Patroness of Oxford. A certain king before the Norman Conquest is said to have expelled the canons, and to have given the monastery to the monks of Abingdon for some years, and then to have again restored the canons. After various changes, Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, in 1111 or 1121, placed there a convent of Regular Canons of the Order of St. Austin. Mr. Wood says "that in the beginning of 1518, Henry VIII., Queen Catharine, and Cardinal Wolsey, came with a splendid retinue to Abingdon, and there lodged themselves in the abbey. The next day, certain persons of the University went to congratulate them, but Queen Catharine being desirous to come to Oxford, was attended in her journey by the Cardinal, and being entered within the limits, was received by the scholars with all demonstrations of love and joy. After she had received their courtesies, she retired to St. Frideswide's Monastery, to perform her devotions to the sacred relics of that virgin Saint (being the chief occasion, as it seems, that brought her hither), and after that was done, she vouchsafed to condescend so low as to dine with the Mertonians." The Priory of St. Frideswide was suppressed in 1524, and after various changes was granted for the foundation of a College, which in 1545 was erected into the Cathedral Church of Christ. The other communities mentioned by

Dugdale are—Gloucester College or Hall, a Priory of Benedictines, now Worcester College; Durham College, founded by Benedictine Monks, 1290, and surrendered to Henry VIII. in 1545: this is now Trinity College; St. Bernard's College of Cistercians, founded in 1437, now St. John's; the Hospital of St. Bartholomew, probably founded by Henry I., and given to Oriel College, 1328; the Hospital of St. John the Baptist, now St. Mary Magdalen's College, which was erected on its site in 1456; the Convent of the Dominicans or Blackfriars, established in 1221; the Convent of the Grey or Franciscan Friars, or Friars Minor, which was dissolved in 1539; the Convent of the Carmelites or White Friars, in the suburbs; the Convent of the Crossed or Crutched Friars, existing in the time of Edward II. and Edward III.; and the Convent of Austin Friars.

The Catholic Mission of Oxford established after the Reformation was one of the most ancient of those under the care of the Fathers of the English Province of the Society of Jesus.

In the autobiography of the Reverend Edmund Smith, page 607, we gather that his conversion to the Catholic faith took place while he was at Oxford, by help of Fathers Young and Greaves, of the Society of Jesus; this was in 1598. In the person of Father William Wolfe, *alias* Lacey, we trace back the mission as early as about the year 1622.

In our biographies we have carried it down through Fathers Rand, Fairclough, Gascoign, Lovell, Poulton, and Richardson, to the period at which our present series ends, viz. 1677. We reserve the subsequent history of the Residence for a future series, to embrace the eventful times of the Oates' Plot persecution, the reign of James II. (when a Catholic revival took place in Oxford), and the Orange Revolution of 1688.

Brightwell, or *Britwell*, once the seat of the Simeon family, was in former years served by the Fathers of this Residence. Among the short biographies of members of the English Province connected with this Residence we have already noticed in page 604 Father Edward Simeon, son of Sir George Simeon, by his second marriage. In Addenda to vol. iii. page 794 we have given a statement communicated by Thomas Weld Blundell, Esq., of Ince Blundell, regarding the old Catholic family of Heveningham, of Aston Hall, Staffordshire, to the effect

that they possessed some manors in the neighbourhood, in the time of Henry II.; and that the last surviving representative of the family, the sole daughter and heiress of Sir Walter Heveningham, Bart., married Sir James Simeon, Bart., of Brightwell, whose only daughter and heiress married Humphrey Weld, Esq., of Lulworth Castle, by which the Weld family became the representatives of both the Heveningham and Simeon families.[43]

[43] The Editor has received the following interesting communication from Mr. Weld Blundell, of Ince Blundell, upon the subject of the extract from Erdeswick's survey of Staffordshire regarding the ancient Catholic family of Weld, given in *Records*, vol. iii. p. 794–5 Addenda. "The note in the Addenda to Series viii. p. 794–5 is not very correct. Before the alliance between the Welds and the Simeons in the middle of the last century (by which the Welds inherited the Heveningham estates as well as those of the Simeon family), I am not aware that the Weld family had any particular connection with Staffordshire. The Wellys and Wells referred to in the note were certainly not members of the Weld family. I have before me the pedigree of the Weld family, drawn from authenticated data in the Heralds' College and British Museum; and from 1352, when William Wilde or Weld (as his name is spelt indifferently), who had been Sheriff of London, settled at Eaton, near Torporley, in Cheshire, the family resided in the same place till the beginning of the last century. Two *younger* sons of John Weld of Eaton settled in London in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Humphrey became a Turkish merchant, and Sheriff and Lord Mayor. His son was Sir John Weld, of Arnold, Middlesex, and his grandson Humphrey purchased Lulworth Castle, and was also (in the time of Charles II.) Governor of Portland Castle and owner of Weld House in London. This Humphrey had a brother, Sir John Weld, who during the Civil War raised a troop of horse, and was knighted by Charles I. in the camp at Hull. The old and eldest branch of the Welds in Cheshire was Catholic, and remained Catholic for some generations. This is proved by the fact that several members of the family were styled recusants (one of these was the elder brother of Sir Humphrey the Lord Mayor, and there was also a younger brother), and one or two joined some religious Order. I am afraid, however, that both Humphrey (the Lord Mayor) and his brother, who went to London, conformed to the religion of the day; and even the grandsons—Humphrey, who purchased Lulworth, and his brother, Sir John Weld—are known to have attended Protestant service; but they must have retained some of the Catholic feeling of their Cheshire ancestors and relatives, as both brothers married Catholics, and allowed their children to be brought up Catholics, and probably died Catholics. Humphrey married a daughter of Lord Arundell of Wardour, whose wife was a Somerset, sister of the Marquis of Worcester. It was this lady who so gallantly defended Wardour Castle, and is referred to in the last published volume. Sir John Weld, Humphrey Weld's younger brother, married a daughter of Lord Stourton; and as Humphrey had only one daughter, who married the Earl of Carlingford, Lulworth Castle was inherited by him and his descendants. His eldest son, William, married the sister of Sir Nicholas Shireburn, and through her eventually the Stonyhurst estates came by inheritance to the Weld family. At page 795 of the last Series reference is made in a note to the Weld family, and particularly to a branch settled in Shropshire at *Willey* (not Witley). This branch is descended from the *brother* of Sir Humphrey, the Lord Mayor, who accompanied him from the Cheshire home of the family. His name was John, and as he was successful in business, like his brother Humphrey, he purchased an estate in Shropshire; and after many generations of Welds had resided at Willey Park, the last of that branch of the family, an heiress, married in 1734 the

In the old Waterperry (near Oxford) Mission Register, now kept at the Catholic Presbytery in Oxford, is a note that: "Hitherto the people of Hazeley, always, since there was no priest there, that is, since the death of Mr. Wolfe [Father William Lacey], of Hazely Court, belonged to the Congregation of Britwell, now without assistance, and are attended by me out of charity." This note is dated June 6, 1790, and is appended to a baptism, "June 6, baptized at Little Hazeley," &c., signed by Father Charles Leslie, then the Catholic clergyman serving Oxford and Waterperry.

Haseley or *Great Haseley* was the living of Leland the antiquary, and, as observed above, we find that Father Wolfe, *alias* Lacey, resided there at one period; and that Father Charles Leslie occasionally visited it in 1796.

Haseley was once a living held by Bishop Oglethorpe, of whom mention is made in *Records*, vol. iii. page 149 note.

In the next village, Great Milton, is a large tomb of the Dormer family, who also buried at Thame.

At *Mapledurham House*, Oxon, is a good specimen of a priest's hiding-place.[44]

head of the Forester family of the same county, and the family now resides at Willey Park, and the members of it are called Weld Foresters. I am never very eager to prove the connection of the Welds with Edric Sylvaticus, or the Wyld, because he was historically about the greatest scoundrel that has ever appeared in the pages of history. He lived—I will not say flourished—in the time of Ethelred and Canute; but a relative, *collateral* (I hope) was a very gallant and powerful enemy of William the Conqueror, and was at last honoured by his friendship. He was Wild, or Wilde, but not Duke of Mercia, of which title his ancestor had been deprived by Canute (or Knute). I have found subsequent mention of the name as *De Weldes* a generation later, and the same appears again in the time of King John, not much more than one hundred years later, so that the story is not *so very* absurd. There must be some tradition in its favour, as it is inscribed on the old tombstone of Sir John Weld in the Lulworth Parish Church. Before the London Alderman and Sheriff, William Wilde, settled at Eaton in Cheshire, there were Wildes, Weldes, and De Weldes settled in the same county from the time of John."

[44] In fact, nearly every Catholic residence, approaching to the name of a mansion, possessed one or more of these needful refuges, mention of which constantly occurs in the old records and among the State Papers. In Buckler's *Churches of Essex*, we read, under the head of "Ingatestone Hall:" "It was in one of the projections on the south front of this remarkable hall that a priest's hiding-place was accidentally discovered in the autumn of 1855. The entrance to this secret chamber is from a small room attached to what was probably the host's bed-room. In the south-east corner the boards were found to be decayed; upon their removal another layer of loose boards was observed to cover a hole or trap-door two feet square. A ladder perhaps two centuries old, remained beneath. The hiding-place measured fourteen feet in length, two feet one inch in breadth, and ten feet in height. . . . The trunk or chest remained in this instance. . . . It measures four feet two and a half inches in length, one foot seven

Warkworth, Northamptonshire.—We have but slight information about this ancient place. It formerly belonged to the Holman family, and then passed, by an heiress, to the family of the Eyres of Derbyshire—the last of whom, in 1804, or thereabouts, pulled down the fine old mansion and sold the estate. There is a tradition that Gother was there, and also the Reverend Alban Butler, who speaks of it in the preface to the original edition of his *Lives of the Saints.* Charles Butler, dedicates his edition of his uncle's work to Francis Eyre, Esquire, of Warkworth. Some Franciscans (at least persons buried in brown habits) were found interred in one part of the ruins.

The above is communicated by Charles Stephen Leslie, Esq., of Slindon House, who adds: "I have all the Stafford pictures and stained glass at Hassop, Derbyshire, where Francis Eyre took them when he pulled down the Great Hall at Warkworth." The last of the Eyres of Hassop, the step-mother of Mr. Leslie, died in 1853. "The destruction of the splendid old Castle of Warkworth," adds Mr. Leslie, "was deeply regretted: it was complete, for not a stone now remains; all is converted into a grass field."

The only Father of the Society whom we can now trace as a missioner or chaplain at Warkworth, was Father Bernard Stafford (*alias* or *vere* Cassidy). He was born in Ireland December, 1713; in 1735 he entered the Society at Watten, and was professed at London in 1753. After studying his theology at Louvain, and receiving Holy Orders, he was sent upon the English Mission; he officiated in London from 1746 to 1754; then at Oxburgh in the College or District of the Holy Apostles, whence he removed to the Residence of St. Mary, of which in 1771 he became Superior. In 1764 and subsequent years he resided at Warkworth, and finally at Thame Park, Oxon, where he died June 11, 1778.

Mr. Holman, the Squire of Warkworth, married the Lady Anastasia Stafford, probably a relative of Father Bernard.

We supply an omission in the notice of a distinguished Father, a native of this District, which should have been inserted at an earlier period, viz., Father John Sweetnam, who

inches in width, and one foot ten and a half inches to the top of the arched lid. The wood appears to be yew, . . . very carefully put together, lined with strong linen," &c. At Sawston Hall, which was rebuilt in the reign of Queen Mary, was a well constructed hiding-place, near the chapel in the roof, at the top of the old winding staircase.

passed by the *alias* of Nicholson. He was a native of Northamptonshire, born 1580, and entered the Society in Portugal in 1606, and was esteemed for his learning and talents in the pulpit. He laboured upon the English Mission for some time, but was finally apprehended and sent into banishment in 1618, with eleven other Fathers of the Society, who were released from their prisons in the month of June of that year by James the First, at the request of the Spanish Ambassador, the Count de Gondomar, who was then leaving England, and upon a promise to take them with him as exiles.[45] He died at Loreto, where he was penitentiary, Nov. 4, 1622, æt. 42. In *Winwood's Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 43 (Sir Charles Cornwallis to the Lord Treasurer, May 20, 1609), we read—"In the house of one Mr. Cotton, of Hampshire, there is harboured a Jesuit who names himself Thomas Singleton. He teacheth the grandchildren of the said Cotton, and hath authority extraordinary from the Pope to dispose and take order for such priests as are sent into England. This Singleton is a man of a high stature, his hair inclining to black, and of the age of thirty-seven or forty. In the house of one Swetman, a draper in London, there are most commonly abiding two Jesuits; the one naming himself Shirburne, of a mean stature, of the age of fifty years, his head and beard black, and now beginning to turn grey. The other called John Swetman, being son unto the said draper, and of the years of twenty-five or thirty. It seemeth that in that house are received the most that resort to that city of that profession."

This Father published, under the initials J.S., *The Progress of St. Mary Magdelen into Paradise*, 8vo, St. Omer, 1618; *The Paradise of Pleasure in the Litanies of Loreto*, St. Omer, 1620. He translated from the Spanish the treatise of Anthony Molina, the Carthusian, *On Mental Prayer*, St. Omer, 1617; and in the same year, *The Exhortation to Spiritual Perfection, with a Dialogue on Contrition by Francis Arias, S.J.* Dr. Oliver thinks that he was the translator of Father Tursellini's *History of Loreto*, a 12mo vol. of 540 pp., printed 1608. It is said that the Holy House was removed to Dalmatia on May 9, 1608, and thence to Loreto.

We reserve further papers and facts regarding this Residence for the history of the English Province in the times of Oates' Plot and the Revolution of 1688.

[45] See p. 592 above

Eleventh Series.

PART II.

THE RESIDENCE OF ST. STANISLAUS,

OR

THE DEVONSHIRE DISTRICT.

THE RESIDENCE OF ST. STANISLAUS, OR THE DEVONSHIRE DISTRICT.

THIS was another of the old Residences constituted by Father Richard Blount. It embraced the counties of Devon and Cornwall, Exeter being probably its head-quarters.

The following places (amongst many others, which cannot now be traced) were formerly served or visited by the members of this Residence.

Arlington (the seat of the Chichester family).
Calverley (where another branch of the same family resided).
Exeter.
Fowey, Cornwall.
Teignmouth.
Lanherne, Cornwall.
Tiverton.
Tor-Abbey, Torquay.
Trevethick or Tolfrey, Cornwall.
Ugbrooke, Chudleigh (Lord Clifford's).

Extracts taken from Catalogues of the Province for 1642 and 1655, name the missioners then working in the District of St. Stanislaus.

RESIDENTIA STI. STANISLAI CUM MISSIONE DEVONIENSI.

1642.

Nomen.	*Patria.*	*Ætas.*	*Temp. in Societate.*	*Gradus.*
Francis Wallisius (Sup.) ...	Surriæ	... 53	... 29	... Prof. Ap. 29, 1626.
Ricardus Campianus ...	Hereford.	... 47	... 25	... Prof. Maii 2, 1632.
Robertus Briantus ...	Somerset.	... 54	... 27	... Form. Mar. 16, 1636.
Odoardus Bentlæus ...	Londin.	... 54	... 33	... Prof. Maii 23, 1627.
Odoardus Kensingtonus ...	Lancast.	... 60	... 26	... Prof. Julii 24, 1628.
Joannes Fisherus ...	Eborac.	... 34	... 14	...
Ignatius Godwynus ...	Somers.	... 39	... 19	...
Petrus Westus [Chichester]	Devons.	... 55	... 5	...

1655.

Ricardus Campianus (Sup.) *vide supra.* ...		...	...	...
Robertus Briantus (*v.s.*) ...		...	...	...
Odoardus Bentlæus (*v.s.*) ...		...	...	...
Petrus Westus (*v.s.*) ...		...	...	...
Christop. Warnerus ...	Norfolc.	... 57	... 30	... Prof. Aug. 6, 1637.

For many years the number of missionary Fathers ranged from six to eight annually: but after the year 1660, or near that time, the number was reduced, and seldom exceeded an average of three or four.

The following members of the English Province (amongst others) served in this District up to the year 1677, the period to which the present notice extends. The subsequent history is reserved for the periods of the Oates' Plot, and the Revolution of 1688.

Father Edward Laithwaite, who usually passed by the assumed name of Kensington, had been a zealous Protestant, and was converted by his brother Thomas during the imprisonment of the latter in Exeter Castle for his profession of the Catholic faith.[1] This took place in 1604–5. His conversion was very remarkable, and will be more fully narrated in the memoir of his brother Thomas. It was briefly as follows. Hearing that his brother was a prisoner in Exeter gaol, he hurried down in the winter of 1604–5 to reclaim him, as he thought, from the errors of Popery, and the magistrates, observing his zeal in that cause, readily allowed him access to the prisoner. At the end of eight days he himself became convinced that he had mistaken the misrepresentations and calumnies of her bitter enemies for the real doctrines of the Catholic Church. He thereupon resolved to assist no longer at the Protestant services, and during the Christmas holidays was reconciled to the Church. Impressed with the greatness of the grace he had received, he was eager to become the instrument of salvation to others. After studying some time in the English College at Douay, that great school of learning, piety, and martyrdom, he went to Rome in 1608, and entered the English College there. Seven years later, he was admitted to the Society of Jesus. The Diary of the English College at Rome states that he entered as a student on the 7th of October, 1608, under the name of Kensington, being then about twenty-four years of age; he took the usual College oath on the 10th of August, 1609; was ordained priest on the 21st of April, 1612, and then sent into Spain. He was a man full of zeal and charity, and of most willing obedience to his Superiors. Having completed his philosophy and three years theology, he entered the Society at Liege.

[1] He was probably the third brother, named in Father John Laithwaite's narrative given below as having apostatized.

A status of the English College for 1613[2] mentions him as being "brother to a a distinguished confessor of Christ, who suffered both imprisonment and tortures for the Catholic faith, and for services rendered to religious and priests, for which he was very celebrated." This probably refers to Father Thomas Laithwaite, whose life is given below.

Father Edward Laithwaite was the second of four brothers who joined the Society.

On entering the English College he gave the following autobiographical statement.

"1608. My name is Edward Laithwaite. I am about twenty-five years of age, but am not sure. I was born in the county of Lancaster, where for about sixteen years I was brought up a Catholic. I then went to London, awaiting an opportunity of a passage over to Douay; and by the persuasion of a relative to whose care I was intrusted, more in order to occupy my time than with any definite purpose, I was bound apprentice to a master in London, an apothecary, where I remained for about seven years. At length, before my time was quite ended, by the assistance of my brother, the master unwillingly released me from the obligation. My father Henry Laithwaite, and my mother Jane Bolton, now deceased, were both of good families. I have six brothers living and two sisters, of whom three brothers and one sister are religious. All the rest, as far as I know, excepting myself, have been free from heresy and schism from their birth. My few other friends are Catholics. A paternal uncle, another uncle, and three aunts are, I hope, yet alive, but are all schismatics. I was given to study from my boyhood until my sixteenth year, so far as the persecution which then raged would allow, in places lying near my father's house; but I made no greater progress than to be able to read the Office of the Blessed Virgin, though not to understand it. After wasting eight years I arrived at Douay, where I made my humanities.[3] My second brother having been ordained priest in Spain, and having completed his course of studies, crossed over to England and was seized in Devonshire, and committed to Exeter gaol, where he was detained for some time. This happened in consequence of his inconsiderate haste to see some friends, and especially myself. Being pre-

[2] Stonyhurst MS. *Anglia*, vol. iv. n. 4.

[3] We find his name in a list of Englishmen who matriculated at the University of Douay, published in the *Records of the English Catholics*, by the Fathers of the Oratory, page 286—1605, "Edouardus Kensingtonus."

vented by this accident from coming to us, he begged my eldest brother to send me to visit him. My visit soon resulted in my abandoning heresy; and having, before my leaving him again, abundantly satisfied me by a few arguments against which I could produce no solid reasons, he dismissed me, and after a month or two, as soon as he was liberated, he reconciled me to the Church. When I attended the Protestant churches for seven years, it was by the persuasion of others, and from fear of being involved in the troubles of the persecution."

Father Edward Laithwaite laboured in several places in England with apostolic zeal; and at length on the 24th of June, 1643, died at the age of sixty-one in the Residence of St. Stanislaus, of which he had for some time been Superior.

Father Thomas Laithwaite, *alias* Scott, *alias* Kensington, though not actually a missionary in this Residence, yet deserves to be registered in it, having been arrested when landing at Plymouth on his way to Exeter, and imprisoned in the gaol of that city, where he sowed the first seeds of his brother Edward's happy conversion.[4] Father Henry More observes that Thomas Laithwaite, who commonly passed by the name of Scott, experienced a chequered fortune. Born in the county of Lancaster, he had three younger brothers priests in the Society of Jesus, who were better known by the assumed name of *Kensington*, than by their family name.[5] The eldest brother remained a secular. Thomas having made his humanity studies at home, went to Seville for his higher course of philosophy and theology. Returning to England in $160\frac{4}{5}$, he sailed from San Lucar for Plymouth, but on landing, and whilst actually waiting for horses to convey him on to Exeter, he was met by Sir Warwick Hele (eldest son of Serjeant Hele of Wemberry), a perverse heretic and bitter enemy of Catholics; who, in quality of Justice of the Peace, required him as being a stranger in the place, arrived from Spain and suspected of being a Catholic, to take the oath of supremacy and allegiance. On his refusal he was searched and plundered even to his under-garments, the magistrate retaining some "wax figures of Christ" (*Agnus Dei*) and written memoranda, which he took along with his prisoner to his own house, not far

[4] *Hist. Prov. Angl.* lib. viii. n. 1. p. 319.

[5] At the end of this memoir we shall briefly notice two of the brothers, John and Francis.

distant. He ordered, however, a sum of twenty marks to be restored to him. After detaining him with every mark of kindness for two days, he again pressed him to go with him to the Protestant church to hear their prayers, but this he declined to do. His committal was then made out for the county gaol at Exeter, twenty miles distant, whither he was sent under an escort. On his arrival he was received by a brutal gaoler, who ordered him to mount upon a pedestal in the prison court-yard, to be exhibited to all the people as a Papist. Father Laithwaite, making use of the opportunity, turned to the assembled crowd and courageously professed his faith. "Most of those," said he, "who are confined in this prison, are here for the perpetration of some crime; I am brought hither because (in my opinion most unworthy to be called a crime) I refuse to be bound by the oath of supremacy, or in other words to renounce the Catholic faith which I profess, and to embrace the heresy lately set up." He was received with a shout of execration from the felons around, and being heavily ironed was thrust into a dungeon filled with the vilest criminals, yet he deemed himself happy thus to suffer for the sake of our Lord and Saviour. After a few hours, however, he grew disgusted with the place, on account of the scenes of depravity which everywhere met his eyes. There were eighty men and women shut up together in this dungeon for various crimes. Each prisoner was chained by the feet to an iron ring, which admitted of his sitting, standing, or lying down, but not of moving from his position. Two of them were left free to assist the others. On payment of two pence a day to the gaoler, leave was granted to walk out in a very narrow and offensive court. Father Laithwaite therefore bargained for a separate cell, by payment of a gold crown per week;[6] having previously paid three crown pieces to obtain the privilege of lighter fetters. On leaving the felon's dungeon the vermin, gathered from that filthy place, adhered to him in such quantities, and his hands, feet, and face were so swollen that for some time he was deprived of sleep.

In the meantime they brought into the prison two Irishmen; the one a robust young priest, the other a layman of advanced age. Father Laithwaite with difficulty obtained leave that they should not be confined in the aforesaid felons' dungeon, choosing rather to let them share his own cell, though the greedy gaoler exacted for the two additional beds

[6] About 4*s.* 6*d.*

in it as many gold crowns per week each. As the poor Irishmen had not wherewith to pay, the whole expense fell upon the good Father; who, after this disbursement, found he had only sixteen florins left, wherewith to buy victuals. He was therefore obliged to live sparingly upon a small loaf and a modicum of milk per day from the public stock, in fact upon the prison allowance; but he endeavoured to compensate for the wants of the body by spiritual exercises distributed over various hours of the day.

After spending three months in that den of infamy and misery he was arraigned at the Lammas assizes, and condemned to death for his priesthood, on the sole testimony of a man who had seen him celebrate Mass at St. Lucar. The judges, however, did not then proceed beyond passing sentence of death, but left him to await execution later on. He was reserved for longer labours and for palms of another kind.

The other priest met with a more tragic fate; for unhappily, within his robust body he bore a coward's heart. He conformed, and consented both to attend the heretical worship and to take the condemned oath of allegiance and supremacy, publicly renouncing his faith before the court. Still the unhappy man was not at once liberated, as no doubt he expected to be. On Father Laithwaite refusing to readmit him to his cell after his base apostacy, he was confined in the public felons' dungeon; where he so imbibed the depraved habits of his companions, that, whereas before he had been a modest and steady man, he now became an utterly abandoned profligate, and seemed to have lost his very senses.

Soon after this, Father Laithwaite received some pecuniary assistance from his eldest brother, and the Reverend Archpriest Blackwell. His younger brother also, Edward, came to visit him in Exeter gaol. Edward had so deeply imbibed the errors of Protestantism, and so vehemently inveighed against the Catholic religion, that the head gaoler willingly intrusted him with the custody of his brother, and they remained together for eight days;[7] during which time Edward's sentiments were so changed, that he resolved to attend the Protestant services less frequently, and soon afterwards ceased attending altogether. He was on the following Christmas Day joyfully received by his brother into the Catholic Church. The rest is already stated above.

[7] Father Henry More, as above. From this it appears that he was allowed to take his brother out of prison to his own lodgings.

Nor was his brother Edward the only fruit of Father Laithwaite's imprisonment. At the Exeter assizes, a certain wretched malefactor had been condemned to death, and took his sentence so greatly to heart (especially as being the only one left for execution) that the very shock was nearly fatal to him. It happened at that time that the old gaoler was removed, and a new one appointed. As the new keeper could find no minister of his own sect fit to attend the unfortunate man, he asked Father Laithwaite (understanding that he was both a good and an educated man) to undertake the office of consolation, which we may well imagine he readily did. They were nearly two hours together; and, so far as the short space of time would allow, the convict was instructed in the faith, made his confession, and was filled with such great joy, that he not only regarded lightly the thought of his approaching death, but warmly embracing the Father declared, with floods of tears, that he had never before in the course of his life experienced so great consolation. Father Laithwaite ordered him to say nothing till he reached the place of execution. Arrived there, he frequently signed himself with the sign of the Cross upon his breast and confessed himself a Catholic. The enraged authorities called in two ministers, who vainly strove to make him renounce his faith. Constantly uttering the sweet names of Jesus and Mary, and earnestly entreating the prayers of the Catholics present, he was cast off the ladder, with every hope, in the opinion of Catholics, of a joyful resurrection. The gaoler was furious, and threatened Father Laithwaite with extreme measures. He, in his turn, cautioned him to hold his peace; because, as having introduced this man to him, he himself could not hope to escape censure.

This imprisonment lasted nearly six months, when, by means of his brother, his sentence of death was commuted to one of perpetual banishment. He was put on board a vessel bound for St. Malo. The crew and passengers spent a day at Guernsey; and the next day, while pursuing their voyage, were overtaken by a terrible storm, which drove the vessel on the Hampshire coast, near Hurst Castle. Here, by the connivance of the captain, who was bribed for the purpose, the Father effected his escape, and hastening without delay to Father Henry Garnett begged admission into the Society. He was placed under the direction of Father John Gerard for instruction. This happened soon after the discovery of the

Gunpowder Plot, when everything was in confusion. Search was made after Father Garnett high and low, and Father Laithwaite's admission to the Society was thereby delayed; yet, though the pursuivants were constantly at his heels, he contrived to elude them for a time. He was, however, finally apprehended in attempting to rejoin Father Gerard at his residence in the country, and remained in gaol for about a year. After that, with forty-six other priests, he was sent into perpetual exile. The following is Father John Gerard's account of this seizure:[8]

"For since it was my chief friends who were involved in that disaster of the Powder Plot, the Council on this account believed me to be privy to it, and from the first sought for me with great persistence and severity. They sent certain magistrates to search our house[9] most exactly, with orders if they found me not, to stay in the house till recalled, to post guards all round it at night, and to have men on the watch both day and night, at a distance of three miles from the house on every side, who were to apprehend all they did not know, and bring them before the justices. All this was done to the letter. But immediately the news reached us of such a plot having been discovered, and we learnt that certain of our friends had been killed and others taken, expecting that in such a season we too should have something to suffer, we had made all snug before they came, and so they found nothing. They continued searching, however, for many days, till my hostess discovered to the Justice in chief command one of the hiding-places in which a few books had been stowed away, thinking that he would then desist from searching any further, under the impression that if a priest had been in the house he would have been hidden there. Yet they continued in the house for full nine days; and I, meanwhile, remained shut up in a hole where I could sit, but not stand upright. This time, however, I did not suffer from hunger, for every night food was brought to me secretly; nay, after four or five days, when the rigour of the search was somewhat relaxed, my friends even took me out at night and warmed me at a fire, for it was wintry weather, just before Christmas-tide. And when nine days had passed the searching party withdrew, believing it impossible I could be there so long undiscovered. . . .

"In the meantime they had taken a priest, who knowing nothing of the watch set about the place, was coming to our

[8] *Condition of Catholics*, p. clxxv. [9] Harrowden, the seat of Lord Vaux.

house for safety. This good priest, by name Thomas Laithwaite, who is now of our Society, and is labouring in England, had left us a few days before at my request, when we heard of the Plot, in order to communicate with Father Garnett, and obtain from him for me instructions how to act in the present crisis. Even on his way thither he was taken, but escaped again for that time in the following manner. His captors took him to an inn, intending to bring him up for examination and committal the next day. On entering the inn he took off his cloak and sword, and laid them on a bench; then, on pretence of looking after his horse and getting him taken to water, he went to the stable, and as there was a stream near the house, he bade the boy lead the horse thither at once, and himself went along also. When they had come to the stream and the horse was drinking, 'Go,' said he to the lad, 'get ready the hay and the straw for his bed, and I will bring him back when he has drunk.' The boy returned to the stable without further thought, and he mounting his horse spurred him into the stream, and swam him to the opposite bank. Those at the inn, seeing his cloak and sword still lying there, had for some time no suspicion of his stratagem; but hearing from the stable-boy what had happened, they saw they had been outwitted, and immediately set off in pursuit. They were, however, too late; for the fugitive, knowing the way well got to the house of a Catholic before night, and lay hid there for a few days. Then finding that he could not get to Father Garnett, and thinking all danger had passed in our direction, he tried to return to me. But while avoiding Charybdis he fell into the clutches of Scylla; for, as I said above, he was taken on his way to our house and dragged to London. They were not able, however, to prove him a priest, and his brother was allowed to buy his freedom for a sum of money."

The first use which Father Laithwaite made of his liberty, on a foreign shore, was to commence the regular noviceship at Louvain. This he did on February 1, $160\frac{6}{7}$, in his tweny-ninth year. He made his simple vows on February 2, 1609. Then returning to England he appears to have laboured on the mission in Staffordshire, amongst other places, where he gave frequent proofs of prudence and courage. In this county a certain mason of the name of Romuold, a Calvinist, lay sick. He was naturally a good and upright man, but a zealous member of that sect of Protestants. Father Laithwaite, in whose neighbourhood he happened to live, ventured upon a visit to him,

in company with a noble lady, the daughter of his host. After exchanging a few words of civility he turned the conversation upon the mercy of God towards a truly penitent sinner, the foulness of sin, the joy of the angels over one sinner returning to God, and similar topics; which discourse being agreeable to Romuold, he invited him into his room and asked him to be seated and rest awhile. The lady in the meantime engaged the attention of his wife in conversation. Father Laithwaite then proceeded to show that it was the ancient custom to confess our sins to a lawfully ordained priest, that a vestige of the old practice was still retained in their Book of Common Prayer, that Christ had given in the Gospel power of absolving penitents, that he himself was a priest, and that if he wished to avail himself of his services he might secure his eternal salvation. After a short pause the man observed: "The things you say appear to be consonant to reason, and I allow their truth to you because I see that you clearly understand what things are necessary." Then, having heard the Father discourse upon the unity of doctrine and concord of the Catholic Church, and of the ceaseless dissensions of heretics among themselves, he made his confession upon the spot, and was duly absolved; his wife, meanwhile, suspecting what was going on, vainly knocked for admission. His sons too, on their return from the fields with the servants, guessing how the matter was, became indignant, and threatened the Father if ever he returned, while the wife exclaimed that her husband was lost through him. The Father did, however, venture to return, as soon as he understood from the medical man that there was no hope of the convert's recovery; and the dying man, ordering his family to be quiet, put an end to their threats and insults, and sent them all out of the room. Some Catholics who had accompanied Father Laithwaite remained whilst the last sacraments were given, and within an hour the man died the death of a pious Catholic, in the Father's presence.

After spending four years in various missions, Father Laithwaite was betrayed by Atkinson the apostate priest, arrested and thrown into Newgate. It happened that an Ambassador sent over to England by the Duke of Narbonne was preparing to return, and to his charge the Father was delivered, for the purpose of being conducted into exile. He did not, however, cross the water. Some dispute having arisen regarding his identity on account of his various assumed

names, the Ambassador caused him to be put ashore again on the English coast. This was in the month of July. In the following October, he was again betrayed by the same unhappy apostate, and committed to the Gatehouse, Westminster. Here he was brutally treated by the gaoler, and at length took counsel with some fellow-prisoners for escape, which was successfully accomplished. The remainder of his life, for the next fifty years, he passed in the house of a pious and distinguished Catholic, instructing his numerous family in virtue and learning, besides making almost weekly excursions to assist the Catholics round about; for the good Father was second to none in industry and zeal in propagating the Catholic faith. He passed to the rewards of a better life in the same house on June 10, 1655, æt. 77. The name of his host does not appear, and the loss of ancient records prevent our ascertaining the locality.

Father Laithwaite is mentioned in Gee's list of priests and Jesuits in and about London. He appears, by the following curious extract from Wood's *Athen. Oxon*,[10] in his notice of Father Henry Fitzsimon, to have been in London during 1614: "A staunch defender of the Established Church of England, named Francis Mason, wrote a book in vindication of his Church regarding her ordinations; and in a copy he gave to his old College (Merton College, Oxon) he made a note in his own handwriting, in consequence of Father Thomas Fitzherbert's book against the Bishop of Ely (Andrewes); in which note he says (*inter alia*): 'Know therefore that, upon the 12th of this present May, 1614, his Grace of Canterbury sent for Mr. Coleton, the archpriest, Thomas Leake, a secular priest, and also one Jesuit called Thomas Laithwaite, and showed unto them the Register and other records of his predecessor Matthew Parker, which they perused over and over, and found that the said Parker was consecrated in Lambeth Chapel (and not at the Nag's Head, Cheapside) by certain Bishops that had been ejected in Queen Mary's reign.'"[11]

[10] Vol. i. p. 463.

[11] Heylin, in his *History of England*, mentions this circumstance, so as to imply that the priests who were thus summoned to see the Register were satisfied of its genuineness, and admitted the Anglican Orders on the strength of it; whereas (1) the entry might have been a forgery, made in Mason's own time, as Catholic writers of the period often cast in the teeth of the Established Church; (2) the genuineness of the entry would not prove the validity of the Orders, which would need to be established on other grounds; it would only disprove the Nag's Head fable; (3) it is obvious that men under the edge of a penal law, admitted, or rather summoned, to

FATHER JOHN LAITHWAITE, *alias* KENSINGTON, the third brother of the above, was born in 1585. At the age of eighteen, on October 6, 1603, he was admitted an alumnus of the English College, Rome. We give the following account of him, extracted from the replies to the interrogatories which it was the custom of the College to put to students applying for admission.

examine a document on which the whole status of the dominant body rested, would be cautious in expressing their disbelief, and thus increasing their own pains and penalties. The following account of the inspection of the Lambeth Register is taken from *Alethes Clerophilus*, p. 104. "However strong a presumption these arguments might raise against the Register, Father Fitzherbert was too wise a man to stop at a mere presumption where the matter would bear a further trial. He therefore added in the same appendix a proposal which, if refused, would doubtless convince the world of the forgery." He then called for a production of the Register "to be viewed and examined by Catholics. So public an accusation of forgery from so celebrated a person, and the trial put upon so fair an issue, made a great noise. The Register must be for ever blasted if they refused to show it. Dr. Abbot, who then possessed the see of Canterbury, procured to have four priests brought from different prisons, where they were detained for their religion, to Lambeth. There the voluminous Register was showed them in the presence of the same Archbishop of Canterbury, and those of London, Durham, Ely, Bath, Lincoln, and Rochester. Were the Catholics convinced that it was authentic? Nothing less. Father Juvency, in his elegant history of the Society, lib. xiii. n. 92, p. 192, marks the very day they were sent for, the 14th [12th] of May, 1614, the names of the persons, viz., Father Faircloth and Father Laithwait, Jesuits, and MM. Keak [Leak] and Colleton, both secular priests. He then adds that Father Laithwait particularly answered that he would not be positive till he had further leisure to examine the Register. Negavit se quidquam certo pronunciare posse. Optimum videri ut narratio integra describeretur, et per otium examinaretur. Exscribendam promisit Cantuariensis. Gratias egere Patres, et in suum remissi sunt ergastulum. Diebus paucis interjectis petierunt ut narrationem describendam, quem admodum promiserat, curaret. Distulit semper in commodiorem, uti prædicabat, occasionem. Ac rursum illis haud semel flagitantibus, verba dedit," ["He declined to give any positive opinion, the best course appeared to be that the entire narrative should be transcribed and leisurely examined. Canterbury promised to do this. The Fathers thanked him, and were remanded to their dungeons. After the lapse of a few days they requested to be furnished with the copy so faithfully promised. But, as had been anticipated, he always deferred it to a more convenient opportunity, and this answer they received again and again to their renewed requests"]. "This refusal of either reviewing the Register more at leisure or having an authentic copy of it, was writ to Father Fitzherbert, and convinced both him and the world that their suspicions were just. Juvency refers to the original letters for his account, and hence it appears that Bramhall had no reason to say (chap. iv.) that *they perused the Register as much as they pleased*, and gave this sentence, that the book was beyond exception. It appears further that Bramhall misrepresented the matter, by adding that it was ridiculous for them to desire to have the records in prison, since such books are not to go *out of the presence of the keeper*. This they neither insisted upon, nor was it so hard a matter to have the prisoners brought to Lambeth under their own keepers, or the imprisoned Register with its keeper might at least have been viewed again by other Catholics. To refuse this, or to boggle at it, is an aspersion from which

"My name is John Laithwaite. I am eighteen years of age, and was born at Wigan in Lancashire. I made my rudiments at Blackrod, under a Protestant schoolmaster, with two of my brothers, but being Catholic, our parents removed us, and we received instruction at home from a Catholic neighbour for about half a year. At length it was arranged for our attending schools at Wigan until we were older, and that

the Register can never be cleared. Mr. Williams, I suppose, will need no answer in the opinion of any prudent reader, when he says (chap. vii.) 'that the two Jesuits repented of their conviction, and that their afterwards denying it *is a case of conscience to be reconciled by some Romish casuist, who will tell you very gravely, without blushing, that to tell a lie to advance the Catholic religion, alias the religion of Rome, is a duty and no sin.*' The calumny is too glaring, and as such a lie could not advance but prejudice their cause, so the keepers of the Register could not prejudice their own cause more remarkably than by not calling other Catholics at least to a full examination of it. . . Mr. Ward relates (from the postscript of the *Nullity of the Protestant clergy of England*) a remarkable passage with regard to this affair in these words: 'Since the finishing of the point I have had occasion to find out some particulars. Mr. Abbot of Canterbury showed to Father Faircloth certain records (meaning the Lambeth Register), but Mr. Plowden yet living does depose that he had it from Father Faircloth's own mouth, with whom he lived many years an intimate friend, this ensuing answer of Father Faircloth's to Abbot. "My lord," said he, "my father was a Protestant, and kept a shop in Cheapside, and assured me that himself was present at Parker's, and the first Protestant bishop's consecration at the Nag's Head in Cheapside, &c." This supposed, my lord, I cannot but judge this is a forged Register.'" This was Serjeant Edmund Plowden, the eminent lawyer (see Plowden Hall and the Plowden family, p. 537, seq.).

Canon Estcourt, in his valuable work upon *Anglican Ordinations*, thus refers to this event (p. 153): "These various works [by Catholic controversialists] and particularly Fitzherbert's, induced Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, to take a remarkable step. He sent for four Catholic priests, who were at the time prisoners for their religion, and produced the Register before them. It was the 12th of May, 1614. The priests were John Colleton, who was afterwards made Dean of the Chapter by Dr. Bishop; Leake, also a secular priest; Fairclough and Laithwaite, Jesuits. They were brought to Lambeth Palace, and inspected the Register in the presence of the Archbishop; King, Bishop of London; James, Bishop of Durham; Andrewes, Bishop of Ely; Montague, Bishop of Bath and Wells; Neile, Bishop of Lincoln; and Buckeridge, Bishop of Rochester. We may receive the story as certain, because it is told by contemporary writers, both Protestants and Catholic, but as to the opinions expressed by the reverend Fathers, the narratives differ considerably. And it is difficult to see what their testimony would have been worth, even supposing it was in favour of the authenticity of the Register. Four poor prisoners brought up before my lords, seven of their bitterest enemies, who had a direct interest in the documents produced for inspection, and asked to examine the Register in their presence; all their motions and gestures keenly watched, and knowing that whatever criticisms they made would be a confession of faith, that perhaps might lead them to the scaffold; whether it was the fact that they spoke doubtfully, or whether they expressed themselves satisfied, or whether on returning to their prisons they retracted the opinions they had given, it really seems unnecessary to inquire. But if Father Fairclough did express his belief in the Nag's-Head story, all honour to him for his courage and constancy."

I did for four years or more. My father's family is descended from the Laithwaites, a wealthy family of the middle class. For his faithful adherence to the Catholic religion my father was driven away by the Protestants, and compelled to abandon all his property and possessions, and seek an asylum in another country, until at length, by favour of Henry, Earl of Derby, he was reinstated in his property, but rather in the condition of a serf, totally dependent upon the pleasure and ambition of the Earl, who had the power of committing or discharging him at will. He was thus enabled to live quietly and securely at home protected by the Earl from the insults of the heretics for the space of two years, after which, at the Earl's pleasure, he was thrown into Lancaster Gaol, but was liberated after about two months, on account of corporal infirmity, and returning home, with health completely broken, he died a fortnight after. My mother, who is descended from the ancient stock of the Boltons, persevering in the Catholic faith, about three years after my father's death, suffered the loss of her whole property; but death at length released her from all her tribulations. I have five brothers, of whom the eldest, upon my mother's death, yielding to the solicitations and threats of many, and the dread of the loss of his property, unhappily lapsed into heresy. But, disgusted with his course of life, he will, I hope, by the goodness of God, return again shortly. My second brother is a Catholic, and as I hear is a priest in Spain. My third brother is now a Protestant. In the first or second year after my mother's death he was seized by the pursuivants, who are employed to hunt down the Catholics, and was taken before the Bishop of Chester, who endeavoured both by threats and blandishments to entice him to heresy, but in vain, for he preferred torture and death itself to abandoning his religion. But (it seems) his words were widely different from his actions, for having been discharged from custody, being under age, he was afterwards seduced by a certain intimate friend, and now, though utterly ignorant, yet he is obstinate, and, as he declares, acts by the inspiration of the Spirit. My fourth and fifth brothers were always brought up Catholics, the younger of whom is now in grammar at Douay. I have two sisters, both Catholics, one married, one still a child. I was always a Catholic."

Father John Laithwaite took the usual College oath on July 26, 1604, and in the same year received minor orders and entered the Society. He rendered himself (says the

College Diary) most dear to all by his remarkable virtues and suavity of manner.

Loss of records prevents our tracing him further.

FATHER FRANCIS LAITHWAITE, *alias* KENSINGTON, the fourth brother, was born in the year 1589, and at the age of seventeen was admitted as an alumnus of the English College, Rome, on October 19, 1606. He took the usual College oath on June 24, 1607. After receiving minor orders in 1607 he entered the Society, and was sent to make his noviceship at Ingoldstadt. On entering the English College he says: "My name is Francis Laithwaite. I am sixteen or seventeen years of age, and was born near Wigan, where I was brought up. My parents were of the middle class. I have five brothers and two sisters. All my relations are Catholics. I made my studies in England and at Douay, and was always a Catholic."[12] For the reasons given above we here lose all further trace of him.

FATHER ADAM ARNOLD is named by Father Bartoli[13] as living in the county of Devon, where he showed great zeal in opposing King James I.'s Oath of Supremacy, about the year 1606, against a combination of twelve noted persecutors, who were engaged in compelling all the Catholics of those parts to take the oath.

This Father is mentioned in the autobiography of Father Thomas Sherwood (1607), given in the College of St. Francis Xavier, pp. 411, seq. Father Sherwood states, "I made my humanity course of studies at Bath under two masters, named Adam Arnold and Henry Slyman, of whom the former is now a Father of the Society of Jesus." We can find no other particulars of Father Arnold.

FATHER FRANCIS WALLIS succeeded Father Edward Laithwaite as Superior in 1641–2. He was born in 1589, entered the Society in 1613, and was solemnly professed of the four vows in 1626. Father John Clarke, Rector of Liege College, in a letter to the Very Reverend Father General, dated March 2, 1656, announcing Father Wallis's death on the

[12] We find his name in the list of English matriculated at the University of Douay. *Records of the English Catholics*, p. 286—"1605, Franciscus Kensingtonus."

[13] *Inghilterra*, lib. vi. cap. xiv.

28th of February in that year, says that the deceased had been Rector of Liege, and on quitting this office had proceeded to England, where he laboured for some years, and twice suffered imprisonment for the faith; that he had returned to Liege eight or ten years before in broken health, and incapable of holding any office. He speaks of him as a very humble man, and remarkable for his filial devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mother of God. In the year 1618, about the end of July (as we learn from the Douay Diary), upon occasion of the treaty of marriage then on foot between Prince Charles (afterwards Charles I.) and the Infanta of Spain, at the intercession of the Spanish Ambassador no less than sixty priests, who were incarcerated in divers prisons throughout the kingdom, were permitted to exchange their prisons for perpetual banishment, and were transported beyond seas. Amongst this numerous band of confessors was Father Wallis.

Brother Lewis Chichester, commonly known as Peter West, was a member of the ancient Catholic family of Chichester, of Arlington. He is named in the Catalogues of the English Province for 1642 and 1655 as being a native of Devon, and attached to the residence of St. Stanislaus. Born in the year 1583, he entered the Society as a lay-brother in 1637, and was employed in assisting the Fathers in England. Having been once a member of the medical profession, he rendered himself very useful by his skill in its practice. He was fifty-four years of age when he entered the Society, and was probably a practitioner in the county at the time. The following is a copy of a letter from Father John Clarke, the Rector of Liege, to the Father General of the Society, announcing the death of this good religious. The original letter is preserved in the archives of the Society.

"Very Reverend Father in Christ,

"P.C.

"I have heard this week from England that our very dear Brother Lewis Chichester (who, if I mistake not, is usually called in the catalogues Peter West), died there on the 29th of January last. He was a medical man of note some years before his admission to the Society in the degree of a temporal coadjutor. He was sent last summer from England by the Reverend Father Provincial of happy memory to the novitiate at Watten, and there for some months learnt religious

discipline, and practised himself, according to our rules, in domestic observances and the functions of a temporal coadjutor. It seems that Providence, in its accustomed sweetness, had so disposed that this good old man should prepare himself in this seclusion for eternity, to which he was so shortly to be summoned. For when he had passed a few months at Watten, Father Provincial recalled him to England, where, not long after, falling sick, he at length happily, as we hope, closed his last days.

"Will your Paternity be pleased to order the usual suffrages of the Society for him. We have ordered the usual ones throughout this Province.

"Your Paternity's unworthy and obedient son in Christ,

"JOHN CLARKE."

"Liege, February 25, 1656."

Brother Lewis Chichester is said to have been buried at Arlington, and most probably died there.

The following is a copy of the original in the archives of the Residence of St. Stanislaus, containing a donation of two hundred pounds to the District.

"December 21, 1655.

"Whereas my cousin Balthazar Beare, of Ash, in the parish of Brawnton, and county of Devon, Esq., doth owe, and is indebted to me in the sum of £200 of current English money, for which he payeth a yearly annuity of £12. These are to let all men know that I do give and bequeath the foresaid sum of £200, and the annuity thereof, unto the Superior of the Society of Jesus of this Western District, to be by him employed for the maintenance of a priest of the said Society, to help the Catholics of these parts where the Superior shall think most need. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand even the day and year above written.

"LOWYS CHICHESTER.

"In presence of us,

"EDWARD CHICHESTER,

"ROBERT CHICHESTER."[14]

The late Dr. Oliver in his *Collections in Devon*, &c. (1857), speaking of this Catholic family, says that "they persevered in

[14] The above witnesses were probably his two nephews named in the annexed pedigree.

the religion of their forefathers until John Palmer Chichester read his recantation in Exeter Cathedral about the year 1795. He died at Weymouth, November 5, 1823, æt 54. Until his unhappy apostacy a priest had been maintained as chaplain in the family. Strange to say, though Popery and treason were considered synonymous in the eye of the law, yet licence to commit Popery and its prospective pardon might be had from the hands of the Anglican Church and 'Defenders of the Faith.' Their martyr Charles I. loved to traffic in such indulgences. In folio 36, Patent Book of Dr. Hall, Bishop of Exeter, the author of *Dissuasive from Popery*, is copied his Majesty's allowance under the Great Seal of England, dated March 14, 1628, to John Chichester, of Arlington, Esq., and to his wife Anne, to remain recusants, &c., with the exemption from pains, penalties, &c., during the yearly payment of a specified sum to the crown." Dr. Oliver also mentions a letter in the State Paper Office, dated October 21, 1642, in which he finds the following passage. "There hath been more substantial armour found in Mr. Chichester's house at Arlington, and at Master Courtenay his house at Molland (both recusants), than in our whole country (the gentry excepted). At the searching of these gentlemen's houses there were many wounded."

The annexed pedigree of the Arlington Chichesters shows Brother Lewis to be the third son of Henry Chichester.

Father John Sweet was born at Modbury, Devonshire, in the year 1570.[15] He sometimes passed by the name of Douse. In the year $160\frac{2}{3}$ he entered the English College, Rome, for his higher studies, as an alumnus, at the age of thirty, on October 28, 1602. He left the College April 21, 1606, before ordination, in order to arrange some family affairs. "He afforded great edification to the students and spiritual service to the people who visited the College, of whom he drew many to the Catholic faith, and favourably disposed many towards it. He entered the Society in the year $160\frac{8}{9}$, and

[15] "As early as the reign of Stephen an alien priory of Benedictines existed here. Modbury House, sometimes called the Court House, was formerly inhabited by the Champernounes, who lived here in great splendour from the time of Edward the Second till about the close of the seventeenth century. A part, which appears to have been one of the wings, is still standing, and contains a large arched chamber, said to have been the dining-room. At a short distance was a large deer park, now converted into a considerable farm, but still retaining the name of Modbury Park" (Gorton's *Topog. Dic.*).

THE CHICHESTERS OF ARLINGTON.

From the Visitation of Devonshire, 1620. *Harleian MSS.*, British Museum, n. 1080.[1]

HENRY CHICHESTER, eldest son and heir. = MARIA, daughter of GEORGE BURGAINE, of Zeate.

- ANNIAS [AMIAS?] = SUSAN, daughter of —— PLATTERS, of Satterby, Sussex.
  - HENRY.
  - JOHN.
  - EDWARD.
  - ROBERT.
  - MARIA.
  - CATHERINE.
  - ELIZABETH.
- CHICHESTER, of Arlington.
- LEWIS. Born 1583; entered the Society of Jesus 1637 as a Lay-Brother in the name of PETER WEST; died at Arlington, January 29, 1656, æt. 73,[2] and was buried at Arlington.
- NICHOLAS.
- SUSAN. = ROBERT NEMPE, of Towcester.
  - ANNE.
  - SIMON.
  - JOHN.
  - GREGORY.
  - SUSAN, and two more daughters.
- MARIA. Died unmarried, 1620.
- HENRY. = HESTER ——

[1] According to Burke's *Peerage*, the Chichesters of Arlington claim a common ancestor with the ancient house of Chichesters of Raleigh, Devon; John Chichester of Raleigh, by his second wife, Joan, daughter of Richard Brett, of Whitstaunton, Somerset, had a son Amias Chichester, of Arlington, who was born *temp.* Edward IV., and to whom his father gave the estates at Arlington, which have ever since continued in the possession of Amias' posterity. An Augustinian Nun was professed at Bruges as Sister Teresa Joseph Chichester in 1724, and died in 1769. We have no clue to enable us to place her in the Pedigree, the names being probably the Religious and not the Christian names.

[2] The Visitation for 1620 makes him seven years younger than the Catalogues of the Province, which we deem much better authorities.

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is labouring in England for the salvation of souls."[16] After his promotion to the priesthood, viz., in 160$\frac{8}{9}$, he entered the Society, it is believed, at Naples. For some time he was penitentiary, or confessor, in the Church of St. Peter's, Rome. He was then ordered to repair to the English Mission, where, says Father Nathaniel Southwell,[17] "he became a useful missioner, and the parent of many children in Christ," and laboured until he was compelled by ill-health to retire to St. Omer's, where he died February 26, 1632. We have from his pen a quarto volume, printed at St. Omer's in 1617, *The Discovery of the Dalmatian Apostate, M. Anthony de Dominis, and his Books.* This unfortunate man had been recommended by Paolo Sarpi to King James I., and had reached England 1616.[18] Dodd says,[19] "He (Father Sweet) is mentioned on an occasion of a conference he had with Dr. Fealty, in a book entitled, *The Romish Fisher Caught*, &c., or *A Conference between Sweet and Fisher*, London, 1624. Amongst the State Papers, Public Record Office, *Dom. James I.* vol. cxlviii. n. 81, July 12, 1623, is a letter from John Chamberlaine, Esq., to Dudley Carleton, Esq., in which he says, "Dr. White and Dr. Fealty have held private disputations with Fisher and Sweet the Jesuits."[20]

Father Sweet was arrested on his way to Mr. Risdon's of Bableigh, in the north of Devon, at the house of Mr. Alexander Snelgrove, of St. Lawrence parish, Exeter, November 14, 1621. Mr. Snelgrove had married Alice Risdon in 1606.[21] On the Father's person were found several articles, viz.,

"One Mass book, entitled, *Ex Missali Romano, Ordo Missæ.* One letter from John Risden unto Mr. Douse, mentioning the sending of his bag unto him, wherein the superstitious and Massing trinkets were. One note of some contributions from certain persons. Six other small papers. One red box with certain wafer cakes therein of divers impressions and figures, some round, some square."

In the leather bag before mentioned found in his chamber in Mr. Snelgrove's house were, "One little MS. of questions and answers concerning the Protestant religion. One book of the author and substance of the Protestant Church. One Latin

[16] English College Diary.
[17] *Biblioth. S.J.*, p. 507.
[18] Dr. Oliver, *Collectanea, S.J.*
[19] *Church History*, vol. iii. p. 120.
[20] See the Life of Father John Fisher, *alias* Percy (*Records*, vol. i. pp. 521, seq.).
[21] Dr. Oliver, as above.

Bible. One other book with a black forrel, entitled *Breviarium Rom. ex decreto Sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini restitutum*; two pictures in the same book, the one of the circumcision of Christ, the other of Christ crucified. One other little book entitled, *The Love of the Soul.* One chalice of silver parcel gilt, and a crucifix on the foot thereof, with a little round plate of silver parcel gilt to carry the wafer cake. One white box of bone to keep a picture in. One red purse of cloth of gold, and herein a casket with three little boxes of oil therein."

The Mayor of Exeter, Walter Burroughs, lost no time in sending an official report of the capture to the Lords of the Privy Council, through Mr. Duke, the Recorder of Exeter, supported by John Prowse, Esq., M.P. for that city, then in London.[22] The following is a copy of his letter to the Lords, taken from the P.R.O.

State Papers, *Dom. James I.* vol. cxxiii. n. 115. Endorsed, "19 Nov. 1621. The Mayor and Alder. of Exeter to the Lords."

Right Honorable,—Our dutyes humbly remembered, may it please your Lps. to be advertized that on Wensday last at nyght wee did app'hend in this cittie of Exeter one who names himself John Douce (albeit well knowen to manye of this cittye as wel of his owne kynred as others, to be truly named John Sweete, and borne at Modbery in Devon), who for manye yeres past fled out of this kingdome, and gen'rally reputed to be a Jesuyte of emynence of that Socyety. At the tyme of his apprehenson, wee found in his chamber a bagge, wearein were dyverse Popyshe bookes, a challyce with a crucifixe on the foot thereof, a silver plate parcell gilte to cary the whafer cakes, a casket of silver, wherein are three littel silver boxes of oyle and other superstitious things tendinge to Popery; and in his pockett we found a Masse booke and a boxe of whafer cakes, most of them with the impression of a crucifixe. And after his apprehⁿ we found good cause to examine some others whom wee suspected to entertayne the said Sweete and one Hill (who is fled), and is reputed to be a Sem. priest,[23] and others of that profession, and upon their examynation wee find that the said Sweet and Hill had resorted to diverse of their howses, and vpon serche of their howses wee found manye crucifixes, Popish bookes, Agnes Dei, grayves, beades, and such other superstitious relickes.

[22] Dr. Oliver's *Collections*, as above.

[23] This Hill, who is called in a letter addressed by the Justice Reynell to the Mayor of Exeter (given below) Southcote Hill, was not a priest but a lay-brother of the Society of Jesus. His real name was John Wood. Besides the *alias* of Southcote Hill, he was sometimes called De Sylva. He was a native of Devonshire, born 1586; entered the Society, 1612; and died at Liege, the house of divinity of the English Province, April 27, 1663 (See Oliver, *Collectanea S.J.*). We gather from these papers that he was the Socius of Father Sweet, and was actively engaged in his native county.

And wee examining the said Sweete, according to the Statute of xxxv^th^ Eliz., whether he were a Jesuyte or a Seminarye or Massinge prieste, he refused to answere directlie thereunto, but said that he would not answere whether he were so or were not. Whereupon wee did comytt him to the Castle, as wee concyve was fitt to bee done accordinge to the Statute; whereof wee thought itt our dutyes to informe y^r^ hon^rs^ humbly submyttinge o^r^selves to your lord^s^ further dyrection herein. And so doe humbly take our leave. Exeter, this xix^th^ of Nov., 1621.

Y^r^ hon^s^. humbly to be comanded,
WALTAR BOROGEH MAIOR,
HUGH CROSSING,
JOHN CHEYNE,
GEO. WALKER.

&c., &c.

To the Rt. Hon. our very good Lords, &c.

The following is a copy of the Mayor's letter to Mr. Prowse and others, through whom the above report was presented.

State Papers, *Dom. James I.* vol. cxxiii. n. 116. "To the worthie our very lovinge freindes Mch. Duck, Esq., Recorder of the cittie of Exeter, John Prowse and Ignatius Hurdans, Esqrs., deliver theise in London."

Our lovinge and kynde commendacons remembered. Theise are to certifie you that on Wensday last att nyght wee did here apprehend John Sweete, the famous Jesuyte, whoe named himselfe John Dowce (but well known to Mr. Reynell, Mr. John Harckwell, and others of his neare kyndred). Wee found in his pockett and in a bagg over the tester of the bed in the chamber where he was apprehended, such Popish trashe as is perticularly mencioned in the note inclosed. Wee did examine him, but could gett little of him, as you maie see by this coppie inclosed. But he being pressed to answere whether he were a Jesuyte, Seminary, or Massinge prest or not, refused to answer directly thereunto. Therefore wee, according to the Statute of xxxv^th^ Eliz., have comitted him to the gaole. We have herewith sent you a lre. unto the Lords of his M^ties^ most Hon. Privie Councell, which wee praye you to deliver, a coppie whereof is alsoe here inclosed, whereby you may the better informe yourselves of the contents thereof. After his apprehension wee did search the houses of Rysden, a taylor, dwelling in one of Sir Amos Bampfeild's new houses; the howse of the old Podger, and of one Northerst, whoe dwells where Crapp, the taylor, without Eastgate, dwelleth. The howse of young Hellier, in Key Lane, the howse of one Bendon, a recusant, and the old Brogomes, his howse, within Eastgate. In theses howses wee have founde Popish bookes, crucifixes, and other Popish trash (in some more, in some lesse). Wee did also search Sampson's howse by St. Martyn's Church, a retayner to Mrs. Boxe, and John Lugg's howse, but found little. Wee find Risedon to be a very dangerous fellowe, and have committed him to the gaole. Wee did examyne a boye of his, whoe amonge other of his most ill carryages did tell us that hee hearde his Mr. saie (that he did wish or hope) there should be a new kinge,

and he should be a Catholicke, and that all the Catholickes in London sholde be delivered out of prison ; and that the Puritans should seeke their nest ere it were longe. Tyme will not permit us to send the coppies of all the examons which we have already taken, but very shortly, when all are taken, we will send them altogether. Soe, &c.

Exeter, the xix^th^ of Nov., 1621.

WALTAR BOROUGH, Maior.

Wee had given sooner advert^t^ of Sweet's apprehen : but that wee endeavored to gather as much against him as wee might in that course of examon and serch which we have held, and therefore, if need bee, wee pray you to excuse us.

On November 24, 1621, Mr. Prowse wrote in reply to the worthy Mayor—

I did no sooner receyve your letters by Mr. Recorder his man, but I presently delyvered that which you sent to the Lords of the Counsell, to Mr. Secretary, understanding before by Sir Clement Edmonds that the Lords would not sit to-morrow. His Honour promised me to make the Lords acquainted therewith, and I shall attend him for their resolution, wishing that you had not omitted in that letter the speech of Risdon, reported by his boye, which would have been wondrous materiall. But, as I shall find opportunitie, I will urge the same, and so will acquaint you what success your good service shall receyve.

On the 30th of November the said M.P. for Exeter wrote to the Mayor—

The Lords did yesterdaie read your letter concerning Sweete, who (as Mr. Secretary tells me) have order^d^ 2 pursivants to ride to Exeter and to receyve him from your custodie to be brought up hyther, together with a letter from them to that purpose. It maie be that theise pursyvants will be with you before theise lines ; but howsoever, I could not forgett myselfe so much as not to advertise you of my care in this busynesse.

The copy of the Lords' warrant to John Poulter and Leonard Joyner, two of the messengers of his Majesty's chamber, accompanied by their lordships' letter to the Mayor, runs thus [24]—

Theis shall be to will and require you to make y^r^ ymediate repare to the cittie of Exeter, and receavying from the Maior there the person of one John Sweete, whom he will deliver unto you, to bring him forthwith in your companye and under your safe custodie unto us. Willinge and requiringe all maiors, sheriffs, justices of peace, bayliffs, constables, and all other his Majesties officers, to be aydinge and assistinge unto you in the full and due execucion of this our warrant, whereof neither you nor they may faile att your perill. And this shal be unto you and them a sufficient warrant. Dated at Whitehall, the 29th of November, 1621.

JO. LYNCOLN, C. S., MANDEVIL, E. WORSTER,
ARUNDELL AND SURREY,
EDMONDS, G. CALVERT, JUL. CÆSAR,
EDMONDS.

[24] Dr. Oliver's *Collections.*

To our very lovinge friends the Maior and Aldermen of the cittie of Exeter.

After our hearty commendacions, we have rec[d] your letter of the 19th of this present, concerning the apprehension of one *John Sweete, supposed to be a Jesuite*, and what course you have taken for his forthcoming, as well in respect of his refusal to make answer unto you upon his examination, as of the many superstitious things found about him and in his lodgings after he was apprehended. For your careful and discreet proceedings wherein, as we do give you hearty thanks and much commend your diligence; so, forasmuch as we think it requisite that he be brought up hither to be further examined before us, to which purpose we have sent these bearers, messengers of his Majesty's chamber, to receive him from you, and to bring him under their safe custodie to us. These shal be to will and require you to deliver the said John Sweete unto them to be brought hither accordingly, for which this shall be your warrant.

And so we bid you heartily farewell. From Whitehall, the 29th of November, 1621.

Your loving friends,

MANDEVILLE, JO. LINCOLN, C.S.,
ARUNDELL AND SURREY, E. WORCESTER,
T. EDMONDES, GEO. CALVERT, JUL. CÆSAR,
C. EDMONDES.

Postscript.—You are likewise to send unto us the examinations taken by you concernynge the said Sweete.

LENOX.

An endorsement shows that this warrant was received by the Mayor "on the 9th of December at night." On the 11th of that month was written the following receipt on the back of the Lords' warrant—

xi. die Decembris anno xix[o] regni.
Regis nunc.

We, John Poulter and Leonard Joyner, messengers of his Majesty's chamber, by virtue of a warrant to us granted by the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Councell, have receyved of Walter Borough, Maior of the cittie of Exeter, the bodye of John Sweete, together with a leather bagge sealed, to be delivered to the Lords of his Majesty's Privye Counsell. Wee saye reseved the xi[th] of December, 1621.

JOHN POULTER,
LEONARD JOYNER.

The following is a copy from the Public Record Office of the original letter of the Mayor to the Lords of the Privy Council, by the said messengers.

Dom. James I. vol. cxxiv. n. 30, 1621. Endorsed, "Dec. 1621. A lre. from the Mayor and Alder. of Exeter concerninge John Sweete, a p—t, sent vp by two of the messengers of the chamber."

Right Hon.—Our humble dutyes remembered. Wee have received your hon^ble lres. of the nyne-and-twentyeth of Nov. last. And in p'formance of your honour's comands, and our dutie in that behalfe, wee have delivered the body of John Sweete, by us taken for the causes mencioned in our former lres. to your hon^rs unto the barers hereof, John Poulter and Leonard Joyner, messengers of his M^ties chamber. Wee have also sent by the same mess^rs a perticuler note as well of such thinges as weare in his pockett at the tyme of his apprehension, as alsoe of such other thinges as were in a leather bagg found in the chamber wherein he was apprehended, mentioned in our former letters to your honors. All w^ch being inclosed and put into the same bagg, sealed with the seale of the office of the Maioralty of the cittye of Exeter: wee have sent in the same bagg the coppies of suche examinons as wee have taken concerninge the said Sweete, that is to say, the one of Sweete himselfe, another of one John Risdon, prouinge the said bagg to be the said Sweetes, and the third of one Baggott, a boy of 14 yeares of age. Wherein is discovered Sweet's often saying of Masse, and the havinge of great store of Popish bookes at the howse of one Mr. George Drewe, in the parish of Bishopps Morchard, in the county of Devon. With this latter examinon (as wee held ourselves bound) wee did acquaint one Mr. Richard Reynell, a justice of peace of the county of Devon, and dwelling not farr from the said parish of Morchard, and one of the Councell of our cittye. And thus leaving the farther conson hereof to your honours, wee humblie take our leave.

Yr. honors in all duty to bee comanded,

WALTAR BOROUGH, Maior.

It does not appear when Father Sweet was released from prison. He was certainly in the Gatehouse, Westminster, as late as October, 1623, as appears by a paper in the Public Record Office.[25]—October 9, 1623. Letter from Aquila Wykes, Keeper of the Gatehouse, certifying to the Lords of the Privy Council the prisoners in his custody (among others), "John Sweet, a Romish priest, committed by a warrant from your honours, December 21, 1621, not allowed to be on his Majesty's charge." Dr. Oliver (as above) suggests that he remained in prison until the accession of Charles I. (March, 1625), for in 1624 he and Father Fisher held a conference with certain Protestant divines, as may be gathered from Wood's *Athen. Oxon.*,[26] but especially from Father Clare's appendix to his second dialogue of his able work, *The Converted Jew*. But we find Father Sweet named in Gee's list of priests and Jesuits in and about London,[27] which was written about 1624—"Father Sweete, a Jesuit well knowne, lodginge at the upper end of Holborne." He was probably released at the end of the year 1623, or the early part of 1624.

[25] State Papers, *Dom. James I.* vol. cliii. n. 26.
[26] Vol. ii. p. 38. [27] *Records*, vol. i. Appendix.

In the Summary of the deceased of the Society for the year 1632, this good Father is thus briefly mentioned: "John Sweet, of Devon, æt. 62. Solemnly professed; in religion twenty-two years, died at St. Omer's College, February 26, 1632. He was formerly Penitentiary at Rome, Spiritual Father, Confessor, &c., in our Colleges. From the time of his conversion to the Catholic faith he was a man of a spotless and most innocent life, and athirst with zeal for the salvation of souls both before and after his entrance into religion, drawing many by word and example to the faith, and among his converts were men of station and nobility. Hence he excited the animosity of the Protestants against himself, by whom he was seized and imprisoned, remaining in durance vile for some years with great joy and constancy. Having obtained his liberty, though broken down with divers ailments, he was sent by his Superiors to Belgium, where he soon after exchanged this miserable life for a better."

Dr. Oliver tells us that one John Beadon, a Catholic of Exeter, was committed to prison for having visited Father Sweet in gaol on December 8, 1621.

Southcote Hill, who is named in the Mayor's letter, is again mentioned in the following letters addressed to the Mayor and Aldermen of Exeter about the same time by "that intolerant and persecuting lawyer and justice, Richard Reynell of Creedy Wiger, near Crediton, Esq.," who had been sworn a Counsellor for Exeter, September 16, 1617.[28]

Right Worshipfull,—I have received yr second letter of the xixth of this present instant November, whereby I hear you have addressed your letters to the Lords, &c. God blesse yr labours. Upon yr former letters I sent my servant with warrants for *Southcot Hill*, &c. But they had notice of all yr proceedings two hours before day yt Sunday night, and of the said letter to me, and sent their secret friends to ye constable to learn whether they had receaved any warrants from me to search, &c., and old Baggot was seen ryding to and from the Popish houses there, affirming that some were coming from me, whereby the service is lyke to receave some defeat for this time. But I have sent for old Baggot. I marvel how they should so speedily have notice of your doings and letters. I expect Baggot this morning, if he may be found; and so till then I do, with my due respect, commend you to the Lord, Who directs us herein, &c. RICHARD REYNELL.

I wish you had descrybed S. Hill by his stature and apparell, etc.—R. R.

Right Worshipfull,—I have receaved yr letter, and thereby learn the great care you have of the safetye of the State and of the cittye.

[28] Dr. Oliver's *Collections*.

It is true the cause concerns God and the King, and therefore fitt we should be most carefull therein. I acknowledge your example doth much encourage me to do my best endevor in that behalf, for which purpose I will, according to your advice, send out warrants, and that by a servant of myne owne, to the entent I may be ascertained what may be done thereby. The Lord give a blessing unto our endevors in this behalf, to Whose merciful protection I do, with due respect, commend you, &c. RICHARD REYNELL.

We subjoin the following letter of Mr. Pole to his uncle, Sir John Popham, the Lord Chief Justice, in which he names one Sweet. This was very probably the subject of our notice, who soon after entered the English College, Rome, being then of the mature age of thirty.

The age of Brother Southcot Hill precludes the possibility of Pole's "blasphement fellow" Hill, being the same person.

State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cclxxiv. n. 20. Endorsed, "Wm. Pole to the Lord C. Justice. Concerning one Hill, a dangerous fellow." Addressed—"To his very good Lord, Sir John Popham, Knight, Lord C. Justice of England."

My very good Lord,—My most humble duty remembered. About two years sithence I gave you to understand of one Hill, the corrupter and seducer of Sir Robert Basset, who by your means being called into question by my Lord Archbishop, both swore and subscribed, and so rid himself out of trouble. This blasphement fellow, lately consorting with Sweet, that lewd fellow whom Davis deciphered before you, and who now is run away, and thought to be a priest, resorted unto a Jesuit in Newgate; I fear the sequel thereof will be evil, if it be not prevented. For though I know Sir Robert Basset standeth not curious in any religion (with sorrow I write), yet lately he hath practised his frauds with Popery, and hath confessed privately that Sir Wm. Courtney and himself have combined themselves that way, and it is known that these kind of people prepare themselves for innovation. But indeed the cause of this my writing now is for that I doubt some practice in hand, for that Sir Rob. Basset doth prepare himself for to travel with the said Hill. And he confesseth that he hath a matter of some moment in hand, which he minds to pursue. He hath also resolved to have the Isle of Lundy, and there to place a malcontent fellow, one Ansley, a Somersetshire man. I am bound both in regard of my country, and the particular love I bear Sir Robert Basset, to acquaint you with these, to the end the beginning of these things may be prevented, which must be by the stopping of this travel, and imprisonment of that most pernicious lewd man, Hill, who otherwise will be the overthrow of the gentle nature of Sir Robt. I cannot set down this so largely as is fit, but do hope in the general cause that toucheth all those that fear God, that you will put your assistance. If you please, you may acquaint my Lord Chief Baron from me with these things; and so, craving pardon, do humbly take my leave, this 18th day of January, 1599.

Your nephew at your command,

WM. POLE.

HENRY SWEET, probably a nephew of Father John Sweet, and converted to the Catholic faith by that Father, became a student at the English College, Rome, in 1615. The following brief account of himself is extracted from his replies to the usual interrogatories on entering the College.

1615. "My name is Henry Sweet. I am son of Henry Sweet and Mary Wreford, born and bred at Modbury, and I have lived also in London, in Portugal, Italy, and Flanders. My father is of the middle class, my mother of high birth. I have three brothers and one sister, all Protestants. My mother is a Catholic, my father died a Protestant. I was a Protestant until twenty years of age, when I was converted to the Catholic faith by Father John Sweet. I had left England by sea from Plymouth, and sailed to Naples, chiefly for the sake of seeing Father John Sweet."

The Diary of the English College states that he entered as an alumnus, aged twenty-two, on October 17, 1615, and left the College on November 12, 1616, because he refused to take the prescribed College oath.

1600. We give the following short account of an Oxford convert (who owed his conversion to Father Campian's famous *Ten Reasons*) from his replies to the usual questions put to the students applying for admission to the English College, Rome. He was received into the Church by the Rev. John Sweet, uncle of Father John Sweet.

1600. "THOMAS NEWMAN, *alias* EVERET, aged twenty-one. I was born at Salisbury, and brought up and educated there, and in the town of Mere, near Bath, in the county of Wilts, until I went to Oxford. My father was one of the principal inhabitants of Salisbury. I studied at Oxford for three years, where I passed B.A. After this I studied the law for four years in the Middle Temple. From my childhood I was a schismatic, although in heart a Catholic, and was made a Catholic by means of a most learned priest who came into England from these parts, in the month of June last. I was first moved to become a Catholic by the *Ten Reasons* of Father Campian. Meeting with Mr. John Sweet,[29] he made known to me that he

[29] He was a secular priest, and probably uncle to Father John Sweet, S.J. Among the Stonyhurst Collection is a long original MS. by this priest: "Joannis Sviti, Angli. 1. De Britannis ab heresi liberandis. 2. Consultatio de Anglia convertendâ ad fidem; scripta anno circa 1602, cum Scriptor dicat 36 aut 37 prius annis cœpisse Collegium seu Seminarium Duacenum consilio Alani, et hoc fuit inceptum, 1566 circiter."

was a priest, and after three or four meetings received me into the Church."

1606. Father Abraham Honnacott, a native of this Residence, became an alumnus of the English College, Rome, and was admitted to the Society on his death-bed there. On entering the College he made the following brief statement:

"I am twenty-one years of age, born in Devonshire, one mile from Great Torrington, but I was brought up by my father in the parish of Parkham until my tenth year, and then lived until sixteen, partly with a kinsman and partly with an uncle in Torrington. My parents and principal friends are of the middle class, neither over rich nor too poor, but all enjoying a sufficiency for their honest support. I have two brothers who, with my parents, are Protestants. I was a Protestant until I was sent by my parents to London, where I was converted by Simon Jeurt, one of the twelve assistants at Southampton House. I was afterwards sent by him to St. Omer, and being seized on the way was detained in prison for three weeks; but being liberated by the help of God I landed safely at the College, where I made the usual course of humanity studies."

The Diary of the English College states that he entered as an alumnus in the name of Francis Somerville at the age of twenty-one, on October 10, 1606, took the College oath on June 24, 1607, was ordained priest on October 17, 1610, and died in the commencement of the year 1612, having been admitted to the Society when at the point of death.

The following native of this District and student of the English College deserves a notice in this place. The College Diary and his own statement on entering the College give all the information we possess.

1632. Edward Bishop. "My true name is Edward Bishop. I am son of George Bishop, and was born, and for the most part brought up in the parish of St. Petrock, in the county of Cornwall. My parents belong to the middle class, and after they had been cast into prison on account of their religion, the King took possession of all their property. They had four sons, two of whom were laymen, the rest were clerical students. Of my relatives some are Catholics, some heretics. As to my studies, I have only made my humanity course, and I have left England to come to Rome for my higher

studies. It is my desire to embrace the ecclesiastical state." He signs himself "Edward Weston."

The Diary of the English College states that Edward Bishop *alias* Edward Weston of Cornwall, nineteen years of age, not yet confirmed, was admitted among the alumni by Father Thomas Fitzherbert, Rector, on October 17, 1632. He took the usual oaths on May 1, 1633, and on the same day received the tonsure and four minor orders at St. John Lateran's. On July 27, 1637, after suffering from fever for eight days, he died most piously, leaving an example of great virtue, and especially of obedience to College discipline. He had expressed his desire to enter the Society of Jesus.

The Reverend Joseph Travers, a native of Tiverton, in this District, was the son of a Protestant minister, and was converted to the faith by means of Father Giles Hervey, in Rome; he became eventually a discalced Carmelite. On entering the English College, Rome, he made the following statement:

"My true name is Joseph Travers. I am son of Samuel Travers and Alice his wife, who is dead. I was born at Tiverton, in the county of Devon, where I was principally brought up. I was never of any profession or occupation. My father is a minister, and as to birth and fortune ranks among the middle class. I have six brothers, of whom five are heretics, and one by the grace of God is a Catholic, and a priest in the Society.[30] My parents and all my friends are alike heretics. As long as I remained a heretic, which was until my twentieth year, I made but little progress in my studies, but afterwards, coming to Rome, I applied myself to my humanity course. I lived a heretic for about twenty-three years, and then by the great mercy of God I was enlightened through reading some Catholic books. Leaving England for the sake of embracing the Catholic faith and of professing obedience to the Apostolic See, I came to Rome, where, by the assistance of Father Giles Hervey, Penitentiary in St. Peter's, I was converted to the Catholic faith, and from that time have lived a Catholic. Wherefore, beholding and

[30] This was the Father John Travers mentioned in the biography of Father John Clare (*vere* Sir John Warner, baronet), *Records*, vol. ii. series iv. part i. He received Sir John and Lady Warner, and Sir John's sister, Miss Elizabeth Warner, into the Church, but afterwards unhappily fell and left the Society. From statements regarding him in the Annual Letters of the period, there is ground for believing that his intellect was affected. Dr. Oliver briefly alludes to him in his notice of Father John Clare (*Collectanea, S.J.*).

grieving over the necessities of my country, and the misfortunes of my parents, I humbly beg admittance to this Seminary, that I may become more fitted to be employed in the salvation of my country and the conversion of my parents. I desire and promise, by the help of God, to embrace the ecclesiastical state of life."

The English College Diary states that he entered as Walter Travers, aged about twenty-six, among the students on February 23, 1645, and took the College oath May 22, 1646. Having received minor orders in the Church of St. Andrea della Valle on July 1, 1646, he entered the Order of the Discalced Carmelites on November 4, 1647, having first obtained a licence from Propaganda.

The Reverend Francis Munday, a native of this District, a convert of the Jesuits, and student of the English College, Rome, and eventually a priest, likewise deserves notice. He gave the following autobiographical account on entering the English College: "I am son of Thomas Munday of Roxalton, in the county of Cornwall. My parents are of the upper class and Protestants. My mother, with one brother and four sisters are yet alive; also three other half-brothers and two sisters. After studying grammar and humanities, I made my philosophy and other sciences for more than a year at Oxford, and for nearly two years at Leyden in the Low Countries. I first began to receive the true seeds of the Catholic faith while as yet living in heresy. At length, by the mercy of God, and by the means of the Reverend John Clayton, of the Society of Jesus, being well instructed in the true religion, I was reconciled to the Church at Antwerp, on Passion Sunday last.[31] Having changed my religion, and seeing no hope of living happily among heretics, by the inspiration of God it came into my mind to seek the priesthood, which I earnestly desire, having been formerly destined for the Protestant ministry. For this end I am come to Rome, that I may be the better prepared for the service of God and the Church." He signs himself, "Francis Mason."

The English College Diary says that he was admitted into the College, at the age of twenty-three, on November 14,

[31] Father John Clayton was a native of Lancashire. Born in 1611, he entered the Society in 1629, and was solemnly professed in 1645. In 1651 he was appointed Rector of Watten and Master of Novices; and on June 11, 1662, became Rector of Liege, where he died, April 16, 1663, æt. 52.

1651, was confirmed on May 12, 1652, and took the two forms of oath, and was ordained priest December 5, 1655, at the German College. He left for England September 2, 1657, and was drowned at sea off Leghorn.

1658. The REVEREND ROBERT HILL was likewise a native of this Residence, a convert, student of the English College, and ordained priest there. He states in his replies to the usual interrogatories: "My present name is Robert Hill, but I have heard that it was formerly Hall, though now universally called Hill. I was born in the parish of Wolfardisworthy, in the western part of the county of Devon, near the borders of Cornwall, and not far from the sea-shore. I was brought up from infancy in the city of Exeter, the metropolis of the same county. I then went to Oxford, and after a short stay there I left and proceeded to London, where I lived with my brother, a barrister, for a year in a certain house called Lyons Inn, where is a society of lawyers. From London I passed over to France, where I remained six months, and from Marseilles to Genoa, then to Milan, where I lived for three months; then to Parma for ten months, and lastly to Rome, where I have lived for nearly three years. I was never in any profession, except the military. My father had no profession, but lived upon his own estate. My grandfather, as I have heard from others, owned a house, commonly called Shelson, situate in the same county, which once belonged to Thomas Hill, Esq., who, by what means I know not, at length lost the house and his patrimony, which has now passed to another owner, Mr. Savery. My father is not wealthy, having but £200 a year. I have three brothers and two sisters, all of whom, with every other relation, are Protestants. I have studied humanities, and have read some books on logic without any fruit. I have fought under the banner of the Catholic and Roman Church for almost five years. I was long ago convinced of the truth, and was greatly drawn to the Catholic Church by the example and arguments of Mr. Kirkham, a Catholic living near Exeter. I came to Rome, partly out of devotion, partly from curiosity, and as soon as I learnt that there was some small hope of entering this College, I earnestly requested Mr. Bacon, the physician to intercede with your Reverence for my admittance. I am in my twenty-third year, and earnestly desire to lead an ecclesiastical life."

The English College Diary says that he was admitted as an alumnus of the Pope on February 23, 1658, was confirmed in the Church of St. John Lateran June 29, 1659, and ultimately ordained priest, April 9, 1661, and sent into England, April 10, 1663.

Exeter.—The city of Exeter, the capital of the West, was a very old mission of the English Province. In the persons of the two Fathers Laithwaite we have traced its connection with Exeter and the District, as early as the commencement of the seventeenth century. Our readers will pardon us therefore if we dwell at some little length upon this ancient city.

The District of Devon and Cornwall was at one time called the Province of the Damnonians.

Exeter was the *Caer-Isc* of the Britons, the *Isca Damnoniorum* of the Romans (under which name Ptolomy mentions it in the second century), and *Exancester* of the Saxons, who also called it *Monkton* from the great number of religious establishments it contained. Athelstan, who in 914 expelled the Cornish Britons, changed the name to Exonceastre. The great ornament of the city is its ancient cathedral, founded as a conventual church by King Athelstan about 932. It is 408 feet in length. The nave 175 feet by 76 feet, the choir 128 feet by 76 feet. In one of the towers is the great bell of Exeter, weighing 12,500 lbs., upwards of five tons. In repairing the cathedral in 1763, on taking up the old pavement, a leaden coffin was found, containing the remains of Bishop Briton, who died in the year 1307. The top being decayed, afforded a view of the skeleton, and near the bones of one of the fingers was a gold ring, with a sapphire set in it; a silver chalice and paten, with the head of a crozier, greatly decayed, were found in the coffin.[32]

The chief of the religious houses was the priory of St. Nicholas, belonging to the Benedictines, a cell to the Abbey of Battle, in Sussex. It was situate in the parish of St. Olave; considerable traces of its ruins may still be seen. The greater part of the inclosure is yet called the "Mint," probably a corruption of the "Minster," or "Monastery." Upon part of this the first Catholic chapel was built, and the present presbytery formed, which has existed since the destruction of the old chapel at the Revolution in 1688. This chapel, called by Calamy[33] "a Mass-house," was opened on

[32] See Gorton's *Top. Dic.* [33] *History of Puritan Ministers*, vol. i. p. 391.

the accession of James II. Subsequently, it is believed, that the Catholics assembled for worship in an upper room in the house of a Mr. Flashman, commonly called King John's Entry, in South Street. The present Chapel of St. Nicholas was built in 1789, by the ex-Jesuits.

The connection of the English Province with St. Nicholas' Priory must plead an excuse for giving the following extracts from Hoker's MS., among the archives of the Corporation of Exeter, relating to it, and quoted by Dr. Oliver in his Collections in Devonshire, &c.:

"The order for the relieving of the poor people in the Monastery of St. Nicholas, lately dissolved.

"There was within the said monastery a certain house called 'The Poor Men's Parlour,' to which place there repaired daily seven poor men before dinner time, and to every of them was delivered on the flesh days a twopenny loaf, a pottle of ale, and a piece of flesh. And if it happened that any one of the said seven did not or could not come, then his part and portion should be sent unto him. And on the Fridays likewise, at afternoon, as soon as dinner was done, all such poor as were tenants came, and every one of them should have also a twopenny loaf, a pottle of ale, and a piece of fish, and a penny in money. And if it happened that any of the said poor did not come to the said parlour at the time prefixed, then his part and portion should be sent unto him. And likewise at the after dinner there came to the said parlour all other poor folk which were either tenants to the said monastery or dwelling within their fee, called 'St. Nicholas' Fee,' and they should have meat and drink sufficient. And upon every day called St. Nicholas' Day, there was provision made of bread, and then there was delivered to every poor body one loaf. And likewise upon every Good Friday there was used a general alms, which was one penny in money to every poor body coming."

The following interesting account of the vigorous resistance offered by the women of Exeter to the suppression of their beloved monastery is taken from the same MS. p. 343.

"This year 1535, by a Parliament holden at London, all religious houses of the sum of three hundred marks and under were given to the King to be suppressed, and Sir John Tregonwell, Sir Thomas Arundell, and others were appointed to be commissions for the same in the west parts, who came to this city in the summer time to execute their commission,

and beginning first with the Priory of St. Nicholas, after that they viewed the same, they went thence to dinner, and commanded one in the time of their absence to pull down the rood-loft of the church.

"In the meanwhile, and before they did return, certain women and wives in the city, namely Joan Rede, Joan Reve, Elizabeth Glanfeld, Agnes Collaton, Allys Myller, and others, minding to stop the suppressing of that house, came in at last to the said church; the door being fast, they broke it open, and finding there the man pulling down the rood-loft they all sought all the means they could to take him, and hurled stones unto him, insomuch that for his safety he was driven to take the tower for his refuge, and yet they pursued him so eagerly, that he was enforced to leap out at a window, and so save himself, and very hardly he escaped the breaking of his neck, but yet broke one of his ribs. John Blackwaller, one of the aldermen of the city, being advertised hereof, he with all speed got him to the said monastery, so thinking that what with fair words, and what with foul words, to have stayed and pacified the women; but howsoever he talked with them, they were plain with him, and foresaid Elizabeth Glanfeld gave him a blow, and sent him packing. The mayor, William Herst, having understanding hereof, and being loath the visitors should be advertised of any such disorders and troubles, he came down with his officers. Before whose coming they had made fast the church doors, and had bestowed themselves in places meet as they thought to stand to their defence. Notwithstanding the mayor broke in upon them, and with much ado he apprehended them, and took them all, and sent them to ward. The visitors then being made acquainted therewith, they gave thanks to the mayor for the care and diligence of their services, and so they proceeded to the suppressing of the house, and before their departure they entreated the mayor for the releasing of the women."

Among other ancient foundations for the poor in Exeter there was the lepers' hospital of St. Mary Magdalene. Dr. Oliver thinks it was probably erected before the Crusades, and was subsequently increased when that terrible scourge became very common in Europe. In the west of England it seems to have been very prevalent. Most of the towns in the diocese of Exeter possessed a Lazar-house in its suburbs. A curious document may be seen in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 635,

signed by the physicians of Edward IV., dated November 1, 1468, in which they distinguish four species of leprosy, viz., *Alopicia*, *Tiria*, *Leonina*, and *Elephantina*, but abstain, prudently perhaps, from pointing out their diverse qualities. Camden, in his *Brittania* (Leicestershire), thinks that it entered the island with the Normans. "It seems to have become a national malady with us," says Somner,[34] "and accordingly in all parts provision was made for the receipt and relief of the afflicted persons." The following rules of this hospital must not be omitted: "That any brother or sister, being one of the company of the said house, shall twice a day at least, unless sick or prevented, attend and hear such divine service in the chapel as shall be said before them, upon pain, in case of default, to fast with bread and water for three days. No brother or sister shall pass out of the house beyond the bridge without the gate of the hospital, without the licence of the warden or deputy under pain to be put in the stocks, and to have but bread and water for one day.

"No brother to belie a sister, nor sister a brother, nor yet any of them the warden or deputy upon pain to sit in the stocks upon bread and water for three days. The same punishment for reviling one another, calling one the other a thief, or any evil name, before another person. If a brother or sister maliciously, or in displeasure, shall slander or revile the warden or his deputy, to fast on bread and water, and lie in the stocks for twelve days. For striking one the other, or any violence, to fast on bread and water, and punished in the stocks for thirty days. For revealing the secrets of the house, or of the warden or deputy, the stocks and bread and water for twelve days. For picking or stealing one from the other, the stocks and bread and water for a day."

"During the long reign of terror and persecution, from the coronation of Elizabeth till the accession of George III.," says Dr. Oliver in a MS., "the Catholics of Exeter were reduced to an insignificant number. We hardly meet with a priest but in the state of a *prisoner*. We know that the Rev. John Reeve, *alias* Pain, had been instituted July 15, 1558, by Dr. Turberville, the last Catholic Bishop of Exeter, to the vicarage of Altarnon in Cornwall, but was deprived of his benefice in the early part of Elizabeth's reign; that he was subsequently apprehended and brought before Bishop Woolton, a bitter enemy of Catholics, in his palace at Exeter,

[34] *Antiq. of Canterbury*, p. 80.

March 24, 1581; that the said Bishop certified to the Queen's Bench on the 19th of the ensuing month, that this fugitive priest had refused *peremptorie et obstinate tunc et ibidem*, to take the oath of supremacy. He was afterwards hung for his priestly character, at Chelmsford, August 2, 1582.[35] The Rev. Father Thomas Bullaker, a Franciscan, was a prisoner in Exeter Gaol in the winter of 1630, and finally received the crown of martyrdom, in London, October 12, 1642."[36] "In page 83 of Walter Young's Diary," continues Dr. Oliver, "we read that a priest, not named, was taken at Mr. Gifford's house, near Southgate, Exeter, and was committed to prison in June, 1625." James Dowdall, a merchant of Wexford, was hung, drawn, and quartered at Exeter for his constant adherence to the Catholic faith and denial of the Queen's spiritual supremacy, August 13, 1599. "His burying place," says his countryman, John Mullan, of Cork,[37] "is said to be illustrated with Divine miracles to this day." Dr. Oliver says that in

[35] See Rishton's *Diary*. Bishop Challoner gives in his *Memoirs* an account by an eye-witness of his death. He was a native of Northamptonshire, entered the English College, Douay, in 1575, was ordained priest the following year, and sent into England at the same time with the Rev. Cuthbert Maine, the martyr. His residence was chiefly in Essex with Lady Petre.

[36] Dodd, *Church History*, vol. iii. p. 110, gives a short account of this glorious martyr; but for a fuller one the reader is referred to the narrative in the *Certamen Seraphicum* of *Father Angelus a S. Francisco*, 1649, p. 31, which is abbreviated by Bishop Challoner (*Missionary Priests*). Dr. Oliver, in his *Collections in Devonshire*, thus shortly notices the Father: "About this time (1630) the Rev. Thomas Bullaker, O.S.F., landed at Plymouth to begin his missionary career, when he was apprehended upon the information of the master of the vessel, and brought before the mayor of that town, who committed him to its loathsome gaol, without any other bed but the bare ground during the severe winter season. At the end of eight days he was removed to that den of infection, the county gaol at Exeter, where he had to pass the remainder of the winter of 1630, with ruin to his constitution. At the next Lent Assizes he was produced for trial. The only evidence brought against him was that of a sailor, who showed a book taken from the prisoner, and which he called a Missal. On its being examined by the court, it turned out to be a Spanish history which the Father had procured to amuse himself upon his voyage, and as no proof could be adduced of his priestly character, he was eventually discharged. Departing for London, he devoted the eleven remaining years of his course to the instruction and service of the poor and afflicted. On the 11th of September, 1642, he was celebrating Mass in the house of Mrs. Powell, the daughter of Sir Henry Brown, of the Montague family, and, during the recital of the *Gloria in Excelsis*, was seized by the apostate and pursuivant Wadsworth, and hurried off before the Sheriff of London. He was indicted upon a charge of high treason, for being a Catholic priest, convicted and hung, drawn and quartered, at Tyburn, on the 12th of October, 1642, being only thirty-eight years of age. A precious relic, one of his arm bones, is preserved and venerated at the Franciscan Convent of St. Elizabeth, Taunton."

[37] Appendix to his *Idea togatæ constantiæ*, p. 93, an octavo vol., printed at Paris in 1629.

examining the calendars of the prisoners he found this minute at the Autumn Assizes, 1598: "Jacobus Dowdall remanet in gaola per mandatum Concilii Privati." At the following Lent Assizes he is thus noticed: "Jacobus Dowdall remanet quia judicandus pro proditione." At the Autumn Assizes: "Jacobus Dowdall suspendatur, etc., pro proditione." All however were not equally constant. We read in Rymer's *Fœdera*,[38] that John Hunter, of St. Stephen's, Cornwall, was tried and convicted at Exeter, August 3, 1629, of having asserted at Chudleigh on the preceding 28th of June that "the Pope of Rome is Head of the Church and hath spiritual jurisdiction within the territories of Christian princes." The poor man, terrified at the prospect of a cruel execution, took the oath of allegiance and supremacy in full court, and acknowledged himself guilty of the offence. The Judge recommended him to mercy and he received a pardon, June 22, 1630.

We close our notice of Exeter with the following order of the Justices in Sessions assembled, to search the houses of George Eveleigh and Thomas Babington for Jesuits, &c.[39]

Easter Sessions, anno tertio Jacobi R. 1605.

Whereas we have credible information given us of great resort made in the night season and other unlawful times to the houses of George Eveleigh,[40] of Ottery St. Mary, esquire, and of Thomas Babbington, of the same place, gent., of recusants, Papists, and other persons ill-affected to his Majesty, and not conformable to the law of this realm. Some also of those that repair thither being vehemently suspected to be either Seminaries, Jesuits, or massing priests, and to bring with them Popish books, vestments, and other unlawful relics. In regard there hath been of late divers directions from his Highness, the Lords of his Council, and other Ministers of Justice, for the apprehending and finding out of such. We do therefore in his Majesty's name and in furtherance of that service, will and command you, that all such times as Robert Haidon, Esq., one of our colleagues shall signify unto you, you make privy search in the said houses for the apprehending of such disloyal persons and finding of such Popish books and other relics aforesaid, and, having any, that you bring them to some of us to be examined and further proceeded with, as to justice appertaineth. Whereof we charge you not to fail, as you will answer the contrary to your uttermost perils.

To the High Constable and Petty Constables of St. Mary Ottery, and to every of them.

[38] Vol. xix. p. 170.

[39] Dr. Oliver's *Collections in Devonshire.*

[40] "In the Act book of Dr. Cotton, Bishop of Exeter, is the marriage licence granted September 30, 1612, to this George Eveleighe, and Bridget Fursdon, of Fursdon, in Cadbury parish. The Fursdons were then Catholics; at the Michaelmas sessions, 1609, Petronell Fursdon, wife of William Fursdon of Cadbury, Thomas Fursdon, and his sister Alice, of Thorverton, were presented as papists" (Note by Dr. Oliver).

The following State Paper[41] is historically interesting as showing the bitter feeling of the times against Catholics, and how closely the "recusants" were watched by the zealous pseudo-bishops and officials.

Cornwall—The Justices of Cornwall to the King, Car. I.

Report that the inclosed were brought to them by Sir Richard Buller. The presumptuous threaten so much danger to the King, Church, and Commonwealth, that they hold them fit for no eye save the King's.

John Trevelyan is a recusant convict, and the greatest of that faction in the west. He is a close reserved man, and weighs his words before he lets them fall, so that they conjecture there is much more in his heart than on his tongue. He is a bold spirit. They shall by special warrant command the High Sheriff to attach him, and after examination, continue him in durance till the King's pleasure be known. They will also convent John Prideaux and his wife.

They inclose a letter from Bishop Hall of Exeter to Sir Richard Buller, which states an occurrence related to him within an hour by his chaplain, Mr. Vansog, that he has acquainted Sir Richard with dangerous speeches uttered by no mean recusant, the particulars whereof are inclosed. His Lordship hopes that he has already seized upon the party, if not advises him to do so without delay, and to send to the Council table about it.

Exeter, October 4, 1628.

The said prelate incloses notes of words spoken by John Trevelyan in the hearing of John Prideaux and his wife: that they must change their religion in a month, or their throats would be cut; that Protestants should expect worse days than Queen Mary's; that Queen Tebb (meaning Elizabeth) was as arrant a —— as ever breathed, and that our Bible was composed of lies and tales.

Brother John Jenkyn.—We gather our information regarding this lay-brother of the English Province from the following letter of the Mayor of Plymouth, and John Jenkyn's personal examination.

Dom. Charles I. vol. ccl., nn. 19, 191, 1633. "The Mayor of Plymouth to the Secretary of State and Council with the examination of Brother Jenkyn, *alias* Dwart, S.J."

Right Hon. and our very good lords, our duty, &c.

There lately arrived here one John Jenkyn, borne near Penzance, countie Cornwall, who for these five and twentie yeares last past or thereabouts hath lived in Spayne, and for twenty yeares thereof and upwards hath resided in Saville in the Society of the Jesuits, whereof he acknowledgeth he was a lay-brother, as appeareth by his examinacōn. On search we have found about

[41] P.R.O. *Dom. Charles I.* vol. cxviii. n. 35, 1628.

him diverse crucifixes, pictures, Agnus Dei, beades, reliques, and other superstitious things, and two or three Popish books. Hee pretendeth the cause of his coming for England was only to see his friendes, and hee refuseth to take the oath of allegiance. His examination your l.pps shall herewith receive. We have sent him to the comõn gaol of this countie : all which we have taken humble boldnesse on us to make known to your lordps. and so attending y^r^ l.ps further directions therein with our prayers for your health and happiness, wee rest,

Your l.pps in all dutie bounden,
ROBERT TRELAWNYE, Maior.

N. 1911.

T' examination of John Jenkyn of Penzance in the countie of Cornwall, merchant, aged thirty and seaven yeares or th'abouts had and taken at Plymouth in the countie of Devon, before Robert Trelawny, merchant, and maior of the Boro' of Plymouth aforesaid, and John Clement, merchant, two of his M^ties^ Justices of the Peace in the same Boro' the 2nd day of Nov. 1633.

The said exam^t^ saith that in or about 25 yeares sithence Edward Jenkyn of Penzance in the countie of Cornwall, yeoman, this exam^ts^ father, sent him to Malaga to learne his language, he being then of the age of twelve yeares or thereabouts, where this exam^t^ lived by the space of fower yeares with a Spanish merch^t^ and afterwards went to Civill, where he was admitted into the Societie of the Jesuites as a ley-brother, and hath soe ever since continued until sixteene days since, when he had a dismission from Alphonsus Delcano, the Provinciall of the Jesuites, he being about to come for England to see his friends, and afterwards to return for Civell agayne. And being demanded to what end he brought into this kingdome the severall crucifixes, Agnus Dei, pictures, beads, books, reliques, and other superstitious things found about hym ; saith hee brought them because he knew not with whom to leave them in Spayne, and intended to carry them back with him for Spayne agayne. And being demanded whether hee bee a Romish Catholique or noe, confesseth that hee is. And being tendered the oath of allegiance, refuseth to take the same. And being demanded why on the dismission from the aforesaid Provinciall, he is called John Dwart, saith that the Spanish merchant with whome hee first lived, being not able to pronounce the word Jenkyn, called him Dwart, and that hee hath been called soe ever since. And being demanded whether he bee a scholler, or have taken any degrees in the Church of Rome, denyeth that he is a scholler or that he hath taken any degrees in the Ch. of Rome, other then that he was a ley-brother of the Soc. of the Jesuites as aforesaid. And being demanded whether he have not practised, or endeavoured to draw any of his Ma^ties^ subjects to the Romish religion, denyeth the same ; and being further demanded to what end he wrote the letter to his brother Th. Jenkyn of Penzance now found about him, denyeth that he wrote the said letter, but saith one John Wray an Englishman and scholar in the Seminy. of the Jesuites wrote itt for him, but this exam^t^ never sent itt. And being demanded wh^r^ he have noe letters for any Jesuites, Seminaries, priests, or Romish Catholiques within this realme, denyeth that he hath any ; and denyeth that he knoweth any Jesuites, Seminaries, or Popish priests in this realme or that hee had any businesse or employment

in England whatsoever, save only to see his friends as aforesaid. And being demanded what person Monty. Vittellesy [Fr. General Mutius Vitellescius] from whome the letter written to him and found about him is, saith hee is the Generall of the Jesuites. And being demanded where hee had the l^re^ found about him written by one Dona Marina de Scovare to the Romish Catholiques of England, saith that it is a copy of a letter written by the said Dona Marina as afores^d^ and that it was given hym twelve moneths since or thereabouts by one Thomas Land an Englishman, Father of the Jesuites since deceased. And being demanded what the said Donna Marina was, saith that she was accompted a saynt, and lived in Valladelit in Casteel and died in June last.

We have no trace of the good brother beyond the walls of "the common prison of this county." The suspicious Popish articles found upon him may have led to his condign punishment, but as we find no record of his trial and conviction, we will charitably hope that he was transported, and again found his way back to his College at Seville.

The Annual Letters of the English Province make very passing mention of the Residence of St. Stanislaus. The following general observations contained in them, which we have before more fully referred to in the course of our *Records*, sufficiently explain the reason.

1645—9. During this period the number of priests who suffered for their religion was less than in some of the preceding years. Yet the hatred of the popular party to the Catholic religion had rather increased in intensity, and they avowed their determination wholly to root it up out of the land. Accordingly, the Catholic laity were treated with great severity, and every effort was used to apprehend the missioners. The accounts received from them during this period were very imperfect, owing to the danger incurred both to the writers and those who harboured them. This want of information is more to be regretted, as during this time, the condition of the missioners afforded frequent instances of dangers incurred and escaped, and opportunities of practising great evangelical virtues, the recital of which would be both interesting and edifying.

The average number of conversions to the Catholic faith recorded were about eleven or twelve each year.

During the above-named period, 1645—9, we find it simply noticed that the Fathers bore their share of the common sufferings of the times, subjected to want and spoliation; living in constant apprehension of the incursions of the hostile

soldiery, and other dangers, and often driven to flight or concealment.

1650—1. In the mission of Devon and Cornwall the confiscation of Catholic property was carried on with great activity. Not only were the gentry sufferers, but many Catholics of the middle classes were reduced to want. Accordingly, the principal object of the zeal of the Fathers was to console the sufferers, and confirm them in their faith. Among those converted was a young man, who, having displayed great talent throughout his course of education at Cambridge, had returned home with the prospect of distinguished success in future life. When his conversion became known he was disowned by his parents and family, and betook himself in great poverty to London.

A certain person of high birth in this District had abandoned his religion, that he might thereby preserve his property from confiscation and indulge his passions with greater freedom from restraint. He was a good-natured man, not devoid of excellent dispositions, and of courteous and affable manners, nor did he ever really doubt the grounds or principles of the Catholic faith. It so happened that one of the Fathers met this gentleman on a journey, and after putting up at the same inn passed the night in the same apartment. During the night the Father dreamed that he got into conversation with him, and told him that he perceived he had still some lingering attachment to the Catholic faith, and would one day wish to return to it; that God would afford him an opportunity of doing so; that he would soon fall into a dangerous illness in consequence of his self-indulgence; that he must then without any delay send for a priest, and reconcile himself to God and to His Church, for that if he neglected this opportunity he would never have another. On awaking in the morning, the Father was so strongly impressed with this dream that he determined to speak of it to his fellow-lodger, though he had never seen him before. But the gentleman was gone. The Father, however, being determined to follow up the salutary suggestion went to a zealous Catholic lady, a relation of the gentleman, informed her of what had occurred, and begged her to communicate it to him. She hastened to do so. The gentleman seemed somewhat disturbed, but endeavoured to turn off the subject by treating the narrative as a fiction, and a cunning device of the missioner. Not long after, his too free indulgence in the pleasures of the

table brought on a dangerous fever. Being now thoroughly alarmed by the warning he had received, he hastened to send for a priest, and having testified his sincere repentance, and received the Sacraments of the Church, he died in sentiments of piety.

We reserve some very interesting details regarding this Residence, and the sufferings of the missionaries during the times of Oates' Plot and the Revolution of 1688, for narration in a subsequent volume.

ADDENDA.

PLOWDEN HALL AND THE PLOWDEN FAMILY.

SINCE our history of Plowden Hall and the Plowden family[1] was in type we have received the following anecdotes regarding Father Robert Plowden, long the resident missioner at Bristol, of which mission and those of South Wales he was the principal founder. The accounts are furnished by Dame Mary (English), O.S.B., of St. Scholastica's Convent.

"My dear father, when a boy was at school in Bristol. There were then no Catholic schools in England, and he was probably the only Catholic in the school, and used to be much noticed by 'good Father Plowden,' as he always called him, whose chapel and instruction he frequented, and was his penitent. This good Father often mentioned to him the two following incidents, which in his turn our father used often to relate to us while we were children.

"Good Father Plowden, many years pastor at Bristol, was just beginning dinner one day when the servant came to tell him that a poor man wanted to speak to him. 'Ask him if he can wait a few minutes,' said the Father, 'I shall soon be down." But the servant quickly returned to say that the man was a sailor who had only just reached Bristol, and had to go on board his ship as soon as he could. The Father immediately went down to him, and was much pleased with his open-hearted piety, heard his confession, and dismissed him with a hearty blessing. The Father then returned to his dinner, after which, according to his usual custom, he went out for a short walk. Observing several people hurrying towards the quay he proceeded in that direction, and soon learned that an accident had occurred. A boat conveying a passenger to one of the ships had capsized, and, owing to the number of vessels crowded together at the entrance of the quay, much difficulty was experienced in recovering those who

[1] Pp. 537, seq. above.

had been upset. The rowers, however, were safely rescued, but more than half-an-hour had elapsed before the passenger could be found, and when at last he was laid on the quay it was evident that he was quite dead. Father Plowden hastened forward to satisfy himself of the truth of this assertion, and instantly recognized the countenance of the poor sailor, whose confession he had heard within the hour, and with whose piety he had been so much pleased. His death, though unexpected, was happily not unprepared.

"A young Catholic midshipman had contracted a strong friendship for another of the same age, who was serving on board the same ship, but who was a Protestant. They were both about fourteen or fifteen years of age. In the midst of a voyage, and when they were far away from any land, the poor Catholic fell very ill. His young friend was indefatigable in attending him, but it soon became evident that the young sufferer was rapidly sinking. In those evil days Catholics were forced to conceal their religion from their prejudiced fellow-countrymen, and on this subject therefore our young friends had had no conversation. But now, on his death-bed, our poor little Catholic sought a confidential interview with his young comrade, on whose secrecy and discretion he felt sure he might reckon; he also hoped for his religious sympathy, for he had noticed the good and naturally pious disposition of the youth, and the event proved that he had judged correctly. The sick boy took the first opportunity when they were alone of making a confession, and begged his companion on landing to call upon Father Plowden and repeat it to him. He was listened to with the deepest attention by his young friend, who promised faithfully to fulfil his dying wishes. A short time after this the Catholic midshipman died, leaving his comrade in bitter grief for his loss, but no day passed without his carefully repeating to himself all that his deceased friend had begged him to remember, with a view of repeating it, as soon as he should land, to Father Plowden, whose address the dying boy had given him. The ship reached at length its destined port—Bristol, and the young midshipman availed himself of the first opportunity to call on Father Plowden, whom he thus accosted—'I am a Protestant, sir, but have come to fulfil the dying request of a dearly loved Catholic friend. A little before his death, which occurred when we were far out at sea, he told me that it was customary, in *his* Church, for people to prepare themselves for their last hour by

confessing their sins to a priest, and he greatly regretted his inability to perform this. He then said to me—'Remember now the confession I am going to make to you, and as soon as ever you land call on Father Plowden and tell it him word for word.'" Here the boy stopped, he was evidently seeking to recall to memory what he wished to communicate, but apparently in vain. At last he turned to the Father and said, "Well, this is most extraordinary! I have repeated the confession to myself every day since he first told it me, and I never felt the slightest difficulty in doing so, yet now I cannot remember one word of it!" and the poor youth looked quite confused. Father Plowden at once kindly told him that he need not be the least anxious about it; that though this act of his Catholic comrade bespoke his piety and his earnest desire of absolution, yet there was no necessity, indeed it would be useless, to repeat the confession, but that he doubted not that this fervent act of humble contrition had been accepted by God, and the dying soul forgiven whatever fault it had committed. Father Plowden then spoke kindly to the young Protestant, who was much affected at all that had passed, and learned from him the particulars of his friend's illness and death. Doubtless the youth was surprised to find so much kindness and gentleness in one of those priests whom he had heard so greatly vilified. This conversation did not terminate their intercourse. Again and again the young Protestant called on his new acquaintance, whose kindness emboldened him to disclose all the objections he had heard against Catholicity, and whose instructions soon removed all these errors. Before his next voyage the young midshipman became a fervent Catholic, and doubtless his deceased friend was permitted to enjoy the fruit of his humble simplicity."

FATHER FRANCIS THOMPSON (or THOMSON, *alias* YATES).

We have received the following information,[1] connected with this Father since his autobiography in page 603 was in type. He had a sister, a Benedictine nun, named Margaret.

"The name in the old Brussels Register is Thomson. . . . Regarding the brother of Dame Winefrid (in baptism Margaret) Thomson, daughter of John Thomson, Esq., of

[1] From records preserved in St. Scholastica's Abbey, Teignmouth.

Broadwell, county Oxon; Father Francis Yates (so the name is written in the MS.) lived chaplain with the Honourable Andrew Windsor, a younger son of Lord Windsor, and a constant Catholic. Mary, one of Mr. Windsor's children, wished to become a nun, but for some time could not obtain her father's consent, till at length Father Yates persuaded him to grant it, and this Father recommended her to Brussels convent, where his own sister was then Prioress." [This was probably in 1612 or 1613, for Dame Winefrid died in the course of 1613, being then about thirty-eight. She was professed, with Lady Mary Percy and six others, on November 21, 1600]. "Mary Windsor, however, crossed the sea with a Miss Altham, who was already engaged to enter the convent at Louvain, and both having proceeded thither, Mary determined to follow her friend's example; so they both entered together, and were at length also professed together on June 12, 1616, Miss Windsor being then twenty-three years of age. Her mother seems to have been Lady Catherine Vere, daughter of the Earl of Oxford, but the sentence is somewhat obscure, so that I am doubtful whether Lady Catherine was not her grandmother."

FATHER ROBERT BUCK.

In a local catalogue of English Jesuits, published in the history of the Discovery and Seizure of the Residence at Clerkenwell in 1628,[1] occurs the name of this Father among the missionaries of the Province, as "Robertus Bucquus." The late Dr. Oliver, in his *Collectanea S.J.*, states that all he can glean of this Father is the date of his death, February 10, 1648.

It will interest our readers to give the following papers which we have found regarding him. He was a brother of Sir George Buck, the historian, who died September 22, 1623, and from whose will this extract is taken as found in Monro's *Acta Cancellariæ*[2]—

No. CCVIII.

An Extract from the Will of Sir George Buck.

"Buck *v.* Buck, 1623."

I give and bequeathe my manor of Skydbrook and my lands, &c., to my dear Brother, Robert Buck, provided that he be capable of this gift, and may safely and lawfully possess and enjoy these messuages and lands aforesaid; and whereof I am doubtful, because he is a Catholic priest, and, as some say, a Jesuit, and

[1] *Records*, vol. i. pp. 132, seq. [2] Edit. 1847, London.

liveth beyond the seas, as one that hath lost the benefit of his country, and of his blood and patronage; for such men coming into this land are reputed as felons; and being indicted, are indicted of treason, and to suffer the judgment and pains of a traitor. And if this be so, and that he be disabled therefore by the laws of England to hold and possess any lands or inheritance in England; then, and without that he, my said brother Robert, will submit himself to the King our Sovereign and conform himself to the laws of this land, and shall use all good means whereby he may enjoy the privileges and rights of a good subject, and that he may safely and lawfully hold and enjoy this my bequest unto him, I disinherit him by these presents; and, &c. &c.

Mr. Monro says—"I have made this extract because it is curious in itself, and because it has been said that Sir George Buck died intestate. He was an historian, and Master of the Revels during part of the reign of James I. He died Sept. *22*, 1623 (see *Apology for Believers*, in the Shakespeare MSS., pp. 488—493 and note). The will is contained in a report of Nov. 10, 1623, made to Lord Keeper Williams by Sir William Jones, who had been Lord Chief Justice of Ireland. He was a "Lincolnshire man" (see Lord Bacon's speech to him on his appointment, 1617)."[3]

State Papers, *Dom. James I.* vol. cxxxix. n. 35.

"Sir George Calvert, Secretary to Mr. Secretary Conway. Dated St. Martin's Lane, March 4, 1622."

. . . The Spanish Ambassador did yesterday tell me that he had moved his Majestie that Fisher the Jesuite, who was now restrained in the New Prison close, might enjoy a libertie wch he had before to go abroad sometimes for his health, rendering himself true prisoner to the Keeper, as it seems he had wont to do.

And that he had also moved him for Buck the priest, mentioned in the former letters, to whom (as the Ambassador tells me,) there is some little inheritance descended, worth some 14 or 15 hundred pounds to be sold, or hardly so much. The man he saith yet is not discovered nor known, and he hath humblie prayed his Matie on the priest's behalf, that his Matie will grant him a general pardon, such a one as may make him capable of his inheritance.

To both which suites, that for Fisher and this for Buck, he saith his Matie hath condescended and promised that he would give me order for them, and he desired me to receive his Matie's pleasure from himself, if I had not already, wch if I may understand from you, I shall give order for the despatch of both accordinglie. And so I rest

Yours in all to be comanded,

GEO. CALVERT.

[3] *Works*, vol. vii. Pickering, 1837.

N. 87. March 12, 1622. *Same to same.*

. . . I am called upon still by the Spanish Ambassador for his Ma^tie's order touching the priests Buck and Fisher; and I have not yet from you a letter from Sir Francis Cottington at Paris to me. . . .

Your affectionate friend and servant,

E. C.

We have referred to the Conway letter-book and other sources, but fail in discovering the final result of the Spanish Ambassador's suite in behalf of Father Buck and his brother's devise to him.

THE POULTON FAMILY.

In our notice of this ancient family we have given a brief account of Eugenia Poulton, daughter of Ferdinand Poulton, Esq., who afterwards became a Benedictine nun at Ghent (*Records*, vol. i. p. 165). We are enabled to give the following extract from an old Ghent MS., preserved in St. Scholastica's Abbey, Teignmouth, relative to this holy religious. "Lady [Abbess] Eugenia Poulton died on the 9th of November, $164\frac{5}{6}$, in the forty-fourth year of her profession and of her age sixty-five, having been sixteen years Abbess, and living three years after she had humbly resigned [that dignity]. She was called Jane in baptism, and was daughter of Ferdinand Poulton, a gentleman of very ancient family. She entered on trial of holy religion at Brussels at nineteen years of age, and received the religious habit there with two other gentlewomen on our holy Mother's [St. Scholastica's] festival. She was a most lovely, handsome lady. The ceremony was performed by the Pope's Nuncio in great state (he being descended himself from the same family as our holy Father St. Benet). A great concourse of people came to see the ceremony, amongst whom were a company of English Protestants with their minister. The latter was so well pleased with it that he made a little book on all that passed, and had it to show among the wonders of his travels. She was professed on May 12, 1605, and proceeded in religion with progress in perfection, laudably discharging various offices, and finally that of Prioress. She was a chief agent in negotiating the foundation of this house [Ghent], being at that time Prioress at Brussels. After my Lady Lucy [Knatchbull] had been elected Abbess, D Eugenia was chosen Mistress of Novices, which office the discharged with admirable satis-

faction for above five years, when by common consent she was elected to succeed my Lady Lucy (deceased) upon St. Laurence's day. She was endowed with a singular good nature, a tender conscience, a sound understanding, being very pious and of great experience both in spiritual and household affairs. She was solemnly blessed [by the Bishop] on September 16, 1629. It can hardly be expressed the zeal she had for good discipline, and especially for a right graceful performance of the choir service. In her time began the solemn music Masses, and the processions on St. Mark and the Rogation days. [The community having greatly increased] she was forced to commence a new building, although we were suffering the effects of the persecution against Catholics in England in the withdrawal of our temporal means. This building amounted to more than had been specified [from defects in the land which were discovered only on proceeding to lay the foundations], and her fear of our running into debt, her solicitude for the good of the community, added to her being already advanced in years, and suffering from severe internal diseases, caused her, of her own accord, humbly to resign her office on November 19, 1642, and for the nearly four years she survived it was admirable to see her respect and love for her successor, Lady Mary Roper. She spent the greater part of her time in prayer and devout exercises, and her death drawing near, she had the happiness of receiving all the rites of our holy Mother the Church with very sensible devotion, and sweetly expired on the same day that (fifteen years before) her kinswoman, Dame Elizabeth Bradbury (the first professed in this convent), rendered up her soul to God. *Requiescat in pace.*"

The Brussels Register states that she was professed at twenty-four years of age.

THE LEVISONS, OR LUSONS, OR LUZONS, OF STAFFORDSHIRE.

In *Records*, vol. i. p. 652, a brief notice is given of two Fathers of the Society who were members of this family, viz. (1) Father Edward Levison, or Luson. We have stated above that he was born in 1652 and that he died in 1720, æt. 68. Dr. Oliver in his *Collectanea S.J.* shows more correctly, we believe, that he was born in 1642, and died, æt. 78, in 1720. (2) Father Richard Levison, born in 1649, entered the Society

of Jesus 1676, and died September 14, 1715. We are enabled, by the kindness of the Reverend T. E. Gibson, to show the descent of these Fathers by the following pedigree:

CHRISTOPHER ANDERTON, Esqre., of Lostock. = DOROTHEA ANDERTON.

(1st husband) EDWARD LANGTREE of Langtree, Esq. Died 1619. = ISABEL ANDERTON. (fourth daughter). = (2nd husband) GERVASE ROCKLEY, Esq.

ISABEL. = —— LUZON, of Staffordshire.

EDWARD, S.J. Born 1642; entered Society 1669; died April 13, 1720, æt. 78.	RICHARD, S.J. Born 1649; entered Society about 1676, and died September 14, 1715.	WALTER. A Monk O.S.B.	Another Son, a Monk O.S.B.

FATHER JASPER HAYWOOD.

SINCE our biography of this Father was published[1] two very interesting papers connected with him have been brought to light in the *Records of the English Catholics* by the Fathers of the London Oratory, viz., (1) a letter from Father Haywood to Dr. (afterwards Cardinal) Allen, briefly alluded to in the biography; and (2) a paper, the original of which is preserved in the archives of the Old English Brotherhood—formerly called the English Chapter—endorsed, "Certain points of ecclesiastical discipline in England."

I. A letter from Jasper Haywood to Dr. Allen.[2] London, April 16, 1583.

"I have written several letters both to Father General and to Father Robert [Parsons] upon important business, but receiving no reply I have sent Father Curry to France to deliver a letter of mine to Father Robert with his own hands, and I commissioned him to treat with Father Robert about my affairs, and then to return to me with his definite reply. But Father Curry, having been admitted to the novitiate of the Society, handed over my business to Father Darbyshire, and I have received no reply whatever. Hence the greatest

[1] *Records*, vol. i. pp. 388, seq.

[2] From a deciphered copy in the archives of the See of Westminster. (*Records of English Catholics*, pp. 352, 353.)

fruit is impeded. I have therefore sought for some time to depute a fitting messenger to Rome to transact all and return to me. But I have not succeeded as yet in accomplishing it. In the meantime, thus disappointed, I doubt not but that the Fathers in Rome will be much surprised at not receiving my letter. However, if I escape safe until Pentecost, I will despatch another messenger to your Reverence, who will settle all my matters. I greatly rejoice that other soldiers are ready prepared to be sent to me as subsidies. But, as I well know that they will not be sent over before the middle of the summer, I write nothing about it at present, but in my next letter I will explain how many and what kind of men I desire, and I will likewise mention many other things which require careful consideration before they undertake the journey. So I hope to be able with great joy to embrace them about the kalends of November. In the meantime I will most eagerly expect them. But this caution is to be taken, that the report of their mission be not spread, for I am well assured that what is whispered about it in Rome is proclaimed here upon the housetops quicker than it is possible to conceive. I am amazed at the capture of fish here, nor have I a word to say about it, except, *Exi a me Domine, quia homo peccator sum.*[3] I desire that all this should be transmitted to Father General, who will doubtless take care to recommend me to the prayers and sacrifices of many.

"Thomas Langdale, formerly of our Society, and now, I think, an apostate, causes great disturbance, and seduces crowds in Yorkshire. But I speedily sent men to deal with the Catholics in the same locality, and to warn them in my name against the leaven of this deceiver. Yet his discourse spreads abroad like a cancer, and he has so influenced many as to cause himself to be regarded as the most famous and learned man in Europe. But I doubt not that this cloud will quickly disperse. He went first of all, of his own accord, to the Privy Council and the Superintendent [Bishop] of Durham, from whom he received a cordial reception, and was sent by them to propagate his seed under the garb of a Jesuit, and, as they hoped, with greater damage to the Catholic religion than could be effected by the adversaries by means of tortures and the gallows. He works with zeal, but so absurdly and mendaciously, that he begins already to incur disgrace with prudent men. At one time he asserts

[3] "Depart from me, for I am a sinful man, O Lord."

that he was a Professor in the Schools of the Lutherans of Wirtenberg, then he styles himself a Doctor of Theology of the Society of Jesus, another time a Penitentiary of the Holy See, and that as such he has been sent into England, as well to reform the errors of the seminary priests sent over, as to reassure the consciences of Catholics entangled by us to their former liberty; and, finally, that he may return to report to the Sovereign Pontiff the state of the entire kingdom. He declares that he will cause us (in fact, that he has already done so) who have preceded him in England, to repent greatly of what we have done. He has never met me, but writes begging specially for an interview after all that has happened, and to confer with me, vowing before God and the whole court of Heaven that he will plot nothing against me if I will not damage his former authority either here or in foreign parts, nor interpose any obstacle to his proceedings. But I shall keep at a distance from the sight of the man. I write in haste, but will do so more fully later on. Farewell, and pray for me. "GASPAR HAYWOOD."

"London, *feria sexta post Pascha.*"

II. "Certain points of ecclesiastical discipline in England."[4]

✠

"The poynts agreed upon from Fath. Heywood.

"1. First, that noe man is bound to faste the Fridayes in England.

"2. That our Ladies Eves are noe fastinge dayes, except the Assumption. Whether the old customes of England stand in force or noe, yet these poynts are declared by sufficient authoritie.

"3. Though the Church wisheth that all good Christians faste all the Lent, saveinge Sundayes, yet are not men bound to it in England, it beinge never receaved; wherefore they are rather to be exhorted than compelled in this behalfe.

"4. The dayes of Rogations are noe fastinge dayes (*ex præcepto*), nor bind any further then devotion serveth.

"5. That white meats are granted in Lent at the discretion of certayne confessors, as they shall see cause, exceptinge cheese, because of the rennett.

"6. Yonge folkes under the age of xxi yeares, feeble folkes, women with child, labourers, travellers in Christ's causes,

[4] *Records of English Catholics*. pp. 353, seq. The document is undated.

or by obedience, preachers, and such others, are exempted from fastinge at all tymes.

"7. All fastinge dayes it is lawfule to drinke in the morninge, or at any tyme of the daye, yea, and to eate a morsell of bread for health sake, or if any man bee feeble, which is left to the conscience of the partie.

"8. All cookes or dressors of meate may take a taste of anythinge to try the seasoninge thereof without breach of fastinge.

"9. At the drinkinge or collation it is lawfull to eate all kinds of fruts, conserves, or sucketts, and to drinke of any kind of ale, beere, or wine.

"10. Upon the fastinge day noe man is bound to abstaine from dinner longer then eleven of the clocke.

"11. Upon all fastinge dayes any Catholicke may give to his freind comeinge to his house a supper for the avoyding of any notable detriment.

"12. The same is agreed upon for giveing of fleshe in like case, as longe as things stand as they doe nowe.

"13. That any Catholicke man that hath in his household any servants of contrarie religion may give them suppers on fastinge dayes.

"14. That the bonds offered to prisoners to bee at libertie by takinge of them are unlawfull.

"15. It is wished with one consent, and greatly desired of worshipfull men, that all would follow the Romane use in their office and service as a thinge commended to all the world by the Concell of Trent.

"16. It is thought good that they that have noe speciall jurisdiction given them to minister the sacrament of pennance, examine better their authoritie, and in the meanetime abstayne from the act.

"17. It is agreed upon with on[e] consent that the going to the Protestants' church in such sorte, as it is nowe required, is unlawful, and a schismaticall deed, notwithstandinge all obedience pretended or protestation of the contrarie religion.

18. Lastly, if any man in any of all these poynts have any doubt of conscience, lett him knowe they be all set down by authoritie of them that may dispence in all customes or lawes to the cóntrarie; neither is it meant hereby that any man should bee bound to breake the old customs of fasting Frydayes and other like, wherein they are all left to their owne devotions, but to declare that there is noe bond of our parts in such poyntes. Finis."

The biography of Father Haywood is perhaps one of the most interesting in our collection, as showing the state of Catholics in England respecting the mode of observing the obligation of fasts, regarding which a dispute had long existed. The facts, which are more fully detailed in the biography of the Father, are briefly these. Before the arrival of Father Haywood in the summer of 1581, a dispute had been carried on with some warmth between certain of the old English priests, especially the Marian priests, supported by a party among the laity, on the one side, and, on the other side, the rest of the clergy, especially the seminary priests of Douay and Rheims, who had been for some time upon the mission, and had the support of a number of Catholics, regarding the ancient custom of fasting observed in England, and handed down from the remotest times.[6] These fasts were more numerous than in the Roman custom, and exceedingly severe, and, says Father Tanner,[7] the piety of the English Catholics had added to the accustomed fasting days of the Roman usage many others, which they observed with as much strictness as those canonically prescribed. They are given in the above biography. Fathers Robert Parsons and Edmund Campian on their arrival in England in the summer of 1580, interposed to make peace, and the question was thoroughly sifted at the meeting of the priests in and about London, held in "the little house across the Thames in Southwark." On the point of fasting Father Parsons proposed a resolution to the meeting which was adopted, and which left the question in really much the same state in which it then was.[8] So matters remained until the arrival of Father Haywood in the summer of 1581, who heard reports from every quarter regarding the indiscreet practices of the rigorist party, which believed it to be a duty of conscience not to allow the usual dispensations of the Church to be observed. Eminent and experienced theologian as he was, he considered that the evil required a trenchant remedy. Some writers of the time have blamed the Father for imprudence in the course he took to procure uniformity. Father Tanner observes that Father Haywood, anxious to establish unity and uniformity, attacked the excessive severity of fasting with perfect sincerity as contrary to the Roman rite,

[6] Father Tanner (*Soc. Jesu Apost. Imit.*) dates the custom from the time of St. Augustine.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] See this resolution in *Records*, S.J., vol. i. p. 394.

in order to meet the complaints of many Catholics, especially of the priests, and adds that the violent opposition made by the rigorist party arose from the fear that any relaxation might be detrimental to religion.[9] Father Haywood, who had succeeded Father Robert Parsons as Superior of the English Mission, and whose fame as a divine had preceded his arrival, was naturally looked up to by all the Roman orthodox party, which was evidently a very large one, and thus became singled out as a butt to be aimed at.

It is clear from the document given above, that the various points had been agreed to, and were accepted by the party. The third point evidently refers to the Roman rite as having never been received in England, and therefore not of obligation, but rather of exhortation.

This interesting question bears in its degree, somewhat of a similar character with that of the observance of Easter in our country in the days of St. Augustine the Apostle of England. It is well known what zeal and labour the Saint bestowed in the effort to procure uniformity with the Roman observance of that holy season, and what severe troubles and persecutions he brought down upon himself from the Catholics of those days as an innovator upon their ancient customs, and no doubt, as in the case of Father Haywood, the Saint too was not exempt from similar charges of imprudence and indiscreet zeal.

In More's *Life of Sir Thomas More*, 1627,[10] we read the following passage: "It was credibly reported that two of John Haywood's sons, Jasper and Ellis, having one of the teeth of Sir Thomas More between them, and either of them being desirous to have it for himself, it suddenly, to the admiration of both, parted in two."

Jasper Haywood's sister was the mother of Henry and John Dunn, who entered at Hart Hall, Oxford, October 12, 1584, when Henry was in his eleventh year and John in his

[9] Dr. Barrett, the President of Rheims (whither Douay College had been temporarily transferred), in a private letter to his bosom friend Father Alphonsus Agazzari, Rector of the English College, Rome, dated August 17, 1583, briefly alludes to this subject. "This, my Father, is between ourselves, and I write it with extreme pain—Father Haywood does not conduct himself with sufficient prudence in England. He affords many occasions to those who never let one slip, if by possibility they can carp at anything in any one of yours" (See *Records of English Catholics*, p. 332). This is one of the many and affectionate letters that passed between two superiors, who, with their respective communities, had but "one heart and one soul."

[10] P. 304.

twelfth. In 1585, the year their uncle was banished, they disappear from Oxford. Their father died in 1575, leaving them well provided for. Henry Dunn is probably the young man of that name who is mentioned in the account of William Warrington's martyrdom, and was nearly twenty-one in 1593. John Dunn entered Lincoln's Inn May 6, 1592, æt. 19, having previously been of Thavies Inn. He was the Dean of St. Paul's, whose life was written by Isaac Walton.[11]

THE DUCHESS OR COUNTESS OF BUCKINGHAM.

In the biography of Father John Percy (*alias* Fisher), in *Records*, vol. i., an account is given of the conversion of the Duchess of Buckingham (there called the Countess) and of her son, the Viscount Purbeck, to the Catholic faith, by Father John Percy.

We are enabled to give the following interesting details regarding the Duchess, derived from an original manuscript by Sir Toby Matthews, written in 1651, and from the Neville MS., 1642—1650, both MSS. being preserved at St. Scholastica's Abbey, Teignmouth. It will be remembered that the Countess had suffered herself, after her conversion, to yield to the wishes of King James (or rather was forced by his Majesty) to attend sometimes the Protestant services in the Royal Chapel, but with such remorse of conscience, that she became once more reconciled, and ceased to attend the services any longer, and went to the King expressing her deep sorrow for what she had done, and begging leave to retire from the Court, being resolved to live and die in the profession of the Roman Catholic faith. These valuable MSS. afford a gratifying proof of her steady perseverance.

From a MS. by Sir Toby Matthews (written in 1651).

"Lady Abbess Mary Roper (Abbess of Ghent from December 1642 to April 1650) had the honour to receive the late most noble and most worthy, but not most fortunate, Duchess of Buckingham under her roof more than a year, all which she did, not only by the bishop's leave, but by his order. She gained upon her extremely, and together with the rest of her religious (who knew as well how to be good company there, as they had been full of modesty and virtue in the world), she entertained her so nobly and so delightfully

[11] Dr. Jessopp.

NOTE.—Since the paper relative to the Duchess or Countess of Buckingham was in type, the Editor has received the following information from a friend. "Father Percy's convert was Mary Beaumont, *Countess* of Buckingham, so created by the influence of her son George Villiers, *Duke* of Buckingham. Another of her sons was Lord Purbeck. After the death of her first husband, Sir George Villiers, she married Sir William Rayner, and thirdly, Sir Thomas Compton. Lady Compton died April 19, 1632. She decidedly persevered in her religion. Sir Toby Matthew's references are to Catherine Manners, *Duchess* of Buckingham, wife to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. She had, I presume, married, while her husband was still Earl of Buckingham, and therefore may be met with as Countess, or Marchioness Buckingham, before 1623. To the best of my belief she was born a Catholic, but her faith was tampered with by King James, but she, like her mother-in-law, soon came right. At the time of the Neville MS. she was married to the Marquis of Antrim, though still called Duchess of Buckingham."

[*Page* 684.

whilst she was with them, besides the great spiritual gain the Duchess made by their means, as to make her protest, when she went thence, that she never had enjoyed so much happiness in the best year of her whole life, with all her palaces and courts, as she had done in the very worst hour of her remaining with that blessed company."

From the Neville MS. (1642—1650, precise date not given.)

"My Lady Duchess of Buckingham was forced by that trouble [the civil war] to fly both from Ireland and England, retiring into our monastery [at Ghent] for fifteen months, living with much piety in a solitary life; taking so much content in the monastery, that had not the necessity of her married condition forced her away, she would there have ended her days. And this lady laid then the design of beginning a house [of Benedictines] in Ireland, imparting these thoughts to Rev. Father Ducket, who I suppose gave her permission to ask three or four [religious] whether or no, if God should enable her to establish a monastery, would they be content that she should demand them of the Superior? to which they consented."

FATHER EDMUND NEVILLE, *alias* NELSON.

In vol. i. p. 220, we have given a short biography of this Father; and in page 669 of the same volume some further particulars are added leading to the idea that he was *de jure* the seventh Earl of Westmoreland, and great grandson to Ralph, the fourth earl, and would have succeeded to the title upon the death of Charles the sixth earl, but for the attainder of the latter.

An antiquarian has subsequently made the following suggestion: "I should have said that he was Edward, a younger son of Sir John Neville of Leversedge by his second wife Beatrice, daughter to Henry Browne, and that his grandfather, Sir Robert Neville, having married Eleanor Townley, and Sir Robert Hesketh having married Grace Townley, was the reason of his being brought up with Sir Thomas Hesketh, son of Sir Robert, as stated in Father Neville's autobiography."

CANSFIELD FAMILY OF CANSFIELD AND ROBERTS-HALL.

In *Records*, vol. iii. pp. 140, seq., we gave the biography of Father Brian Cansfield, and a short note of the family of Cansfield, now represented by Lord Gerard of Bryn. It may be interesting to add this note from the collection of MSS. at St. Scholastica's Abbey[1]: "Father Brian's eldest sister, Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Cansfield, of Roberts-Hall, Lancashire, was one of the first to enter the new foundation, arriving at Brussels November 4, 1598 (in religion she took the name of Anne), and on Tuesday, November 21, 1600, Mary Percy, Dorothy Arundell, Gertrude Arundell, Anne Cansfield, Frances Gawen, Elizabeth Southcote, Winefrid Thomson, and Renata Smythe, made their sacred vows, and thus was Brussels House founded.

"The Lady Mary was the first to suggest the foundation, and it was good Father Holt who decided her to have it of the Benedictine Order. Dame Mary Cansfield died September 6, 1611, aged thirty-four. She was of a sweet disposition (says her mortuary notice), very kind to the sick, being Infirmarian, and very devout to our Blessed Lady."

THE CONIERS, OR CONYERS FAMILY.

In *Records*, vol. iii. pp. 210, seq., we have given a biography of Father Thomas Coniers, and, in a note to it, a short account of several of the members of that old Catholic Yorkshire family who had entered the Society of Jesus. We have subsequently received the following particulars connected with the family from the collection of records of the Benedictine convents in Belgium, preserved at St. Scholastica's Abbey.

"Conyers.—There was at Dunkirk a Dame Cecilia Conyers, of whom we have only the record that she died September 8 (year not now known). But from the third volume of *Records* it is evident she was sister to Fathers Thomas (born 1665), Christopher (born 1669), and Leonard (born 1671). In a little collection of old MSS. which belonged in turn to various members of our House at Dunkirk, there is at the end an extract copied from 'a letter by Rev. Father George Conyers,'

[1] Brussels Reg. MS.

about a reliquary he had given one of our nuns (in all probability to Dame Cecilia Conyers). He certifies how these relics came into his possession, and shows their authenticity. (By tradition we know that there were several large reliquaries in our House there). Then, in the very same hand, on the opposite page, or rather on the inside of the cover of the book, there is the following list, entitled 'Ages':

"'Cecilia ... ... August 7, 1660.
Thomas ... ... July 29, 1665.
Christopher ... ... April 7, 1669.
Lenord ... ... August 6, 1671.
Mary ... ... August 18, 1673.

"'My dear mother died January 7, 1690.
My dear father died November 30, 1693.'"

Our informant continues—"If this is compared with page 210 of the third volume of *Records*, the dates of Thomas, Christopher, and Leonard agree with the exception of one year in the case of Thomas, which can hardly invalidate the remarkable coincidence of the rest, especially as we know that Dame Cecilia *had a brother in the Society*, according to the following extract from *The Gentleman's Magazine* for December, 1818. This volume gives a tour in France in 1701 by Mr. St. Leger. 'August 28. He visited the Benedictines at Dunkirk, having letters of recommendation to Dame Cecilia Conyers, whose father lived formerly at Canterbury. On Dame Cecilia entering the parlour behind the lattice (grille), I informed her I had been desired by her Sister Wilson of Canterbury to wait upon her. She then received us civilly, and desired us to sit down, which we did, and as she did likewise. . . . We then conversed for a quarter of an hour, she inquiring after her friends in England, and we into the Constitutions of the house. . . . She told us it was about twenty-eight years since she came thither, being then eight years of age. . . . She is organist, and understands music, it seems, very well,' &c. 'August 30. Set out for St. Omer's in a vessel for passengers by a fresh-water canal. . . . We had the company of an English Jesuit, who was very free and good company, and after we came to be acquainted he told us his name was Worthington. He was about twenty-one years of age, a native of Lancashire, though he went by another name in his College, as did most English Jesuits at every place abroad since they had been betrayed by Dr. Titus Oates, who, he said, had been a member of his house. I inquired of him after a

cousin of mine, of my own name, when he told me that if I would ask at the College of English Jesuits at St. Omer's for Father St. Leger, I should see him, and that on mentioning the name of Worthington he would own himself. . . . My cousin, Father St. Leger, was Master of Poetry at the College this year, having been last year Master of Rhetoric. He was very shy of knowing me at first, but at last said he remembered me and my family, and was very friendly, introducing me to Father Conyers, brother of the nun we visited at Dunkirk, and who had expressed her wish that we should make ourselves known to him. This Father is Master of Music in the College, and entertained us by playing very finely on the bass-viol. Some of the pieces which he performed, he said, were of his own composition.'

"No doubt 'Sister Wilson' was the 'Mary' (born August 18, 1673), and who married some —— Wilson."

The Jesuit Worthington named above must have been Thomas Worthington, a native of Lancashire, born about 1680. At the age of thirteen, in September, 1693, he entered the College of St. Omer in the name of Thomas Sephton. After completing his humanity studies there he joined the novitiate of the English Province at Watten on September 7, 1697. In 1701 he is named in a catalogue of the Province as a scholastic making his higher studies at Liege, and in 1704, in another catalogue, as residing in the College of St. Aloysius, or the Lancashire District. After this we do not trace him, and it is most probable that he was sent to England for change of air, and died in Lancashire while still a scholastic.

Of the Father St. Leger we have no further information beyond the fact that in the Catalogue for 1700–1 he is mentioned as a scholastic, teaching the first class of rhetoric at St. Omer's, and in 170$\frac{3}{4}$ he was a priest making his third year of theology at Liege. He may have been of the same family (perhaps an uncle) as Father John St. Leger, *alias* Salinger, an Irish Jesuit (who, according to Dr. Oliver,[1] was uncle to Father Robert St. Leger, D.D., Vicar-Apostolic of Calcutta, and his brother Father John St. Leger), born at Waterford August 23, 1713, who entered the Society in the Province of Toulouse April 25, 1729, and went to the Irish mission in 1742. This Father, with the assistance of his Irish friends in Spain, built a chapel and presbytery at Waterford as a Residence of the Society. It was called St. Patrick's, and at the suppression of

[1] *Collectanea*, Irish Members.

the Society in 1773, it became a parish church, Father John being appointed the priest, with Father Paul Power as his associate. To this day (adds Dr. Oliver) the memory of these holy men is in benediction.

THE VAVASOUR FAMILY.

In *Records*, vol. iii. p. 233 (as may be seen by a reference to the Index), many members of this old and faithful Catholic family are briefly noticed, especially those who entered religion. A friend furnishes us with the following additional particulars, and observes: "Burke is mistaken in mixing up the children of Sir Thomas Vavasour, the first baronet, with those of his father; and again, there is no doubt whatever that the first baronet's father was named *William*, not *Walter*.[1] I have a copy of his mortuary notice, which I send you. He and his family are likewise mentioned in Lady Abbess Neville's manuscript, and she was personally acquainted and corresponded with his daughter, the third Abbess of Brussels O.S.B., and was also probably acquainted with the Reverend Henry Vavasour, the priest. Lady Abbess Neville says, speaking of Lady Abbess Vavasour: 'Her father, Squire William Vavasour of Hazlewood, was of a family very ancient, and of much esteem in the north, but [rendered] more illustrious by his piety, sufferings, and glorious confession of the Catholic faith, for which he suffered five years' imprisonment, with the loss of great part of his estate, his houses [being] seized and possessed by heretic lords, all of which he patiently and joyfully suffered for Christ.'

[1] The following statement in Burke seems also to be incorrectly applied to Sir Thomas Vavasour, the first baronet: "Sir Thomas Vavasour so distinguished himself with others of the nobility, by raising forces and equipping vessels to defend Queen Elizabeth against the Spanish Armada, that the Queen in reward of this zeal, and out of particular regard for one of her maids of honour, who was a Vavasour, and acknowledged by her Majesty as her kinswoman, would never suffer the chapel at Hazlewood to be molested, where the Roman Catholic rites still continue to be celebrated." William Vavasour, the father of Thomas was only nineteen years of age at the time of the Spanish Armada. Burke also makes Sir Thomas succeed his father, but this, as we shall presently see upon the undoubted authority of the Lady Abbess Vavasour, was not correct. The friend above referred to says: "There appears to have been another Sir Thomas Vavasour, a knight, cotemporary with William Vavasour; and the son of the latter being also named Thomas (and was also *Sir*) the *two* Sir Thomases may, I think, have been the cause of Burke's mistake. The knight, Sir Thomas, was a confidant of the Earl of Leicester, and accompanied him in his Flemish expedition in 1586; he returned, and was received at Court, and hence probably was not a Catholic. I cannot find out what branch he belonged to, but there have been many branches of Vavasours, and some Protestant ones."

Another manuscript adds: 'He was kept in prison for refusing the oath; also, being absent from home, a priest was taken in his house. [At last] for money and through the help of good friends he got himself released, but was nevertheless confined to live in a paltry house in York. [He had before] made over his estate unto his son, Sir Thomas Vavasour.' Lady Abbess Neville continues: '[After this] Squire Vavasour continued to live according to his old manner, very devoutly, always keeping a priest in his house, as also did his son [Sir Thomas]. Squire Vavasour married Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Manners.' 'And she,' says Weldon in his annals, 'was by the the mercy of God, brought [after her marriage] from heresy to a pious conversion to the true faith, and had her share in her husband's sufferings.'[2] 'They had three sons and four daughters, and the example of the parents [in piety] wrought so much upon the children that most of them took to religion. The second son called Henry became a priest, and died at Antwerp, on April 6, 1660, in great opinion of sanctity.'[3] Another manuscript says: Francis the third son was a Franciscan at Douay, and had already died a holy death when Estiennot wrote his manuscript in 1672. All four daughters become nuns. Mary the eldest, born 1600, was fifth Abbess of Brussels, she died 1676. Margaret, born 1606, and Catherine, born 1610, were nuns at Cambray, and the fourth sister was a Franciscan at St. Elizabeth's in Brussels. Sir Thomas, the eldest son, married Ursula Giffard, and had (according to a family pedigree) five sons and three daughters; viz., Walter, the second baronet; William, a major in the army, who died unmarried; Thomas, who fell at Marston Moor; Peter, M.D., of York, and Charles; (1) Mary, (2) Frances, married to Alfonso Thwinge, of Kilton Castle, county York, and (3) Anne. This last was a nun at Louvain.[4] Now the date

[2] Neville Chronicle.

[3] *Records*, vol. iii. p. 234 note, where we insert an extract from the English College Diary regarding Henry Vavasour, who left the College, July 12, 1620, on account of ill health, after giving an example of every virtue. On entering the College he states briefly: "I was born and brought up in Yorkshire. I have brothers, sisters, and relations Catholics and heretics. My parents enjoy the happy lot of having suffered much for the faith. Their property is sufficiently ample. My friends are both of the higher and the middle class, and for the most part heretics. I made my humanity studies at St. Omer's College, and was always a Catholic.

[4] We subjoin a pedigree of the family, but can only vouch for the correctness of it as far as Sir Walter, the second baronet, and his brother John and sister Anne, the nun—which is furnished upon the excellent authority of the Lady Abbess Neville's Chronicle, and of the Lady Abbess Mary Vavasour. The rest is extracted from Mr. Foster's pedigree.

PEDIGREE OF THE VAVASOUR FAMILY.

WILLIAM VAVASOUR, Esq., of Hazlewood. Succeeded his uncle. According to the Neville MS., had three sons and four daughters. Was a great sufferer for the faith. A Tertiary of the Order of St. Francis. Died near York on November 26, 1637, aged 70. = ANNE, daughter of Sir THOMAS MANNERS, who was fourth son of THOMAS first Earl of Rutland, by ELEANOR, daughter of Sir WILLIAM PASTON of Paston, Norfolk. "Mrs. Vavasour was converted to the faith by her husband and shared in his sufferings for it" (*Neville and Cambray MSS.*).

- Sir THOMAS. Created baronet by Charles I. in 1628; died in his father's life-time (*Neville MS.*). = URSULA, daughter of WALTER GIFFARD, Esqre., of Chillington, two of whose daughters were Nuns O.S.A. at Louvain.
  - Sir WALTER, second baronet. Was fifty-three August 13, 1666. = URSULA, daughter of THOMAS, Viscount Fauconberg.
    - Sir WALTER, third baronet. Died February 16, 1713, aged about sixty-eight, S.P. = JANE, daughter of Sir JORDAN CROSSLAND.
    - JOHN, aged thirteen in 1666.
  - JOHN. Born 1628; entered English College, Rome, in 1649 (*Records English Province S.J.*, vol. iii. p. 234).
  - ANNE. Professed O.S.A. at Louvain, November, 1633; died March 4, 1667, in her fifty-fourth year.
  - Other issue.
  - PETER, sixth son. = ANNE ——
    - Sir WALTER. Succeeded as fourth baronet; died May, 1740, aged 80.
    - Other issue.
    - PETER, third son. = ELIZABETH, daughter of PHILIP LANGDALE, of Langthorpe, co. York.
      - Sir WALTER. Succeeded his uncle as fifth baronet. Died April 13, 1766. = DOROTHY, daughter of MARMADUKE, fourth Lord Langdale in 1741. She died in 1751. Her brother, the fifth Lord Langdale, left a daughter MARY.
        - Sir WALTER, sixth baronet. Married in 1797; died S.P. November 30, 1802. = JANE, daughter and co-heir of WILLIAM LANGDALE, of Langthorpe, Esq.
        - Sir THOMAS, seventh baronet. Died unmarried, January 20, 1826.
        - PETER. A general in the Austrian service. Died S.P. in 1818. = COMTESSE DE PAISBURG.
        - CHARLES, sixteenth Lord Stourton. Died in 1816. = MARY, daughter and sole heir of the fifth Lord Langdale. Died April 12, 1841.
          - EDWARD STOURTON, second son, of Hazlewood. Assumed the name of Vavasour; became a baronet in 1828; died in 1847. = MARCIA, daughter of JAMES LANE FOX, Esqre., of Bramham Park. Died 1826.
            - Sir EDWARD VAVASOUR. Born 1815.
            - WILLIAM. Died 1860, æt. 37. = MARY CONSTANTIA, daughter of HUGH, seventh Lord Clifford.
              - WILLIAM VAVASOUR, Esqre. Born 1846. = MARY TERESA, daughter of EDWARD WELD, Esq., of Lulworth.
                - HELEN.
                - Two other daughters.
              - OSWALD. Born 1848.
              - HENRY. Born 1850.
            - PHILIP, Canon of Beverley.
            - EDWARD. Born 1855.
            - GEORGE. Died 1851.
            - MARCIA. = First Lord HERRIES.
            - MARY LUCY. A Nun.
            - ANGELA.
          - WILLIAM, eldest son. Became seventeenth Lord Stourton in 1816.
          - Other issue.
        - MARY. A Nun. Died 1850.
    - PETER, sixth son. = ANNE ——
  - Other issue.
- HENRY. A Priest. Entered English College, Rome, under the name of MANNERS, 1615; died at Antwerp April 6, 1660, in great opinion of sanctity.
- FRANCIS, A Friar at the Franciscans at Douay; died before 1672.
- MARY. Born 1600; professed O.S.B. at Brussels in 1616; became fifth Abbess in 1652; died December 4, 1676.
- MARGARET. Born 1606; professed O.S.B. at Cambray as Dame Lucy; died 1679.
- CATHERINE. Professed O.S.B. at Cambray as Dame Catherine; died in August, 1676.
- Another daughter. Professed O.S.F. at St. Elizabeth's Convent at Brussels.

JOHN VAVASOUR, who became a Lay-Brother of the Society, we are unable with any certainty to place in the Pedigree. So also the following:
Father WILLIAM VAVASOUR, *alias* THWINGE. Admitted to the Society in 1665; on the English Mission in 1676; died at Nieuport, April 23, 1683 (*Records* vol. iii. p. 235).
Father WALTER VAVASOUR. Born 1664; entered the Society 1681; professed 1692; on the Mission at Preston, where he died in 1740, aged 76 (*Records*, as above).
Sister MARY CLEMENTINA VAVASOUR. Professed at the Poor Clares at Dunkirk, November 21, 1721; died December 18, 1750, aged 46.
Sister CLARE CONSTANTIA VAVASOUR. Professed at the same Convent, on September 8, 1731; died July 11, 1793, aged 80.
Sister MARGARET TERESA VAVASOUR. Born 1710; took the habit of St. Clare at Rouen in 1727; became Abbess and died a holy death July 10, 1779, aged 68.
Sister MARY CATHERINE. Born 1712; took the same habit at the same Convent in her sixteenth year, in 1728; died December 1738, aged 25.
Sister JERRY VAVASOUR. Born 1715; took the same habit at the same Convent in her seventeenth year, in 1732, as Sister Gertrude of St. Clare; elected Abbess May 17, 1779; died November 4, 1785, aged 70.

[*To face page 690.*

of the first baronet's death is uncertain, but it took place *before* that of his father, for Lady Abbess Vavasour, speaking of her father, says, that when dying he left to *his heir*, 'Sir *Walter* Vavasour, *my nephew*,' a relic of the Holy Cross, to be always kept in the house and family as a most precious heir-loom. Now, of course, if Sir Thomas (first baronet) had been living, his son Sir Walter (nephew to Lady Abbess and second baronet) would not have been heir to William Vavasour, his grandfather. This last named died in the neighbourhood of York, on November 26, 1637, he was a tertiary of St. Francis, and the Franciscans issued a mortuary notice. I have it in Estiennot in French, but give you a translation.

"'Jesus, Mary, Francis.

"'In the year of our Lord, 1637, on the 26th November, in the neighbourhood of York, in England, died in our Lord, after receiving the last sacraments, the noble Brother William Vavasour, of the Third Order of St. Francis and of those who live in the world. He led a most devout life, entertained a special affection for the Seraphical Order, was most generous to the poor, and to priests working in our Lord's vineyard, and this even during the most severe persecution. During his illnesses and under his many afflictions, he gave proofs of great patience; and he showed no less fortitude and constancy in the Catholic faith, for which he many times suffered imprisonment and fines. Having thus rendered himself worthy of high commendation, and given good example to others, he happily departed to our Lord to receive the reward of his good works, at the age of seventy years. We recommend his soul to your Holy Sacrifices and prayers, that he may rest in eternal peace.'

"I think the letter occurring in page 234 (vol. iii. *Records*) is from this holy man, though I did not before know he had been a prisoner in London.

The following is a touching narrative regarding John Vavasour, William's uncle and predecessor.[5]

"The third [example of cruelty] is the Sheriff and his officers, who upon the least occasion, if they find the least thing against any Catholic, are ready to arrest their persons, to drive away their goods, and to use all disgrace they can against them. Of these, among many, we had an example

[5] *Troubles*, series iii. "Father Pollard's Recollections of the Yorkshire Missions."

of an old gentleman who, for his ancient family, was counted the chief in the country, his ancestors, together with the Percys, having been the builders of York Minster, and himself the only great and bountiful housekeeper of the north, Mr. Vavasour, the chief of that name, who is now of late dead—God rest his soul.[6] This gentleman being sent for at the assizes, to appear before the Judge, and by reason of his age and weakness alleging not ability, was sent for by the Sheriff, with command to take him by force, and to bring him to the Judge. The under-sheriff came with a multitude of men, partly of his own, partly of the gentleman's tenants, and by violence, with all disgrace, brought the venerable old gentleman to the bar before the judges, where, after many disgraceful terms, they offered him the oath before all the gentlemen his friends and kinsmen of the country. And these three, to wit, the Council, the High Commission, and the Sheriff, are always ready in any service against the Catholics their countrymen and neighbours."

In later times five more daughters of this family became nuns of the order of Poor Clares, viz., Mary Clementina Vavasour, born 1704, who was professed at Dunkirk, November 21, 1721, and died December 18, 1750, aged forty-six. St. Clara Constantia Vavasour, born 1713, made her profession at Dunkirk, September 8, 1731, and died July 11, 1793, aged eighty. Margaret Teresa Vavasour, born 1710, took the habit of St. Clare at Rouen in 1727, became Abbess, and died a holy death, July 10, 1779, æt. 69. Mary Catherine Vavasour, born 1712, received the same habit at Rouen in her fifteenth year, in 1728, and died December 30, 1738, æt. 26. Jerry Vavasour, born 1715, received the habit at Rouen when seventeen years old, as Sister Gertrude of St. Clare. She was elected Abbess May 17, 1779, and died November 4, 1785, æt. 70.

We have been favoured by the Lady Abbess of St. Clare's

[6] Burke, in his *Peerage and Baronetage*, mentions Sir William le Vavasour, who succeeded his father, Sir John le Vavasour, Knight, at Hazlewood, which he had a licence to castellate from Edward I., in whose reign he was employed in the Gascoigne and Scotch wars; and was so esteemed that he had summons to Parliament among the Barons from 28 Edward I. to 6 Edward II. He gave to the Archbishop and Chapter of York from his quarry in Theves-dale, near Tadcaster, the stone of which that noble edifice, the Minster, was erected. He also made and founded St. Leonard's chapel, in his castle at Hazlewood, which on the foregoing account was made extra-parochial by the Archbishop; the King's charter for the chapel is dated April 29, 1286, Edward I. The confirmation is dated June 5, 1452, 31 Henry VI.

Abbey, Darlington, with the following extracts from the records of the English Poor Clares in Rouen, regarding three nuns of that convent:

"Anno Dni. 1738, ye 30 of Dec. Sister Mary Catherine, *alias* Vavasour, who was prevented by Almighty God from her very cradle with an extraordinary piety and devotion. She was sent hither by her parents very young, and carryed on with such an ardent desire of being religious that she took the holy habit at fifteen years of age, not considering her tender body, so Superiours wear forced to consent therunto. She soon made appear ye great fervour of her mind by such an exactness in all Religious dutys, that her Mrs. sayd of her yt she would prove a true ceremony book, wch indeed she was in all her actions and conversation, never having bin seen to transgress therin. But the fervour of her spirit soon weakened her tender and young body, so she fell into a Consumption, wch lasted 4 years, wherin she wore away like a dead carkass, the skin as well as ye flesh drying up and clung close to ye bone. The Doctors sayd they had never seen such a kind of Consumption. The spirit of fervour still continued, or rather augmented, as her body wasted, yet she followed ye quire both night and day, and would never be exempted but when ordered by Obedience; and when one would not lett her stand at ye office, it being to much for her weakness, she would keep upon her knees all the lenthe of time, and whole howers and even half days without sitting downe or leaning, allwayse saying she was well enough to doe it, though by her looks one would have thought she was half dead. She was allwayse most humble, serviceable, and charitable; one could not doe her a greater pleasure then to emploie her in some humble and laborious work, still thinking her forces more than indeed they wear, and her charity was universale, allwayse saying others wanted more then herself, and would allwaie have them prefered and served before her, tho she was in extremity of weakness; in fine, she was a true pattern of vertu, who had by God Almighty's grace compleated her crowne in few years. Her last Agony was long, or rather a sweet sleep, for ye space of 5 or 6 howers, when she left of breathing, and gave up her happy soul to her deer Creator, ye 26 year of her age and 10 since her holy Profession.

"Anno Dni. 1733, ye feast of ye glorious Ascension of our Lord, made her holy profession Jerry Vavasour, called in

Religion Str. Gertrude of St. Clare, ye 17th year of her age. Elected Abbess on ye 17th of May, 1779, and happily departed this mortal life the 4th of November, 1785, being aged 70. After having passed 52 years in the holy Religion.

"A.D. 1779. In our Convent of Jesus Maria Joseph of English Poor Clares in Rouen, the 10th of July, is most happily departed this life our most venerable and dear Mother Abbess, Sister Margaret Teresa, *alias* Vavasour, the 69 year of her age, and 52 of holy Profession. Almighty God seemed to have prevented her soul with extraordinary graces, and that from the cradle she was pre-elected for His spouse, it being observed by the gentleman then priest in the family that the first word she uttered was 'I will be a nun,' and from the very dawn of reason her virtuous inclinations spoke. Like unto a little Teresa she delighted in personating the saints going to the crown of martyrdom, and in forming little oratories and places of retirement. In her early years she was sent by her virtuous father, along with her sister Catherine, a child equally prevented with heavenly blessings. Our dear Mother had no sooner entered this holy asylum but the sweetness and benevolency of her temper attracted not only her mistress's attention, but also that of the whole community. Her piety went on increasing with years, as did also the ardent desire of consecrating herself irrevocably to Jesus Christ. At the age of sixteen she had the comfort of seeing herself invested with the holy habit of the Order, performing the term of probation with so great fervour as made her be readily admitted the following year to religious profession by the unanimous votes of the community, pronouncing her solemn vows on the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, thus consummating her sacrifice in great sentiments of gratitude, love, humility, and fervour. Some few years after she was chosen second, afterwards first portress, in which employ she kept a strict watch over herself, and was ever most attentive in keeping recollection and an interior converse with her God. After having passed several years in this troublesome office, to the edification of externs and general satisfaction of all, it was judged expedient to remove her to the charge of vicaress, for the comfort and assistance of our venerable dear Mother Clifton, who though loaded with virtue and every merit, yet great age rendered unable to support longer the weary weight of superiority, so the whole burthen thereof fell upon our dear Mother, which soon destroyed

her constitution. At the death of her worthy predecessor she was canonically elected Abbess, which charge she exercised twenty-three years in the practice of every virtue. Her motherly attention towards all was great, but singularly such to the sick and infirm. Those in danger of death she scarcely left, but continued praying and comforting them in that last passage; her solicitude and compassion stopped not here, but extended also towards her necessitous neighbour, so that we may truly say charity characterized all her actions, and, as of holy Job, that mercy had grown with her from her youth. Her invincible meekness and sweetness under constant trials was most conspicuous, and when even duty called upon her to reprehend did it with great reluctance, frequently repeating with the holy Bishop of Geneva—in case my weakness prompts me to exceed, I had rather it be too much lenity than severity. She was ever closely united to her crucified Saviour, and He mercifully dispensed unto her a large share in His holy Cross, not only by a long series of continual infirmities, but also in many sharp trials she experienced, amongst which her last illness was not the least, though we looked upon it as sent by the Almighty for increase of merit, and at the same time to purify her precious soul from all dross of imperfection. The disorder was looked upon by the physicians as a lethargic palsy, which in great measure deprived her of speech, but, thanks be to God, her judgment continued good, which caused her frequently to feel the weight of His avenging arm, though never without His merciful support; for in measure as the thorn was driven deeper into her soul He sweetened the edge thereof by fresh increase of holy love, with which her heart seemed frequently to glow. Her entire resignation to the Divine will was no less perfect, as appeared in all events of life, though it shone more particularly in the sickness which terminated her happy course, from the day of her being taken ill, which was on the feast of All Saints, her fervent acts of love and resignation to the will of her Heavenly Spouse were almost as frequent as her breathings. The two first months of her sickness may be counted the sharpest part of her sufferance, being deprived for that space of time from receiving the Bread of Life, in which she found her strength, comfort, and support; was ever sighing after that angelical food, as the thirsty deer after the fountain of clear refreshing waters, and like the moaning turtle in deep solitude, was ever bewailing her loss, which she would often express by a flood of tears,

and in some moments her grief was so great as to force from her these words, 'Oh, 'tis cruel, cruel,' but then immediately added, with hands and eyes uplifted to Heaven, 'Holy will of God, charming—it's well, it's well.' Indeed, in these very instants the sweetness of her countenance bespoke the great serenity of her soul. After the Almighty had tried this His servant in her most sensible part, He was pleased to manifest the integrity of her judgment, which until then had been questioned by some, which was not surprising. The disorder being singular, however, the remaining months in this vale of tears were passed with more consolation, having had the happiness of receiving the Blessed Sacrament frequently, which was mostly every Sunday and holiday. The morning she died she received her Holy Viaticum, Extreme Unction, and every other help the Church afforded, and some few hours after sweetly breathed forth her happy soul amidst the sighs and tears of her afflicted children and her Father confessor who was present. Her truly virtuous life gives us all reason to hope that through the merits of her Redeemer she already enjoys the vision of the Holy Lamb, and that we may say of her—*In æterna memoria erit justus.*"

THE CURTIS FAMILY.

In *Records*, vol. iii. pp. 405, seq., some account is given of this family, of which several members entered the Society, and one became a secular priest. Gee's list of Priests and Jesuits in and about London (1624), mentions a Mr. Curtis, a brother of theirs, "a pewterer, a Papist in London, dwelling in Tower Street." This brother appears to have been a great sufferer for his faith. We have been favoured with the following account of him from records preserved at St. Scholastica's Abbey, Teignmouth.

"Curtis.

"Mr. Curtis, who married Miss Draycott of Painsley, was a constant Catholic, who, for more safety, became the Queen's Pewterer, being before of that trade, that he might be defended by her protection. But, when the Parliamentarians got the upper hand, this became his greater trouble, for he was soon plundered by them, and forced to buy his goods again. Yet not content with that, they raised slanders against him, that he had barrels of gunpowder concealed; so his house

was searched, and his barrels opened, where nothing of the kind was to be found. Other things also they forged against him; their chief spite at him was because they knew him to be so good a Catholic; wherefore a certain Captain of the Parliament told the Lord Mayor that it was not fit such an arch-Papist should live in London, who brought up his children in Popery. So he was brought before the Lord Mayor, who being a good man would fain have delivered him, knowing that all was but malice against him, but was forced to commit him to prison. There this constant Catholic long remained. At one time, they were so spiteful against him, that they thrust him into the common gaol amongst the rogues and malefactors; which was a great pain unto him, for by hearing the oaths, execrations, and blasphemies of these wicked men, it seemed to him that he was, as it were, in a part of Hell. There he remained for nine months, and in Newgate two years: and even to the time of his daughter's profession, Sister Catherine Curtis (who made her vows at Louvain, as an Augustinian, on the 11th of November, 1652), he was out of prison on bail only, having to return there whenever they pleased. Nor must we omit how malicious they were against his children. When they went out into the streets, the boys would scoff and mock at them, and putting up their fingers in form of a cross, would spit upon them, saying:

> "'Papist, Papist, pray to the Pope,
> 'Your neck in a halter, your heels in a rope.'

"And sometimes would fling stones or dirt at them; so that the poor children were afraid to go into the streets. Once it happened that two of his daughters went to see their father in prison, and indeed to hear Mass there, but they arrived too late, when it was already finished. Upon suspicion, however, they were seized; and although it rained furiously, they sent them across the Thames to prison, not allowing them to return home, although there was then none but them to take care of the house, their mother having gone into the country; and so the house was left in the custody of God for a fortnight that they were detained in prison. Finally all the children were fain to be dispersed into different places, and this daughter Catherine was taken by the Lady Waldegrave in Norfolk, from whence she came hither. She was professed as a Lay-sister at the age of twenty-four years. Her death occurred in 1675, aged forty-seven."

THE WATKINS AND BUCKLER FAMILIES.

In *Records*, vol. iii. page 441, we give an analysis of the examination of a priest named Tregwothan, who had been arrested by John Piers, Bishop of Salisbury, tried, and convicted, but had "broken gaol." He mentions having made his most common abode at a farm belonging to Mr. Watkins at Beaminster, occupied by Andrew Munday, where he had said Mass several times in Munday's chamber. He also names Mr. Whitell's house in Corscombe, near Munday's, where he used to say Mass. The following communication received from a friend, belonging to a member of the Buckler family, is inserted here as an interesting historical illustration.

"I made a note of the farm of *Mr. Watkins*, in Beaminster, county Dorset, where Mass was said, as also at Corscombe, in the same vicinity. *Alexander Buckler*, of Woolcombe, Maltravers, in the county of Dorset, gent., married *Elizabeth, daughter of Humphrey Watkins*, of Halwell, and sister of Richard Watkins, Esq. ; the said Alexander died in 1568, and his widow in 1580. They had four sons, John, *Alexander*, Christopher, and Edward.

"Since I made the above note, I find in the Registers of Douay, the matriculation of *Alexander Bucler*, April 1, 1605, but I cannot trace him later. He may have been a convert of one of the martyr priests at Dorchester, very probably of Father Cornelius himself. There dwelt at Corscombe[1] *Alexander Buckler* and Mary his wife, his will is dated 1727, and proved April 18, 1728 (Registry at Blandford, Dorset). It was quite a family name and still exists, and I was not previously aware of a Catholic kinsman at that date. Alexander Buckler and Elizabeth his wife were bureid close to the ancient cross by the south porch of their old parish church of Melbury Bubb, which was built by their relative, Walter Buckler, priest, rector of Melbury from 1466 to 1513. You may find an *alias* for the Alexander Bucler of Douay—the *k* is often omitted, as well in English as in the Latin.

"The manor of *Corscombe* Abbas belonged to Sherborne, and was granted 4 Edward VI. to Richard Farmer, ancestor of the Earl of Pomfret. This Mr. Farmer was originally of Welsh extraction, and merchant at the staple of Calais, where he raised a noble fortune, and settled at Towcester, county

[1] In 1652, June 24, John Buckler married Penelope Trenchard.

Northampton, but being *a zealous Romanist, for conveying a small relief to Nicholas Thayne, formerly his confessor, then imprisoned at Buckingham*, he was arraigned, 32 Henry VIII., at Westminster Hall, and found guilty of a *præmunire*, and his real and personal estate was seized to the King's use. The King being afterwards made sensible of the injury done him, gave orders for the restitution of his estate, but dying soon after it was not effectually performed till 4 Edward VI. To make him some amends, the King presented him by the same Charter the manor and advowson of Corscombe, county Dorset. He died, 1552, at Easton, and was buried on the north side of the chancel. 6 Edward VI. his eldest son, *John Fermor*, held this manor.

"14 Elizabeth, *George*, son and heir of John Fermor, held this manor, and died 1612."[2]

DOROTHY AND GERTRUDE ARUNDELL.

In the life of Father Cornelius the martyr, *Records*, vol. iii. page 469, it is stated that the martyr wrote twice to his penitent, Dorothy Arundell, urging her not to delay putting into execution her promise made to God of consecrating herself to His service in the Benedictine Convent of Brussels. We have since been informed that it is the Brigittine Convent at Lisbon to which Father Cornelius refers. A friend writes: "At the time of Father Cornelius' martyrdom (1594) this was the only Order of English nuns yet existing; and of it one house alone remained. This explains why the martyr says that he will present her vows to St. Bridgit in Paradise, where he hopes to be in a few hours. But when, four years later, Dorothy Arundell crossed over into Belgium, Lady Abbess Mary Percy was engaged in the foundation of a house of English Benedictinesses at Brussels, and Dorothy and her sister Gertrude were among the first eight who, on the 21st of November, 1600, made their solemn profession as Benedictinesses in the new convent."[1] The same correspondent adds: "The Brigittine nuns left Rouen on April 8, 1594, and reached Lisbon May 20 following. They had resided at Rouen about fourteen years."

[2] *Vide* Hutchins, *Dorset*.
[1] See *Records*, vol. iii. note 3, p. 437.

THE HAWKINS FAMILY OF NASH.

In *Records*, vol. iii. page 491, we give a pedigree of this old Catholic family now extinct, and a short notice of Father Henry Hawkins. We have lately received from Father Francis O'Carroll of the Oratory, South Kensington, a descendant of the family, some interesting additions to the pedigree which we proceed to notice, first correcting two errors that have been pointed out in the pedigree, wherein for William Hillesby, who married Anne or Alice Hawkins, read Hillesley,[1] and for Broughton, Kent, read Boughton.

Father O'Carroll observes that the male line of this family terminated on the death of his great grandfather Thomas Hawkins, the husband of Mary (Teresa) Bradshaw, on September 22, 1800, æt. 64; his widow died May 29, 1811. There was issue of this marriage four daughters—Bridget, Mary, Anne, and Eleanor.[2]

A further account of the family may be seen in Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 1863, under Hawkins of Tredunnock.

The property at Nash remained among the descendants of these four ladies till 1863, when it was sold to Mr. Pryce Lade. The altar in the private chapel at Nash was moved to the church in High Street, Canterbury, some years before the sale.

Father O'Carroll also, with great marks of probability, accounts for Father Francis Hawkins, of whom, for want of information, we could only say in our notice that he was born in London in 1622 (which should have been 1628), entered the Society in 1649, and died at Liege in 1681. Father O'Carroll says: "You will see that Sir Thomas Hawkins, the translator of the *Holy Court*, had a brother John, M.D., of London, married to Frances Power, by whom he had a son Francis. It strikes me that perhaps he is the Jesuit Francis, born in London, 1622 [1628]. John Hawkins was an author, as well as his brother; he wrote a work on Melancholy, printed at Heidelberg, 1633. Anthony Wood calls him an ingenious brother. Burke observes in his *Landed Gentry* that the Hawkins are a family of great antiquity in the county of Kent, the name being local from the parish of

[1] A Father Francis Hillesley S.J. who will be mentioned in our next volume of *Records*, one of the witnesses on behalf of the martyred Jesuit Fathers in the history of the Oates' Plot persecution, was probably a grandson of the above William. He was born 1655.

[2] See continuation of pedigree annexed.

Sir THOMAS HAWKINS. = ANNE PETTIT.
(See Pedigree.)

JOHN, of London, M.D. = FRANCES, daughter of —— POWER, of Bleckington, Oxon, Esq.

FRANCIS, S.J. Born 1628; entered the Society of Jesus 1649; died 1681.

Sir THOMAS HAWKINS. = ELIZABETH SMITH.
(See Pedigree.)

(See Pedigree.)

RICHARD HAWKINS. = MARY LANGWORTH.
(See Pedigree.) In the list of Recusants, 1640.

JOHN HAWKINS. = (1st wife) MARIA WOOLLASCOTT.
(See Pedigree.)

THOMAS HAWKINS. = CATHERINE GIFFARD.
(See Pedigree.)

THOMAS HAWKINS. = MARY CLAYTON.
(See Pedigree.)

(See Pedigree.)

JOHN HAWKINS. = SUSAN CONSTANTINE, who survived and re-married —— AYLMER, Esq.
(See Pedigree.)

EDWARD THOMAS HAWKINS
(See Pedigree.) Died 1790.

THOMAS HAWKINS. = MARY BRADSHAW.
(See Pedigree.)

(See Pedigree.)

BRIDGET. Born March 19, 1772; married May 21, 1788; died November 29, 1826. Co-heir to her father. = Hon. FRANCIS ROPER, who in 1788 took the name of CURZON, and succeeded his cousin John in 1824 as fourteenth Baron Teynham.

MARY. Born April 8, 1780; married April 13, 1801; died December 19, 1850. Co-heir to her father. = Sir EDWARD KNATCHBULL, Bart. Eighth Baronet. She was his third wife.

ANNE. Born October 30, 1781; married April 13, 1801; died May 12, 1861. Co-heir to her father. = GEORGE DE BILLINGHURST, Lieut.-Col. 7th Dragoons. He assumed the name of WOODROFFE in 1824, on succeeding to Poyle Park Estate. Died May 12, 1861, leaving one daughter.

ELEANOR. Born May 26, 1783; married July 2, 1801; died April, 1847, leaving issue several children. = HENRY MICHAEL F. GOOLD, only brother of the late Sir GEORGE GOOLD, Bart.

Hawking in the Hundred of Folkestone. The first of the name on record is Osbert de Hawking, *temp.* Henry II. About Edward III.'s reign they became seated at Nash Court in the parish of Boughton-under-Blean, county Kent, where they remained till 1800, when Thomas Hawkins of Nash Court, Esq., died, and the estate became the property of his daughters and co-heirs. Being Roman Catholics they suffered greatly at different times. Nash Court was scandalously plundered by some persons of the neighbourhood in 1715, during the ferment the nation was thrown into on account of the rebellion in Scotland, when the furniture, pictures, library of books, and plate were carried off and never heard of afterwards. They experienced great losses at different periods from the time of Queen Elizabeth, when younger members of the family were obliged to quit Kent and become located in other counties. One branch settled about 1554 in Cornwall, from which descended the late Sir Christopher Hawkins; another made choice of Somersetshire, from which Sir John Cæsar Hawkins came; a third established themselves in Wales."

We have not as yet succeeded in identifying Father Thomas Hawkins,[3] as a member of this family.

The Diary of the English College, Rome, thus mentions him: "No. 1,208. 1741. Thomas Hawkins, *alias* Thomas Perkins, of Catholic parents, viz., Thomas Hawkins and Joanna Saxby of Sussex. Born at Slindon, December 21, 1722. Having made his humanity studies at St. Omer, came to this College and was admitted an alumnus of the Holy Father, November 5, 1741. He took the old College oath July 29, 1742. Having received minor orders, he was ordained sub-deacon, December 17, 1746; deacon, January 22; and priest, February 12, 1747, and in that year left Rome for the novitiate at Watten."

Connected with the Wollascotts (one of whom inter-married with the Hawkins family, as appears by the pedigree) an antiquarian friend has kindly sent us an extract from an original MS. entry in a very ancient book of Hours, which he considers, from strong reasons adduced, to have once belonged to the Abbey of Reading. In another inscription, in the same handwriting, on the opposite page, the writer asks also for prayers: "For the worshipful William and Susan Wollascott."

The Wollascotts (says our informant) were a Berkshire

[3] We annex a continuation of the former pedigree.

family settled at Woolhampton, and always remained Catholic. The writer of the inscription is Thomas Thomson, who may have belonged to Oxfordshire, and been in some way related to the Wollascotts.[4]

The inscription above alluded to is an impassioned appeal, in the name of the Most Holy Trinity and all the Heavenly Court, to him to "whom the keeping of this book casually may happen, that thou vouchsafe in thy devout meditations to commend to God's mercy Thomas Thomson, scholar, living or dead; a manifold sinner, yet a poor petitioner and faithful servant of his merciful Lord God, at this instant, viz., anno 1576, September the 28th . . . that he swerve not from the true faith, nor renounce Holy Church, that he may eftsoons avoid the horror of schism and dissimulation." He also includes his parents. Our informant, after observing that this paper was penned soon after the Seminary priests had appeared in England, when rumours of a heavy persecution must have been already afloat, and that Thomas Thomson may have been himself a convert of some Douay priest, as is implied by several expressions in the paper, considers "that the MS. indicates in the mind of the writer a dread of the impending persecution, when each individual must be placed before two alternatives, 'the horror of schism and dissimulation,' and the other 'horror' of all temporal losses and sufferings unknown, which the martyrs may indeed despise, but which the run of men, as they are in this world, even of good men, find very hard to bear."

[5] Henrietta Maria, daughter and heiress of William Wollascot of Woolhampton, Berks, the last lineal descendant of the family of Woolhampton, married in 1755, Arthur James, seventh Earl of Fingall (see Peerage). The estate of Woolhampton passed to her husband. Their son the eighth earl was created a peer of the United Kingdom in 1831, as Baron Fingall of Woolhampton Lodge, county Berks.

THOMAS POUNDE AND FATHER THOMAS STEPHENS, *or* STEPHEN.

SINCE the second edition of the "Life of Thomas Pounde" was published,[1] we have met with the following interesting and characteristic account of one of his examinations before the tribunals in the latter part of 1578, or early in 1579. It is printed in Latin in the Second Douay Diary, pp. 151, 152.[2]

We add to this a few remarks in the *Contemporary Review* for April, 1878, upon Father Thomas Stephens, the bosom friend of Thomas Pounde, and of whom much mention is made in his life. For forty years he was an active missionary in the East Indies, and wrote a letter to his father on his arrival at Goa giving an interesting account of his voyage to the Indies, and of the observations made on his way. This letter, which we also insert, was considered of sufficient interest to find a conspicuous place in Hackluyt's Collection of Voyages.

THOMAS POUNDE.

"April, 1579. About the same feast [Pentecost] we received from those who arrived here from England the following report regarding that noble and excellent man, Thomas Pounde, who has for a long time endured with the utmost constancy bonds and imprisonments together with the loss of his property, at the hands of the heretics for his profession of the Catholic faith. He had been summoned before a tribunal of the heretics, where sentence of death awaited him, should he, on being examined, make any replies which they, being forsooth the mildest of men, might according to their accustomed clemency and favour towards all Catholics deem deserving of such a punishment. What then? Did this deter the courageous soldier of Christ either from remaining steadfast in his faith, or resolute in its confession, or ready, if need be, to face death? Nay, in every one of these points he so approved himself a true Christian man, that it is doubtful whether he assisted the cause of religion more by his great store of learning than by his extraordinary example of constancy. In proof of this, when a certain heretic occupying a position of especial dignity

[1] *Records*, vol. iii. series viii.

[2] See *Records of the English Catholics*. By the Fathers of the London Oratory.

uttered many blasphemies against Catholics in general, as well became a heretic, and against the Sovereign Pontiff, as befitted a disciple of Antichrist, calling God's Vicar upon earth Antichrist; Pounde did not desert his pastor and head, but freely and boldly thus addressed them: 'Answer me this one question,' said he, 'you who dare to insult the Sovereign Pontiff with such insolent abuse, if any one were to load your Queen (to whom ye attribute supreme authority on earth when English affairs are treated of) with every kind of abusive insult, would you sit quietly and listen to it, or would you not rather hand him over to be punished with the utmost rigour?' On their replying that they would by no means patiently listen to any one thus insulting their queen, 'Then why,' said he, 'do you think that I, a Catholic, can patiently listen to such indignities heaped upon the Vicar of Christ, most injurious to so great a Pastor? Nay, rather, fearless of a thousand deaths, I boldly pronounce the man thus daring to insult the Sovereign Pontiff, to be more inhuman, more base and wicked than any heretic whoever he may be. Think not,' he continued, 'that you can stir me from this opinion by any terror of death, which, as I said before, I fear not, since I have daily before my mind's eye those two most excellent and glorious martyrs, John, Bishop of Rochester and Thomas More, both of them most strenuous defenders of the very same cause we have now in hand, as each testified with the effusion of his blood. How base then would it not be in me, with such illustrious examples before my eyes, to fail herein, and to abandon the duty alike of a Christian and a Catholic! Take your own course then, and if, like wolves, you thirst after human blood, devise, invent, seek out new forms of pain and torture. By the help of God I will stand firm to my faith and to the Chair of Peter and his successors, nor will I recede a hair's breadth; that when the Chief Pastor, Jesus Christ, shall come to separate the sheep from the goats, I may be admitted into the everlasting sheepfold of His kingdom, which I hope my Lord of His great and bountiful mercy will grant, in Whose sight I fear you no more than I do flies.' The heretical inquisitors were so confounded on hearing this speech, that, having nothing to urge in reply, they sent him back manacled hand and foot to prison. There this most constant confessor of his Catholic faith patiently awaits all that the savage inhumanity of the tyrants, raging against him and against his cause, is able to invent."

In page 157 of the same Diary we find the following entry: "1579, October 2. The examination of Mr. Thomas Pounde, that most constant and prudent confessor in bonds, was read in our hall, whose every reply seemed to be inspired by that Holy Spirit, of Whom it is said, that all His adversaries are not able to resist Him."

In page 172 is this entry: "1580, October 4. It was reported a few days ago that Mr. Pounde had been removed from a London prison to another vile one in an obscure town called Stortford, in Herts."

FATHER THOMAS STEPHENS.

The following notice of this Father occurs in an article by Professor Monier Williams, entitled "Facts of Indian Progress," and published in the *Contemporary Review*: "The English soon became rivals of the Dutch. The first Englishman known to have reached India *viâ* the Cape of Good Hope, was a man named Thomas Stevens (also called Stephen de Buston or Bubston in Dodd's *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 133). He belonged to the diocese of Salisbury, and having given proof of ability, was sent as a student to Rome, where he became a Jesuit. It is stated that he was once a member of New College, Oxford, but no such name is on the books." The writer in a note adds: "I find that one Thomas Stephens took his degree at St. John's College, Oxford, in June 1577." But this could not have been Father Thomas Stephens, who was admitted into the Society of Jesus at St. Andrea, Rome, October 20, 1575, and was already making his noviceship in June, 1577. The writer then proceeds: "His Superiors despatched him as a missionary to the East Indies, in one of five ships which left Lisbon on April 4, 1579, and reached Goa in the following October. Thence he wrote a letter to his father. He resided at Goa for about forty years, during five years of which he was Rector of a Jesuits' College there.[3] The inhabitants respected him as a kind of apostle. His familiarity with the dialects of the country is proved by his having published three works, a Konkanī grammar, an account of Christian doctrine, and a history of Christ, which he called a Purāna. I have seen an edition of his grammar in the India Office library, but have

[3] His long missionary life was chiefly occupied in Salsette, a peninsula near Goa, where he once very narrowly escaped martyrdom (*Records*, as above, p. 587).

never met with his other works." The writer then mentions a merchant, Mr. Ralph Fitch, who, in 1583, sailed with another English merchant for the East Indies. "The Portuguese authorities at Goa, jealous of the intrusion of two rich English merchants, found some pretext for throwing them into prison. Happily the English Jesuit, Father Stephens, was already a man of influence, and procured their release."

The Father's letter is described as written from Goa, the principal city of all the East Indies, by one Thomas Stephens, an Englishman, and sent to his father, Mr. Thomas Stephens, ann. 1579.

After most humble commendations these shall be to crave your daily blessing, with the commendations unto my mother, and withal to certify you of my being according to your will and my duty. I wrote unto you taking my journey from Italy to Portugal, which letters I think are come to your hands, so that, presuming thereupon, I think I have the less need at this time to tell you the cause of my departing, which nevertheless in one word I may conclude, if I do but name obedience. I came to Lisbon towards the end of March, eight days before the departure of the ships, so late that if they had not been stayed about some weighty matters they had been long gone before our coming, insomuch that there were others ordained to go in our places, that the King's provision and ours also might not be in vain. Nevertheless, our sudden coming took place, and on the 4th of April five ships departed for Goa, wherein, besides shipmen and soldiers, there were a great number of children, which in the seas bear out better than men, and no marvel, when that many women also pass very well. The setting forth from the port, I need not tell how solemn it is, with trumpets and shooting of ordnance, you may easily imagine it, considering that they go in the manner of war. The tenth of the foresaid month we came to the sight of Porto Sancto, near unto Madeira, where an English ship set upon ours (which was then also alone) with a few shots, which did no harm, but after that our ship had laid out her greatest ordnance they straitly departed as they came. The English ship was very fair and great, which I was sorry to see so ill-occupied, for she went roving about, so that we saw her at the Canary Isles, unto the which we came the 13th of the said month; and good leisure we had to wonder at the high mountains of the Island Teneriffe, for we wandered between that and Great Canaria four days, by reason of contrary winds; and briefly, such evil weather we had until the 14th of May that they despaired to compass the Cape of Good Hope that year. Nevertheless, taking our voyage between Guinea and the Islands of Cape Verde, without seeing of any land at all, we arrived at length unto the coast of Guinea, which the Portuguese so call, chiefly that part of the burning zone which is from the sixth degree unto the equinoctial, in which parts they suffered so many inconveniences of heats and lack of winds that they think themselves happy when they have passed it; for sometimes the ship standeth there almost by the space of many days, sometimes

she goeth, but in such order that it were almost as good to stand still. And the greatest part of this coast not clear, but thick and cloudy, full of thunder and lightning and rain, so unwholesome that if the water stands a little while all is full of worms, and falling on the meat which is hanging up, it maketh it straight full of worms. Along that coast we oftentimes saw a thing swimming upon the water like a cock's comb (which they call a ship of Guinea), but the colour much fairer, which comb standeth upon a thing almost like the swimmer of a fish in colour and bigness, and beareth underneath in the water strings, which save it from turning over. This thing is so poisonous that a man cannot touch it without great peril. In this coast, that is to say, from the sixth degree unto the equinoctial, we spent no less than thirty days, partly with contrary winds, partly with calm. The 30th of May we passed the equinoctial with contentation, directing our course as well as we could to pass the promontory, but in all that gulf, and in all the way beside, we found so often calms that the expertest mariners wondered at it. And in places where are always wont to be most horrible tempest we found most quiet calms, which was very troublesome to those ships which be the greatest of all others, and cannot go without good winds. Insomuch that when it is tempest almost intolerable for other ships, and maketh them main all their sails, these hoist up and sail excellent well unless the waters be too furious, which seldom happened in our navigation. You shall understand that being passed the line they cannot straightway go the next way to the promontory, but according to the wind they draw always as near south as they can to put themselves in the latitude of the point which is thirty-five degrees and a half, and then they take their course towards the east, and so compass the point. But the wind served us so that at thirty degrees, we did direct our course towards the point or promontory of Good Hope.

You know that it is hard to sail from east to west, or contrary, because there is no fixed point in all the sky whereby they may direct all their course, wherefore I shall tell you what help God provided for these men.

There is not a fowl that appeareth, or sign in the air, or in the sea, which they have not written which have made the voyages heretofore. Wherefore, partly by their own experience and pondering withal, what space the ship is able to make with such a wind and such direction, and partly by the experience of others whose books and navigations they have, they guess whereabouts they be touching degree of longitude, for of latitude they be always sure, but the greatest and best industry of all is to mark the variation of the needle or compass, which in the meridian of the Island of St. Michael, which is one of the Azores in the latitude of Lisbon, is just north, and then swerveth towards the east so much, that betwixt the meridian aforesaid and the point of Africa it carrieth three or four quarters of thirty-two. And again, in the point of Africa, a little beyond the point that is called Cape Las Agullas (in English the Needles) it returneth again unto the north, and that place passed, it swerveth again towards the west, as it did before proportionally.

As touching our first signs, the nearer we came to the people of Africa the more strange kinds of fowls appeared, insomuch that when we came within no less than thirty leagues (almost an hundred miles) and 600 miles as we thought from any island, as good as

3,000 fowls of sundry kinds followed our ship, some of them so great that their wings being opened from one point to another contained seven spans, as the mariners said. A marvellous thing to see how God provided so that in so wide a sea these fowls are all fat, and nothing wanteth them. The Portugals have named them all according to some property which they have; some they call rushtails, because their tails be not proportionable to their bodies, but long and small, like a rush; some forked-tails, because they be very broad and forked; some velvet-sleeves, because they have wings of the colour of velvet, and boweth them as a man boweth his elbow. This bird is always welcome, for he appeareth nearest the Cape. I should never make an end if I should tell all particulars, but it shall suffice briefly to touch a few, which yet shall be sufficient if you mark them to give occasion to glorify Almighty God in His wonderful works and such variety in His creatures. And to speak somewhat of fishes, in all places of calm, especially in the burning zone near the line (for without we never saw any) there waited on our ship fishes as long as a man, which they call Tuberones; they come to eat such things as from the ships fall into the sea, not refusing men themselves if they light upon them. And if they find any meat tied in the sea they take it for theirs. These have waiting on them six or seven small fishes (which never depart), with guards blue and green round about their bodies, like comely serving men; and they go two or three before him, and some on every side. Moreover, they have other fishes which cleave always unto their body, and seem to take such superfluities as grow about them, and they are said to enter into their bodies also, to purge them if they need. The mariners in times past have eaten of them, but since they have seen them eat men their stomachs abhor them. Nevertheless, they draw them up with great hooks, and kill of them as many as they can, thinking that they have made a great revenge. There is another kind of fish, as big almost as a herring, which hath wings and flieth, and they are together in great number. These have two enemies, the one in the sea, the other in the air. In the sea the fish which is called albocore, as big as a salmon, followeth them with great swiftness to take them. This poor fish not being able to swim fast, for he hath no fins, but swimmeth with moving of his tail, shutting his wings, lifteth himself above the water, and flieth not very high. The albocore seeing that, although he have no wings, yet giveth he a great leap out of the water, and sometimes catcheth him, or else he keepeth himself under the water, going that way on as fast as he flieth, and when the fish, being weary of the air, or thinking himself out of danger, returneth into the water, the albocore meeteth with him. But sometimes his other enemy, the sea-crow, catcheth him before he falleth.

With these and like sights, but always making our supplications to God for good weather and salvation of the ship, we came at length unto the point so famous and feared of all men, but we found there no tempest, only great waves, where our pilot was a little overseen; for whereas commonly all others never come within sight of land, but seeing signs ordinary and finding bottom, go their way sure and safe; he thinking himself to have wind at will, shot so nigh the land that the wind turning into the south and the waves being exceeding great, tossed us so near the land that the ship stood in less than fourteen fathoms of water, no more than six miles from the Cape, which is called Las Agullas, and

there we stood as utterly cast away; for under us were rocks of mainstone so sharp and cutting that no anchor could hold the ship, the shore so evil that nothing could take land, and the land itself so full of tigers and people that are savage and killers of all strangers, that we had no hope of life or comfort, but only in God and a good conscience. Notwithstanding, after we had lost anchors, hoisting up the sails so as to get the ship a coast in some safer place, or when it should please God, it pleased His mercy suddenly, where no man looked for help, to fill our sails with wind from the land, and so we escaped, thanks be to God. And the day following being in the place where they are always wont to catch fish, we also fell a fishing, and so many they took that they served all the ship for that day and part of the next. And one of them pulled up a coral of great bigness and price. For there they say (as we saw by experience) that the corals do grow in the manner of stalks upon the rocks in the bottom, and were hard and red.

The day of peril was the 29th of July; and you shall understand that the Cape passed, there be two ways to India, one within the Isle of St. Lawrence, which they take willingly, because they refresh themselves at Mozambique, a fortnight or a month, not without great need, and thence in a month more land in Goa. The other is without the Isle of St. Lawrence, which they take when they get forth so late, and come so late to the point that they have no time to take the foresaid Mozambique, and then they go heavily, because in this way they take no port. And by reason of the long navigation and want of food and water, they fall into sundry diseases, their gums grow great and swell, and they are fain to cut them away, their legs swell, and all the body becometh sore and so benumbed, that they cannot stir hand or foot, and so they die for weakness. Others fall into fluxes and agues, and die thereby. And this way it was our chance to make; yet, though we had more than one hundred and fifty sick, there died not past twenty-seven, which loss they esteemed not much in respect of other times. Though some of ours were diseased in this sort, yet, thanks be to God, I had my health all the way, contrary to the expectation of many. God send me my health so well in the land, if it may be to His honour and service. This way is full of privy rocks and quicksands, so that sometimes we durst not sail by night, but by the providence of God we saw nothing, nor never found bottom till we came to the coast of India. When we had passed again the line, and were come to the third degree, or somewhat more, we saw crabs swimming on the water, that were red as though they had been sodden, but this was no sign of land. After about the eleventh degree, the space of many days, more than ten thousand fishes by estimation followed round about our ship, whereof we caught so many that for fifteen days we did eat nothing else, and they served our turn very well, for at this time we had neither meat nor almost anything else to eat, our navigation growing so long that it drew near to seven months, whereas commonly they go in five, I mean when they sail the inner way. But these fishes were not sign of land, but rather of deep sea. At length we took a couple of birds, which were a kind of hawk, whereof they joyed much, thinking that they had been of India, but indeed were of Arabia, as we found afterwards. And we that thought we had been near India were in the same latitude, near Socotera, an isle in the mouth of the Red Sea. But there God sent us great winds from the north-

east, or N.N.-east, whereupon unwillingly they bear up towards the east, and thus we wait ten days without seeing sign of land, whereby they perceived their error, for they had directed their course before always north-east, coveting to multiply degrees of latitude; but partly the difference of the needle, and most of all the running seas, which at that time ran north-west, had drawn us to this other danger, had not God sent us this wind, which at length waxed larger, and restored us to our right course. These running seas be so perilous that they deceive the most part of the governors, and some be so little curious, contenting themselves with ordinary experience, that they care not to seek out any means to know when they swerve, neither by the compass, nor by any other trial. The first signs of land were certain fowls, which they knew to be of India; the second, boughs of palms and sedges; the third, snakes swimming on the water, and a substance which they call by the name of a coin of money, as broad and as round as a groat, wonderfully painted and stamped by nature, like unto some coin. And these two last signs be so certain that the next day after, if the wind swerve, they see land, which we did to our great joy, when all our water (for you know that they make no beer in those parts) and victuals began to fail us; and to Goa we came the 24th of October, there being received with passing great charity. The people be tawny, but not disfigured in their lips and noses, as the Moors and Kaffirs of Ethiopia. They that be not of reputation, or at least the most part go naked, saving an apron of a span long and as much in breath before them, and a lace two fingers broad before them, girded about with a string, and no more. And thus they think themselves as well as we with all our trimming. Of the fruits and trees that be here I cannot now speak, for I should make another letter as long as this. For hitherto I have not seen tree here whose like I have seen in Europe, the vine excepted, which, nevertheless here is to no purpose, so that all the vines are brought out of Portugal. The drink of this country is good water, or wine of the palm tree, or a fruit called cocoas. And this shall suffice for this time. If God send me my health I shall have opportunity to write once again. Now the length of my letter compelleth me to take my leave, and thus I wish you most prosperous health.

From Goa, November 10, 1579.

Your loving son,

THOMAS STEVENS.

ANDERTONS OF LOSTOCK.

WE take the present opportunity to point out that by a mistake in the binding the pedigree of this family is inserted at p. 744, instead of 774, of vol. iii. Addenda.

Since that pedigree was compiled, we have discovered four other members of the family, who were students at St. Omer's and the English College, Rome, under the Fathers of the Society, and all became priests. They were sons of Roger Anderton of Birchley and his wife Anne, daughter of Edward

Stanford, Esq., and were doubtless three of the "other issue" marked in the pedigree.

I. JOHN ANDERTON, born 1618, made his humanity studies at St. Omer's College, entered the English College, Rome, for his higher course, in the assumed name of Shelley, on December 4, 1636, aged eighteen, and took the usual College obligations May 1, 1637. He was finally ordained priest November 2, 1642, and left for England April 13, 1643.

In reply to the usual scholars' interrogatories he says: "I was born in Lancashire; my father is Roger Anderton and my mother was Anne Stanford, both of whom are Catholics, as are most of my relations. I have many brothers, as well as Catholic sisters. My parents are of respectable families, and moderately wealthy. I have made my humanity studies for nine years at St. Omer's. I was never infected with the plague of heresy. I have come to Rome for my higher studies, with the intention of embracing the priesthood, and returning to England to assist my afflicted country."

II. ROGER ANDERTON was born 1621. After his humanity studies at St. Omer he passed to the English College, Rome, for his higher course, and entered in the name of Edward Poole as a convictor among the Pope's alumni, on February 6, 1639, aged eighteen, Father Thomas Fitzherbert being then Rector. He took the usual College oaths May 9, 1641; and, having been ordained priest June 26, 1645, at the Church of St. Lawrence in Damaso, was sent into England September 18 in the same year.

In his answers to the usual questions put to students on entering the English College, he says: "My name is Roger Anderton. I am eighteen years of age, and was born in the county of Lancaster. My parents are Catholics, wealthy, and of high family. I have six brothers and four sisters. Nearly all my relations are Catholics. I made my rudimentary studies at home, and, as far as poetry, at St. Omer's College. I was always a Catholic, and wish to embrace the ecclesiastical state of life." The examination is endorsed Edward Poole.

III. EDWARD ANDERTON, born 1623. He also passed from St. Omer's College to the English College, Rome, where, according to the Diary, he was admitted in the name of Shelley, September 20, 1644, at the age of twenty-one, Father Robert Stafford being then Rector, and took the College oath May 1, 1645; and, having been ordained priest in the Monastery of St. Anne, was sent into England April 15, 1651.

He says in his replies to the students' interrogatories: "My name is Edward Anderton. I am son of Mr. Roger Anderton of the county of Lancaster, whose income is between £500 and £700 a year. I was educated in England until my fifteenth year, and afterwards went to the College of St. Omer, where I lived for six years, and there acquired a great desire for and vocation to the ecclesiastical life. I have father, mother, brothers, and sisters all Catholics, also many other relations Catholics. I am in my twenty-first year."

IV. ROBERT ANDERTON. Born 1625. He passed from St. Omer's College to the English College, Rome, where he was admitted in his mother's maiden name, as Robert Stanford, at the age of twenty, as one of the alumni of the Holy Father, on May 27, 1645, by Father Robert Stafford, the Rector, and took the usual College obligation on December 21 following. He received the minor orders in St. John Lateran December 23, 1645, and was ordained priest at St. Mary Magdalen's, near the Pantheon, June 18, 1651, and was sent into England April 7, 1652.

On entering the College he states: "My true name is Robert Anderton. I was born and brought up in Lancashire until my fourteenth year. My parents and most of my friends are of station, and Catholic. I have studied as far as poetry at St. Omer's College. I was never a heretic or schismatic, and have come to Rome to prepare for embracing the ecclesiastical state." He signs himself Robert Stanford.

With this addition, the pedigree would stand thus, and discloses the striking and edifying fact, that no less than seven members of the Birchley Andertons dedicated themselves to God and His Church:

ROGER ANDERTON. = ANNE STANFORD.

JOHN. Born 1618; ordained Priest 1642; sent to England 1643.[1]	ROGER. Born 1621; ordained Priest 1645; and sent to England same year.	EDWARD. Born 1623; ordained Priest 1651, and then sent to England.	ROBERT. Born 1625; ordained Priest 1651; sent to England 1652.

ANNE. A Nun. Born 1626 (see Pedigree).	WINEFRID FRANCES. A Nun. Born 1629 (see Pedigree)[1].	MARY EUPHRASIA. A Nun. Born 1630 (see Pedigree).

[1] In a list of Mr. Blundell of Crosby, showing the Anderton family of Birchley, &c., John is called Christopher and Winefrid Frances (probably her religious name) is called Elizabeth.

ANDERTON OF HORWICH.

LAWRENCE ANDERTON, descended from a third son of ANDERTON of Anderton. = A.B.

- CHRISTOPHER, of Lostock. = D. ANDERTON. Died 1593.
  - ALICE. = TOOTELL, of Healey.
    - THOMAS TOOTELL, S.J. At Bryn 1663 (*Blundell of Crosby MSS.*).
    - CHRISTOPHER TOOTELL, S.J. At Roman College 1663 (*Blundell of Crosby MSS.*).
    - OLIVER, a Lieutenant, who was killed at Latham House, was probably a son of the above.
  - ELIZABETH. = THURSTAN STANDISH, of the Burgh.
    - ANNE. Born 1607; professed Poor Clare at Gravelines 1626; died 1664.
    - LAWRENCE STANDISH, S.J. Born 1605; entered Society of Jesus 1626; professed 1641; died .
  - LAWRENCE, *alias* SCROOPE, S.J. (see Text).
  - CHRISTOPHER (probable; see Statement of Father Henry Morley, *Records*, vol. iii. p. 776, note).
- THOMAS, of Horwich. = ——
  - DOROTHY. = THOMAS HEATON.
    - RICHARD HEATON. = A.B.
      - MARY HEATON. Professed Nun O.S.A. at Bruges 1657; died 1713.
    - JOHN, S.J. This was probably Father John Heaton (Heton), *alias* Parker. Born 1601; entered Society of Jesus 1626; died 1684 (see his Autobiography, *Records*, vol. i. p. 666).
    - HENRY.
    - WILLIAM.
  - WILLIAM, of Garstang. = A.B.
    - THOMAS, *alias* BARTON, S.J. (see *Records*, vol. iii. p. 776).
    - DOROTHY. A Nun at Gravelines.

[*To face page 713.*

SIR LAWRENCE ANDERTON, BART.

THE Reverend Thomas E. Gibson, the author of *Lydiate Hall and its Associations*, in a letter to the Editor, of March 29th last, says: "I should be much obliged if you would say that I desire to correct an error into which I have fallen with reference to Sir Lawrence Anderton, grandson of Lawrence Ireland.[1] I have stated in my book that he 'had no doubt received the priesthood in due course.' He was a religious (O.S.B.), but was never promoted to Holy Orders. A friend, since my work was printed, has kindly furnished me with the copy of a letter from the Reverend Thomas Southcote, Provincial O.S.B., dated July, 1723, in which he distinctly says that Lawrence, whom he describes as the Chevalier Anderton, had never been promoted to Sacred Orders. He was a weak man, and was led into extravagance, more probably by the evil influence of others than by any personal vice."

From a recent examination by the Reverend T. E. Gibson of the valuable collection of correspondence and notes of William Blundell, Esq., of Crosby, ranging over a very important period of Catholic history, viz., from 1660 to 1690, much additional light has been thrown upon the old and wide-spread family of Andertons. The result of this investigation corrects several points in our former pedigree. Among other branches of the Anderton family noticed by Mr. Blundell was that of Horwich, of which Mr. Gibson has kindly enabled us to give the annexed brief pedigree. It will be noticed that Father Lawrence Anderton, *alias* Scroope, who is placed in our pedigree (with a reservation as to the correctness of the position) as the son of Christopher Anderton, is here called the son of Thomas of Horwich.

Gee's famous list of priests and Jesuits in and about London,[2] 1624 (and he is remarkably correct) mentions "Father Anderton, a Jesuite, a Lancashire man, yet not that Anderton who goeth by the name of Scroope." This clearly indicates two Andertons priests and Jesuits, one of whom was called Scroope.

[1] See Anderton pedigree.

[2] *Records*, vol. i. Appendix, p. 677.

Further investigations may eventually clear it up. In the meantime this little pedigree will be of special interest to the members of the English Province, as it shows, upon the unquestionable authority of Mr. Blundell, who, to use the words of the Reverend T. E. Gibson, "was a very accurate man," two members of the Society we have not before met with, viz., Thomas and Christopher Tootell, of whom Mr. Blundell notes "they are of the Society."[3]

This pedigree likewise clears up all doubt regarding Father Lawrence Standish, who was generally known as Lawrence Fisher, and is shortly noticed in p. 31 seq., under the head of Grafton Manor, the seat of the Shrewsbury family.

Mr. Blundell says of him: "He hath a chamber at Lord Shrewsbury's, and helpeth the country people."

Lastly the pedigree shows the probable descent of Father John Heaton (Heton) *alias* Parker, whose autobiography is given in *Records*, vol. i. page 666. It will be recollected that Father Heton states that he was converted by his uncle Lawrence Scroope of the Society of Jesus, when he was sixteen years of age, and was then sent to St. Omer's College.

ST. CHAD'S RELICS.

By way of addition to our short notice of the relics of St. Chad in vol. iii. p. 794, a friend writes: "The relics of St. Chad, which were at Swynnerton, were taken from Aston to St. Chad's, Birmingham, in June, 1841. Public veneration to them was permitted by Pope Gregory XVI. in a Rescript dated May 17, 1841.

[3] This discovery is all the more interesting, as the well-known historian, the Reverend Charles Dodd, was of the same family. His real name was Hugh Tootell, a native of Lancashire, born in the year 1671, and he was probably a nephew of the above Fathers. He was admitted as an alumnus of Douay College, July 16, 1690, and died at Harvington Hall, Worcestershire, where he had spent most of his missionary career, February 27, 1742–3, in his seventieth year, and was buried at Chaddesby Corbet. Dr. Oliver supposes him to have been related to the Grand Vicar Tootell, named in Bishop Witham's will November 20, 1723. The Reverend Christopher Tootell, probably of the same family, was Vicar General in 1715, and lived at Fernyhalgh, near Preston. He wrote an account of the attack upon that chapel by the mob upon the retreat of the Scotch in 1746. The author of the *Catholic Apology* mentions Oliver Tootell, probably a brother of Thomas and Christopher, a lieutenant belonging to the garrison of Latham House, Lancashire, which held out for a considerable time for the King against the Parliament. He was killed while at dinner by a shot from the enemy.

CORRIGENDA.

Vol. i. p. 15, note, *for* "1692" *read* "1602," and *for* "Thomas," *read* "Anthony Bates."

P. 124, note, *for* "Thomas" Palmer *read* "Ferdinand."

P. 142, *for* "Ridgfield" *read* "Redlingfield."

P. 185, *for* "Christopher" *read* "William" Hatton, and omit the remark applying to Christopher.

Vol. ii. p. 96, *for* "Professor of Theology" *read* "Master of Novices."

P. 226, *for* "Ingleby" *read* "Englefield."

P. 280, line 27, omit "Fleet, a place of," and in p. 281, *for* "Rome" *read* "the city."

P. 327, note, line 3, omit "both" and *read* "he."

P. 429, line 12, omit "half."

P. 556, *for* "Garniez" *read* "Hervey."

P. 608, note 30, *for* "Tanum" *read* "Tanner."

Vol. iii. p. 25, line 18, *for* "induced" *read* "refused."

P. 204, at bottom, omit "probably," and *for* "Robert" *read* "Philip." (N.B.—The document in p. 205 which renders this correction necessary came to hand subsequently to the preparation of the MS.)

P. 394, note, *read* Margaret, daughter of Reginald, professed at "Ghent as."

P. 477, Darrell pedigree (of Calehill). The two nuns named Mary Olivia were "O.S.A.," not "O.S.B."

P. 480, seventh line from the bottom, omit "who succeeded in 1750," and *read* "who died 1718."

P. 539, line 22, *for* "1639" *read* "1739."

P. 783, line 28, *for* "Sussex" *read* "Suffolk."

P. 789, Rookwood pedigree. Henry and Ambrose were sons of Robert by the second marriage, not by the first. Dorothy, daughter of Robert by the second marriage, was a nun at Louvain, professed 1595, died 1606. Susanna Rookwood married Robert Towle, not Focole [Nichol's *Collect.*], and *for* "Hawkstead" *read* "Hawstead" [Nichol's *Collect.*].

P. 803, John Fitzherbert. In a London prison, *for* "1596" *read* "1590."

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